

Fasti Sacri, or a key to the Chronology of the New Testament



THOMAS LEWIN



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New Testament**

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OR

A KEY

TO THE

CHRONOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

BY

THOMAS LEWIN, ESQ

OF TRIN COLLEGE OXFORD, M.A., F.R.S.

AUTHOR OF 'LIFE OF ST PAUL,' 'SIEGE OF JERUSALEM BY HIRUS,'
'CAESAR'S INVASION, ETC

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PREFACE.

ANY ONE may see at a glance that your volume contains a mass of materials, and so evinces considerable industry, but may it not be asked, Is it *opere pretium*? Has not the same ground been traversed often before by other and those able writers?

I must admit that the work has not at first sight the air of novelty, but examine it closely and you will find that it possesses some peculiar characteristics. Almost all chronologers have applied themselves to the discussion of particular questions, and have made their arguments bear upon these isolated points, without reflecting that such a process must be very fallacious. To ascertain the precise date of any event the antecedent and subsequent history must be placed in juxtaposition with it. In chronology, as in other sciences, a single fact, taken by itself and left to stand separate from what precedes and follows, will be often misplaced. To arrive at the truth you must construct a series of continuous tables, and then you may hope to ascertain correctly the relative positions *inter se* of the several occurrences.

But has not this been done by Fynes Clinton in the *Fastæ Hellenicæ* and *Fastæ Romanæ*, which comprise the period from B.C. 70 to A.D. 70?

No. Fynes Clinton has directed his principal attention to the heathen world, and from the vast extent of the period embraced within his labours, he has necessarily been obliged to omit matters of detail, whereas, in these pages, the heathen world has been thrown into the background, and the Jewish and Christian history brought prominently forward. I have also not only adverted to the leading dates, but endeavoured, though only in skeleton, to produce a connected narrative. By turning, for instance, to the paragraphs which are referred to by numbers, the fortunes of countries and the succession of princes may be readily followed.

Your object, then, is to illustrate more particularly sacred chronology, a province which belongs more properly to the divine⁹ The wearer of the surplice is necessarily from his office familiar with the early history of Christianity, but what has the long-robe to do with the first footsteps of the Church?

My principal aim is to impart knowledge for the purpose of promoting religion, and there is thus advantage on the side of the layman, that while the churchman is regarded as a partisan, and is, therefore, supposed to write with a bias, the layman is at least free from any suspicion of that kind, and thus his testimony carries with it the greater weight. A juriconsult, too, may plead another justification, viz that although he has less leisure for the study of theological questions, he approaches them with a more disciplined mind. From day to day, and from year to year, he is compelled, in the exercise of his professional calling, to minutely scrutinise contradictory evidence for the purpose of striking the balance truly. His only hope of success in life is by bringing a correct judgment to bear upon discordant facts, and so conduct his client to a sound and practical conclusion.

Admitting your professional occupation not to incapacitate you for these pursuits, let me ask, Whether you have brought forward any new lights, whether errors have been corrected, whether the sphere of chronological knowledge is likely to be enlarged?

I can only answer that new and original views have been advanced, and the grounds on which they rest have been fully and fairly stated, and where there is collision of opinion the cause of truth can scarcely fail to be promoted. Besides, whether the author's deductions can be maintained or not, the student will here find the materials for inquiry ready at hand, and may judge for himself. If he do not approve the edifice erected, let him demolish it, and use the common data for constructing another in better architectural taste.

This may be all very well if the subject were of sufficient importance to command public attention; but, to strike at the root of the matter, what can it signify whether the birth of Christ was a few years earlier or later than the commonly received date? whether He began His ministry in A. D. 26 or A. D. 29? or what was the exact year of the Crucifixion?

Here I think you go too far. If this reasoning were to be applied to history generally, we should soon be involved in a cloud that would grow into darkness itself. If history be valuable at all, the more certain and distinct are its features, the better its purposes will be answered. Chronology in history is what perspective is in painting, without it there would be a confusion of images which would rather perplex than edify.

These remarks are just enough in the abstract, but how do you apply them to the present case? Is there no *direct* and *immediate* benefit to be expected from your labours?

The evidences of Christianity are closely interwoven with the chronology of the times when our Lord and the Apostles lived. If, for instance, in prosecuting a minute inquiry into the events which immediately preceded and followed the introduction of Christianity, I had found the narrative of the New Testament inconsistent and at variance with heathen testimony, I might have been led to suspect that the wild speculations recently broached by infidel writers were not without a semblance of reason, but when the more closely I sift the records of that period, the more at every step, I find the sacred penmen confirmed in their most casual and passing allusions to contemporary personages and ancient customs, I necessarily feel that my creed rests on no insecure foundation—that it is not ‘the cunningly devised fable’ of an after age, but is part and parcel of actual history. If such be the result to myself, may I not anticipate that the reader who accompanies me may anchor his bark in the same peaceful haven? I believe that many who indulge in scepticism do it, not from conviction, but from never having seriously addressed their attention to an inquiry into the truth.

But for these results to follow the book must be read, and for the book to be read it must be interesting, and can these pages lay claim to such merit?

Undoubtedly the slipshod reader of novels and other similar literature, will seek in vain for pleasure or pastime in this volume, but there are others whose minds are braced up and kept well stung—who can ramble to their satisfaction wherever they can gather fruit, besides, there are literary productions which, unattractive in themselves, are useful as works of

reference, not intended to be read as a whole, but to be consulted from time to time as opportunity offers. Who, in a Christian country, does not read the New Testament? and who that reads it would not desire to understand the political state of the provinces in which the transactions occurred, and catch glimpses of the characters of the several personages that appear upon the scene? in short, to have a general panoramic view of the whole horizon of so momentous a period? When we read in the Acts of the Apostles that Herod, after slaying James the brother of John with the sword, and putting Peter in prison, went down to Casarea, and there, arrayed in royal apparel, harangued the Tyrrians and Sidonians in the theatre, and then, amidst their shouts that he was a god, was arrested by the hand of death, does it not gratify a natural curiosity to discover, from a careful comparison of dates, that this Herod is by Josephus called Agrippa, and that the reason of his visit to Casarea was the celebration of the safe return of Claudius Caesar—from what country?—from our own island of Great Britain then, for the first time, brought under the Roman yoke by the capture of Camulodunum, or Colchester? When, again, we read that St. Paul, at Corinth, joined himself to his fellow-countryman and fellow tent-maker, Aquila, who had just arrived from Italy, ‘because that Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome,’ is it not a pleasure, or at least a satisfaction, to learn that while St. Paul was on the road from Macedonia to Corinth an insurrection broke out in Judaea, and that the arrival of St. Paul at Corinth was just after an edict, issued by the timorous Claudius from alarm at the rebellion, for the expulsion of all Jews from Rome? And numerous other instances might be adduced in which, by following the thread of sacred chronology in conjunction with profane history, we are enabled to detect curious coincidences, and throw a halo of light around occurrences which would otherwise be wrapped in mysterious obscurity. The divine, in particular, whose duty it is to expound the Scriptures by the aid of contemporary history, and to reproduce, as far as possible, the life of our Lord and the Apostles for the edification of his flock, or the defence of the faith against the scoffs of unbelievers, can here at once command a clear outline of the whole subject and at the same time, by referring to the original authorities, can fill up the framework by interweaving such further particulars as the nature of his inquiry may call for. But, even supposing that few will personally peruse the work, it does not follow that they will derive no benefit from it. Many think

who have not drawn from the spring themselves and so, many may have information imparted to them who know nothing of the source from which it is derived. The writer who produces a fascinating history must have the ground prepared for him, he must have ready at hand geographical maps of the countries, and chronological tables of the times. The geographer and chronologer therefore, though their labours do not appear, lay the strong underground foundations upon which the superstructure is afterwards raised. The historian takes the dry bones and clothes them with flesh, and invests them with form and beauty. The geographer and chronologer may attract little notice and attain little panegyric, but the office is indispensable and is perhaps the more praiseworthy, as less conspicuous in the eyes of the world and as gathering fewer laurels.

But a work on chronology, if intended as the foundation of some imposing fabric by the hand of the accomplished master-builder, ought to be remarkable for its accuracy, but you confess to many sins both of commission and omission, and probably there remain many others which the partial eye of the author has failed to detect.

I am far from thinking that the work can claim perfection, for

Nam vitius nemo sine nascitur, optimus ille est,
Qui minimus urgetur

But the difficulties with which the author has to struggle, and the vantage-ground on which the reader stands must be taken into consideration. The author often writes, as in the present instance, at distant intervals and as opportunity offers. There is no continuous woof from beginning to end but piece is added to piece, and patch to patch, as leisure allows or new materials for information present themselves. The reader, on the other hand, free from the confusion created by a scarcely legible manuscript and repeated revision of the work in a disjointed form, looks at the subject through a clear atmosphere, takes the whole in at one comprehensive view, is able to compare with readiness the distant parts, and so to detect the least want of symmetrical consistency. Thus faults that escaped observation in manuscript, are now, from the clearness of the type, distinctly visible, and blemishes make their appearance which had before been hid beneath the haze in which the writer was enveloped.

Let me ask, in conclusion whether you had any sufficient reason for placing the *commencement* of the tables in B C 70? Why they should *close* in A D 70, as the *terminus ad quem*, is obvious enough, as the Jewish polity then ended by the final capture of Jerusalem, but apparently there was no great event in B C 70 which could equally justify the selection of that year as the *terminus a quo*

I am free to confess that there is some ground for the remark, and the only explanation I can offer is, that it was found impossible to determine some of the most important dates without unravelling the previous history for a lengthened period. Thus, the date of the death of Herod involved a knowledge of his earlier career, and this again connected itself with the rise of the Roman power in the East. The intervention of the Romans with the affairs of Judæa under Pompey in B C 65, arose from the disputes between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus as to the high-priesthood, that is, the sovereignty of Judæa, and the contest between the two brothers began on the accession of Hyrcanus on the death of his mother Alexandra in B C 69. For the sake of uniformity therefore, and for better stamping the first as well as the last year of the Tables upon the memory, another, the preceding year, was taken into account and thus B C 70 was made the starting-point, as A D. 70 was made the goal.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
DISSERTATION ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT	ix
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES FROM B.C. 70 TO A.D. 70	1
APPENDIX	363
JEWISH YEAR	363
SYRO-MACEDONIAN YEAR	364
ATTIC YEAR	364
ROMAN CALENDAR	364
PARALLEL YEARS	369
TABLE OF ECLIPSES	371
CENOTAPHIUM PISANUM	376
MONUMENTUM ANCYRANUM	377
MONUMENTUM ANCYRANUM GRÆCE	382
FASTI CAPITOLINI	383
STEMMA CÆSARUM	386
FAMILY OF THE HERODS	387
INDEX	389
ERRATA AND ADDENDA	431

DISSERTATION

ON THE

CHRONOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

CHAPTER I.

DATE OF THE DEATH OF HEROD.

It is singular that the Christian Era, by which the computation of time amongst civilised nations is now regulated, should have for its basis a date which is confessedly erroneous; and it is little less singular that all the learning of the most enlightened ages has hitherto been unable to determine with precision what is the exact amount of the mistake. The year A.D. 1, which purports to commence from the birth of Christ, was fixed upon by Dionysius Exiguus, a monk of the sixth century; and as he flourished in the dark ages, it is not surprising that he should have failed in solving satisfactorily a perplexed and difficult problem. Some think that the miscalculation was of one year only, while others place the Nativity so far back as B.C. 8; and every year between these two points has had its advocates. A few writers in their eccentric flights have ventured beyond even these extremes, and have hazarded hypotheses which it would be idle to pursue. That the present discussion should clear up a mystery which has hitherto baffled the research of the most accomplished chronologers, cannot be anticipated; but as knowledge is continually advancing, it may be useful to carry the landmarks forward, and draw distinctly the boundary line of our present information.

One fact is clear beyond all question, viz. that our Lord was born when Herod, king of Judea, was still living. The embassy of the wise men of the East to Herod, and the subsequent massacre by him of the Innocents at Bethlehem, must instantly recur to every one's recollection. We shall therefore break ground by the inquiry (which in itself is of some nicety)—What was the year of Herod's death?

Josephus, besides other circumstances of less note, furnishes us with two distinct and independent tests for discovery of this year. In the first place, he tells us that shortly—i.e. a few days or weeks—before the death of Herod occurred an eclipse of the moon at Jerusalem at *night*;^a and, secondly, that about Midsummer of the same year,^b Archelaus, a candidate for the kingdom of Judæa, pleaded his cause before Augustus at Rome, when Caius, the grandson and adopted son of Augustus, was present.^c

1. First, then, was the death of Herod in B.C. 1? Assuredly not, for there was neither an eclipse of the moon at Jerusalem during that year, nor was Caius at Rome,

^a Καὶ ἡ σελήνη δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτὶ ἐξέλειπεν. Ant., xvii.
c, 1. See n.c. 4, No. 905.

^b See n.c. 4, No. 943.

^c Ant., xvii. 9, 5. See n.c. 4, No. 943.

for he had sailed from Italy toward the close of the preceding year, or, at the latest, in the spring of B.C. 1,^d and was now occupied somewhere in the East, from which he never returned.

2 Can the death of Herod be referred to the year B.C. 2? We may admit that Calvus was at this time present in Rome, but then there was no eclipse of the moon that year at Jerusalem *at night*, though one occurred at Jerusalem *in the daytime*, viz. on 20th January, at 2h 27m p.m.^e We must also reject this year on another account. Josephus states that Archelaus reigned ten years,^f and we learn from Dion Cassius that he was deposed in A.D. 6,^g which is confirmed incidentally by the statement of Josephus that the census consequent on the banishment of Archelaus, was completed in the 37th year of the Actian era, i.e. some time between 2nd September, A.D. 6, and 2nd September, A.D. 7.^h Archelaus, then, could not have begun to reign, on the demise of his father so late as B.C. 2, and *à fortiori* not so late as B.C. 1, for on the former supposition Archelaus in A.D. 6 would have reigned only eight years, and on the latter only seven. It may also be noticed that about six months after the death of Herod, his son Herod Philip, who had followed Archelaus to Rome, was appointed by Augustus tetrarch of Trachonitis, and then returned to Judea, and then, after enlarging and improving the village of Bethsaida, called it Julias, in honour of Julia, the daughter of Augustus.ⁱ But Julia, the daughter of Augustus, was disgraced and banished soon after Midsummer B.C. 2, and if so, had Herod died in the spring of that year, there would not have been time for Herod Philip to have sailed to Rome and to have disputed with his brothers before Augustus, and then to have returned to Syria and beautified and re-named the city—and all this before the disgrace of Julia in the autumn of B.C. 2.

3 Can we assign the death of Herod to the year B.C. 3? The objections to this, again, are insuperable, for during this year there was no eclipse of the moon at all at Jerusalem and further, if Archelaus succeeded Herod in B.C. 3, he could not be said to have reigned ten years on his dethronement in A.D. 6. The latter argument is met by those who advocate the year B.C. 3 by the counter statement that Josephus, in the 'Wars,' speaks of Archelaus as banished not in his tenth but in his ninth year.^j This, no doubt, is so but the 'Wars' was Josephus's earliest production, and when he had not made himself so perfectly master of the previous history. In the subsequent and more accurate work of the 'Antiquities,'^k and in the life of himself,^l written at a later period still, he computes the reign of Archelaus at ten years, and if so, Archelaus could not have begun to reign in B.C. 3, if, as Dion asserts, and as is confirmed by the testimony of Josephus himself, he was deposed in A.D. 6. If Josephus do not contradict himself the nine years must mean nine *complete* years; and the ten years must mean *ten current* years. In neither case could Herod have died in B.C. 3, as Herod would thus have reigned only eight complete and nine current years.

Coins also of Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee, another son of Herod, have been found with the stamp on some of the forty-third year of his reign, and on others of his forty-fourth year.^m The genuineness of the former is not to be questioned, and

^d See B.C. 2, No 982

^e See Table of Eclipses

^f Δεκάτῃ δὲ ἔτει τῆς ἀρχῆς, &c. Ant., xiii 13, 2
Παριελθὺντος Ἀρχελαοῦ τὸ δέκατον Vit., ii 1. See
A.D. 6, No 1011

^g Dion., l. viii c. 60 § 10

^h Ant., xiiii 2, 1. See A.D. 7, No 1021

ⁱ Jos. Ant., xviii 2, 1, and s.c. B.C. 4, No 903

^j Ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐννάτῃ Bell., ii 7, 3

^k xiii 13, 2

^l Vit., c. 1

^m See A.D. 14, Nos 1055, 1056, 1057, 1058, 1059, 1060, 1061, 1062, 1063, 1064, 1065, 1066, 1067, 1068, 1069, 1070, 1071, 1072, 1073, 1074, 1075, 1076, 1077, 1078, 1079, 1080, 1081, 1082, 1083, 1084, 1085, 1086, 1087, 1088, 1089, 1090, 1091, 1092, 1093, 1094, 1095, 1096, 1097, 1098, 1099, 1100, 1101, 1102, 1103, 1104, 1105, 1106, 1107, 1108, 1109, 1110, 1111, 1112, 1113, 1114, 1115, 1116, 1117, 1118, 1119, 1120, 1121, 1122, 1123, 1124, 1125, 1126, 1127, 1128, 1129, 1130, 1131, 1132, 1133, 1134, 1135, 1136, 1137, 1138, 1139, 1140, 1141, 1142, 1143, 1144, 1145, 1146, 1147, 1148, 1149, 1150, 1151, 1152, 1153, 1154, 1155, 1156, 1157, 1158, 1159, 1160, 1161, 1162, 1163, 1164, 1165, 1166, 1167, 1168, 1169, 1170, 1171, 1172, 1173, 1174, 1175, 1176, 1177, 1178, 1179, 1180, 1181, 1182, 1183, 1184, 1185, 1186, 1187, 1188, 1189, 1190, 1191, 1192, 1193, 1194, 1195, 1196, 1197, 1198, 1199, 1200, 1201, 1202, 1203, 1204, 1205, 1206, 1207, 1208, 1209, 1210, 1211, 1212, 1213, 1214, 1215, 1216, 1217, 1218, 1219, 1220, 1221, 1222, 1223, 1224, 1225, 1226, 1227, 1228, 1229, 1230, 1231, 1232, 1233, 1234, 1235, 1236, 1237, 1238, 1239, 1240, 1241, 1242, 1243, 1244, 1245, 1246, 1247, 1248, 1249, 1250, 1251, 1252, 1253, 1254, 1255, 1256, 1257, 1258, 1259, 1260, 1261, 1262, 1263, 1264, 1265, 1266, 1267, 1268, 1269, 1270, 1271, 1272, 1273, 1274, 1275, 1276, 1277, 1278, 1279, 1280, 1281, 1282, 1283, 1284, 1285, 1286, 1287, 1288, 1289, 1290, 1291, 1292, 1293, 1294, 1295, 1296, 1297, 1298, 1299, 1300, 1301, 1302, 1303, 1304, 1305, 1306, 1307, 1308, 1309, 1310, 1311, 1312, 1313, 1314, 1315, 1316, 1317, 1318, 1319, 1320, 1321, 1322, 1323, 1324, 1325, 1326, 1327, 1328, 1329, 1330, 1331, 1332, 1333, 1334, 1335, 1336, 1337, 1338, 1339, 1340, 1341, 1342, 1343, 1344, 1345, 1346, 1347, 1348, 1349, 1350, 1351, 1352, 1353, 1354, 1355, 1356, 1357, 1358, 1359, 1360, 1361, 1362, 1363, 1364, 1365, 1366, 1367, 1368, 1369, 1370, 1371, 1372, 1373, 1374, 1375, 1376, 1377, 1378, 1379, 1380, 1381, 1382, 1383, 1384, 1385, 1386, 1387, 1388, 1389, 1390, 1391, 1392, 1393, 1394, 1395, 1396, 1397, 1398, 1399, 1400, 1401, 1402, 1403, 1404, 1405, 1406, 1407, 1408, 1409, 1410, 1411, 1412, 1413, 1414, 1415, 1416, 1417, 1418, 1419, 1420, 1421, 1422, 1423, 1424, 1425, 1426, 1427, 1428, 1429, 1430, 1431, 1432, 1433, 1434, 1435, 1436, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1442, 1443, 1444, 1445, 1446, 1447, 1448, 1449, 1450, 1451, 1452, 1453, 1454, 1455, 1456, 1457, 1458, 1459, 1460, 1461, 1462, 1463, 1464, 1465, 1466, 1467, 1468, 1469, 1470, 1471, 1472, 1473, 1474, 1475, 1476, 1477, 1478, 1479, 1480, 1481, 1482, 1483, 1484, 1485, 1486, 1487, 1488, 1489, 1490, 1491, 1492, 1493, 1494, 1495, 1496, 1497, 1498, 1499, 1500, 1501, 1502, 1503, 1504, 1505, 1506, 1507, 1508, 1509, 1510, 1511, 1512, 1513, 1514, 1515, 1516, 1517, 1518, 1519, 1520, 1521, 1522, 1523, 1524, 1525, 1526, 1527, 1528, 1529, 1530, 1531, 1532, 1533, 1534, 1535, 1536, 1537, 1538, 1539, 1540, 1541, 1542, 1543, 1544, 1545, 1546, 1547, 1548, 1549, 1550, 1551, 1552, 1553, 1554, 1555, 1556, 1557, 1558, 1559, 1560, 1561, 1562, 1563, 1564, 1565, 1566, 1567, 1568, 1569, 1570, 1571, 1572, 1573, 1574, 1575, 1576, 1577, 1578, 1579, 1580, 1581, 1582, 1583, 1584, 1585, 1586, 1587, 1588, 1589, 1590, 1591, 1592, 1593, 1594, 1595, 1596, 1597, 1598, 1599, 1600, 1601, 1602, 1603, 1604, 1605, 1606, 1607, 1608, 1609, 1610, 1611, 1612, 1613, 1614, 1615, 1616, 1617, 1618, 1619, 1620, 1621, 1622, 1623, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1627, 1628, 1629, 1630, 1631, 1632, 1633, 1634, 1635, 1636, 1637, 1638, 1639, 1640, 1641, 1642, 1643, 1644, 1645, 1646, 1647, 1648, 1649, 1650, 1651, 1652, 1653, 1654, 1655, 1656, 1657, 1658, 1659, 1660, 1661, 1662, 1663, 1664, 1665, 1666, 1667, 1668, 1669, 1670, 1671, 1672, 1673, 1674, 1675, 1676, 1677, 1678, 1679, 1680, 1681, 1682, 1683, 1684, 1685, 1686, 1687, 1688, 1689, 1690, 1691, 1692, 1693, 1694, 1695, 1696, 1697, 1698, 1699, 1700, 1701, 1702, 1703, 1704, 1705, 1706, 1707, 1708, 1709, 1710, 1711, 1712, 1713, 1714, 1715, 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there appears no sufficient ground for impeaching the genuineness of the latter. Now Antipas was certainly deposed between 1st April and 31st August A.D. 40,^a and if so, he could not at that time have reached his forty-fourth year, on the assumption that his reign commenced on the death of Herod in B.C. 3. *A fortiori* he could not have begun to reign in B.C. 2, and *à fortiori* still in B.C. 1.

4. We come next to the year B.C. 4; and several arguments derived from independent sources converge to the conclusion that the death of Herod must be assigned to this, and cannot be referred to any later year.

(a) An eclipse of the moon did actually occur at Jerusalem this year, on the night of 12-13th March, from 1h 48m. a.m. to 4h 12m. a.m.,^o and if we examine the events which are related by Josephus as happening between this eclipse on 12th March and the following Passover on 10th April (just before which Passover Herod died), we shall find that they exactly fill up, without exceeding or even over-crowding, the interval between these two *termini*. Indeed, the very adaptation of the intermediate occurrences during this limited space furnishes an argument in itself for placing the death of Herod in B.C. 4. This will appear from the following table, in which every minute circumstance is set down, that the fullest weight may be given to the objection insisted on by some (but who cannot have sufficiently examined Josephus for this purpose), that the facts narrated cannot all be compressed into the interval between the eclipse on 12th March and the Passover on 10th April B.C. 4.^p

B.C. 4.

March 12. The Rabbins are burnt alive at the stake by Herod at Jericho. Ant., xvii 6, 4.

12-13. An eclipse of the moon the same night. *Id.*

14. Herod's disorder increases, and by the advice of his physicians he crosses from Jericho to Callirrhoe, on the eastern coast of the Dead Sea, where he tries the warm baths. Ant., xvii 6, 5, Bell., i. 33, 5.

19. He is plunged into a vessel of oil, and is almost killed by it. *Id.*

20. He despairs of life in consequence, and distributes a donation to the army, and returns to Jericho and summons thither the chief men of Judæa, who, as they arrive, are imprisoned in the Hippodrome. Ant., xvii. 6, 5, Bell., i. 33, 5 and 6.

27. Letters come from Rome, and Herod revives a little. Ant., xvii 7, 1; Bell., i. 33, 7.

28. He relapses, and makes an attempt upon his own life; and Antipater, on hearing the outcry in consequence, tries to bribe his gaoler, as if Herod were dead, to release him, but Herod is informed of it, and instantly orders the execution of Antipater. Ant., xvii. 7, 1, Bell., i. 33, 7.

April 1. Death of Herod on the fifth day inclusive from that of Antipater. The prisoners in the Hippodrome are immediately released, and then, but on the same day, the death of Herod is publicly announced. Ant., xvii. 8, 1, Bell., i. 33, 8.

8. Herod is buried at Herodium, $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Jerusalem, and the mourning of seven days from the death of Herod ends. Ant., xvii. 8, 3, Bell. ii 1, 1.

^a See A.D. 40, No 1592

^o See B.C. 4, No 905

^p See B.C. 4, Nos 905-924

B C 4

April 9 At the close of the mourning Archelaus offers sacrifices in the Temple, and the mourning for the Rabbins begins the same evening. Ant., xvii 8, 4; Bell, ii 1, 1

- 10 A disturbance in the city by the friends of the Rabbins, when Archelaus sends an officer to appease them by soft words, but he is pelted, and then others are sent, with no better success, and then a band of soldiers, and then the whole army, when 3000 of the people are slain, and at this time the sacrifices at the Passover were proceeding. Ant., xvii. 9, 2 & 3; Bell, ii. 1, 2 & 3.

In this table, different persons may perhaps entertain different opinions as to the exact time to be allowed for each particular event, but the reader cannot fail to see that the occurrences, upon the whole, adapt themselves remarkably to the actual interval between the eclipse on 12th March and the Passover on 10th April. Should any portion appear to demand somewhat more space, it may be conceded, for the suppression of the *émeute* caused by the friends of the Rabbins has been placed on 10th April, the first day of the Passover, whereas Josephus states only that the people were engaged upon their sacrifices and as the Passover was an eight-day festival, and sacrifices were offered from first to last, the tumult on account of the Rabbins may have occurred not on the first but on the last day of the Feast, that is, not on the 10th but on the 17th April, so that seven days more, if necessary, might be allowed to the foregoing series of events.

(b) The next argument for placing the death of Herod in B C. 4 has not the same cogency as that derived from the eclipse, but is entitled to consideration as harmonising with the conclusion drawn from other quarters. Josephus describes Herod as being at the time of the eclipse (12th March B C. 4) 'about his seventieth year,'^a and as Josephus is here making the *most* of his age, I understand him to mean that Herod was not in his seventieth year, but close upon it, i. e. in his sixty-ninth year. Josephus, in his other work, the 'Wars,' expresses the same thing by saying that Herod was 'well nigh of the age of seventy'^r and had Herod already attained his seventieth year, Josephus would have so written; and this again leads to the inference that Herod was in his sixty-ninth year. Supposing this to be so, have we any notice of Herod's age previously, from which we can determine with what year B C. the sixty-ninth year of Herod would coincide? In B C. 47, Antipater, on his return to Judæa from escorting Cæsar from Egypt to Asia Minor, appointed his son Herod to be captain of Galilee, when quite a youth, 'for he was only fifteen years of age.'^s It is admitted on all hands that there is a mistake of the transcriber, for not only would a boy of fifteen be incapable of government, but as Herod certainly died, as all agree, either in B C. 4 or within a short time before or after it, and as at his death he was in his sixty-ninth year, he could not by any computation have been fifteen in B C. 47. The approved and, indeed, only suggested correction, is the alteration of the first figure by substituting 25 for 15 and, as Josephus is here making the *least*, and not the *most*, of Herod's age, we may conclude from this expression that Herod had then completed his twenty-fifth year, and was therefore in his twenty-sixth year. But if Herod was in his twenty-sixth year in B C. 47, he would be in his sixty-ninth year in B C. 4

^a Περὶ εβδομημιστῶν ἔτος ἦν Ant., xvii 8, 1

^r Πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτος αὐτῷ ἐγγύς ἦν Ant.

^s Ἦν μὲν ὅγ μ' ἔτος ἦν αὐτῷ μὲν ταύτῃ B C. 47, 1

Ant. ii 2, an 1. E. H. ii 10, 4

(c) We have already remarked that at the hearing of Archelaus before Augustus, in the Midsummer of the year in which Herod died, Caius, the adopted son of Augustus, was present, and it is clear that Lucius his brother, the other adopted son of Augustus, was not present, or the names of Caius and Lucius would necessarily have been coupled together. This mention of Caius and omission of Lucius is just what we should expect at a public audience in B.C. 4. Caius had assumed the *toga virilis*, and been admitted to councils of state in the preceding year B.C. 5,¹ but Lucius did not attain the same privileges until B.C. 2.² Caius, therefore, would naturally be present at an important public discussion in B.C. 4, but Lucius would not.

(d) Let us next see how far the death of Herod in B.C. 4 is consistent with the length assigned to the reigns of his three sons, Archelaus, Philip, and Antipas.

Archelaus, according to Dion, was dethroned in A.D. 6, and, as Dion states this expressly and unmistakably, we should have no right to question his testimony if it stood alone, but borne out and confirmed as it is by the incidental remark of Josephus, that the census under Cyrenus, consequent upon the dethronement of Archelaus, was completed at least before 2nd September A.D. 7, we cannot entertain a doubt that the date given by Dion is correct,³ and if so, then, as Archelaus was banished in his tenth year, he must have commenced his reign on the death of his father in B.C. 4.

Herod Philip, another of Herod's sons, and the tetrarch of Trachonitis, reigned thirty-seven years, and died in the twentieth year of Tiberius.⁴ But the twentieth year of Tiberius was from 19th August A.D. 33 to 19th August A.D. 34, and if, as we have supposed, Herod died a little before the Passover, say on 1st April B.C. 4, the thirty-seventh year of Herod Philip, reckoned from the death of his father, would be complete on 1st April A.D. 34, and if so, part of his thirty-seventh year would coincide with part of the twentieth year of Tiberius, that is, the interval from 19th August A.D. 33 to 1st April A.D. 34 would fall within the thirty-seventh year of Philip and also within the twentieth year of Tiberius.

Next, as to the reign of Herod Antipas. We have already referred to certain coins struck by him or at his mint, some of which have the stamp of the forty-third year of his reign, and others the stamp of his forty-fourth year.⁵ Eckhel suggests that Vallantius and Gallandus, on whose authority the latter coins depend, may have been mistaken, and have misread the inscriptions,⁶ but there is no other reason, as it seems, for questioning the existence or genuineness of these coins than the supposed difficulty of reconciling them with the actual reign of Herod Antipas. But if we place the death of Herod, as we have done, in B.C. 4, the coins are capable of an easy solution. The forty-third year of Herod, on this hypothesis, would commence in the spring of A.D. 39, and his forty-fourth year in the spring of A.D. 40. What then was the exact time when Herod Antipas was deposed? We learn from Josephus that it was in the fourth year of the reign of King Agrippa over the tetrarchy of Trachonitis,⁷ and this tetrarchy had been conferred on Agrippa at the beginning of April A.D. 37.⁸ The deprivation, therefore, of Herod Antipas and the succession of Agrippa to his tetrarchy, as it fell in Agrippa's fourth year, could not have been earlier than April A.D. 40. It was, however, some time before 31st August A.D. 40, for on that day

¹ See B.C. 5, No. 839.

² See B.C. 2, No. 959.

³ See A.D. 6, No. 1011.

⁴ *Ἐκαστὸν μὲν ἐναυτίῳ τῆς ἑβδόμου ἀρχῆς, ἡγεμονεύων*
ἐκ αὐτοῦ ἐντὶ καὶ τὸ ἑξῆς Ant., xviii. 4, 6.

⁵ See ante, p. x.

⁷ Eckhel iii. 486.

⁸ (Agrippa) *τῆς τετραρχίας ἐς τριεὶς ἔτη*, *τῷ τετάρτῳ δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἡρώδου προσειληφέναι* Ant., xix. 8, 2.

⁶ See A.D. 37 No. 1603.

Caligula returned to Rome from his Germanic expedition, and in Agrippa's letter to the emperor written shortly afterwards on the subject of the erection of Caligula's statue in the Temple at Jerusalem, Agrippa alludes to the banishment of Herod Antipas, and the gift of his tetrarchy to himself.^b Assuming, therefore, that Antipas was dethroned some time between 1st April A.D. 40 and 31st August A.D. 40, the coins stamped with his forty-third year may very well have been struck by Antipas in A.D. 39, before he sailed to Rome, and those stamped with his forty-fourth year may very well have been struck in the spring of A.D. 40, before he was exiled, and *à fortiori* before the news of his banishment reached Judaea.

(c) The death of Herod in the spring of B.C. 4 is in harmony with the fact before referred to, that Herod Philip built the city of Julias in honour of Julia, the daughter of Augustus, who was disgraced in the third quarter of B.C. 2; for the interval from the death of Herod in B.C. 4 to the third quarter of B.C. 2 would afford sufficient time for Herod Philip to reach Rome and return to Judaea, and then to enlarge the city, and name it after Julia before the intelligence of her disgrace. According to Eckhel,^c from the evidence of coins, Julia was founded in B.C. 3; and if so, the death of Herod could not have occurred in any *later* year than B.C. 4.

(f) Herod, according to Josephus, began his reign *nominaly* in the consulship of C. Domitius Calvinus and C. Asinius Pollio, i.e. in B.C. 40;^d and Dion places the banishment of Archelaus in the consulship of Æmil. Lepidus and Lucius Arruntius, i.e. in A.D. 6.^e The interval from Herod's accession to Archelaus's dethronement is thus (including both extremes) forty-six years, to be divided between Herod and Archelaus. But Josephus assigns thirty-seven years to Herod, and nine, according to the 'Wars,' to Archelaus; and this would be so if we place the death of Herod in B.C. 4, and reckon that year into his reign, and omit it from the reign of Archelaus. But in the 'Antiquities' and the 'Autobiography,'^f Josephus assigns ten years to Archelaus, which, with the thirty-seven years of Herod, would make forty-seven, so that Josephus must here count the year of Herod's death twice over, i.e. first in the reign of Herod and then in the reign of Archelaus, and thus the year of the death common to both reigns would fall in B.C. 4. Again, Josephus dates the reign of Herod *actually* from the year B.C. 37,^g and the interval from this to the expulsion of Archelaus in A.D. 6 would be forty-three years, and Josephus divides this between Herod and Archelaus by assigning thirty-four years to Herod,^h and nine or ten years as before to Archelaus; so that here again, in the computation of the *actual* as well as the *nominal* reign of Herod, Josephus refers the death of Herod to the year B.C. 4.

We shall now consider two objections that may be advanced against the hypothesis that Herod's death occurred in B.C. 4.

1. It may be said that John the Baptist, according to St. Luke, opened his ministry in the fifteenth year of Tiberius,ⁱ i.e. after 19th August A.D. 28, and that Jesus, who followed John, could not have begun to preach until toward the close of A.D. 28 at the earliest; and yet Luke tells us that Jesus 'when he began His ministry was of about thirty years;'^j so that His birth must be assigned to the close of B.C. 3,

^b See A.D. 40, No. 1569.

^c See B.C. 40, No. 1498.

^d See A.D. 6, No. 1011.

^e See Tables, A.D. 6, No. 1011.

^f See Tables, B.C. 37, No. 528.

^g See Table, A.D. 1, No. 305.

^h HL 312.

ⁱ *Ἐν ἑτρί δι' πεντεκαιδέτην τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος κ.τ.λ.* Luke iii. 1.

^j *Καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν οὕκωρα ἄρχόμενος.* Luke iii. 23. It cannot be meant that He was beginning his thirtieth year, for then the expression would have been *ἐν τῷ τριαντηστίῳ ἀρχόμενος*.

and then Herod, it is argued, could not, as we have supposed, have died in B.C. 4, as Christ was certainly born in the lifetime of Herod.

Such is the objection; but it may be shown to be untenable. The argument assumes the meaning of Luke to be that Jesus when He began was just about thirty years old, that is, within a few days, or weeks, or months of that exact age. But this interpretation proves too much; for if Christ was thirty years old in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, i.e. at the close of A.D. 28, He was born at the close of B.C. 3, and Herod must have died at the earliest in the spring of B.C. 2. But the latter fact may be pronounced *absolutely impossible*; for in the first place there was no eclipse of the moon in that year; and secondly, Archelaus, who was banished in A.D. 6, could not have reigned either nine or ten years, as Josephus states was the case; and thirdly, Herod Philip, who died in the twentieth year of Tiberius, could not have reigned thirty-seven years; and lastly, Herod Antipas, who was deposed in A.D. 40, could not have struck coins in the forty-third and forty-fourth years of his reign.

Luke then must be taken to mean not that Jesus was of the age of thirty years and a few weeks or months more or less, but only in round numbers that He was 'of about thirty years.' The evangelist might fix on the number thirty not only from the common usage of mankind in reckoning by decades, omitting the units, but also from the circumstance that the Levites, the Jewish priests, commenced their office at the age of thirty.* Luke then intends only that Jesus was nearer thirty than forty or twenty, as the expression 'about 300' might signify nearer 300 than 400 or 200. From the language of Luke on other occasions we should rather infer that in this place he employs the words 'of about thirty' with some degree of latitude; for he tells us that Jesus, when taken by His parents to Jerusalem at the Feast of the Passover, was 'twelve years old,'¹ not 'of about twelve;' so that when he speaks of Jesus as 'of about thirty,' he intends something different from thirty exactly. Again, he represents the transfiguration as occurring 'about eight days' (ὥσει ἡμέραι ὀκτώ, Luke ix. 28) after the acknowledgment by Peter that Jesus was the Christ; but both Matthew^m and Markⁿ say it was 'six days after.' Here therefore Luke, in calling six days 'about eight days,' uses the same laxity of language as in the passage relative to the age of Christ. It is possible, nay even probable, that Luke at the time he was writing did not know how old our Lord at the commencement of His ministry really was, and therefore purposely expressed himself in such general terms. Joseph had been long since dead, and according to the ordinary course of nature the Virgin Mary also would be no longer living. From whom then was Luke, writing at a distance from Judæa, to ascertain the fact? and after all, what did it matter to the purpose in hand, whether Jesus when He began was just thirty, or two or three years more? We may also hazard the conjecture that the difficulty, if any, in the passage of Luke, may have arisen from the error of some transcriber. Jesus began His ministry in the spring of A.D. 29, when He was thirty-three years old; and Luke perhaps wrote, that Jesus when He began was τριῶν τριάκοντα or thirty-three, and in the MS. the reduplication of the *τρία* was not observed (ΤΡΙΩΝΤΙΑΚΟΝΤΑ), and, one of the two *τρία* being accidentally omitted, the copyist wrote 'of about thirty' instead of 'about thirty-three.'

2. Another objection urged against placing the death of Herod in the year B.C. 4,

* Numbers iv. 3.

¹ Ὁρε ἐγίνετο ἑτῶν δώδεκα. Luke ii. 42.

^m xvii. 1.

ⁿ ix. 2.

ances from the statement of Josephus that Herod reigned thirty-seven years from his appointment to the kingdom of Judæa by the Romans, and thirty-four years from the death of Antigonus, the last of the Maccabean princes,⁹ whereas it is said that if Herod died B.C. 4 he had not reigned thirty-six years from the one event, or thirty-three years from the other.

In order to deal with this argument, and to understand what force is due to it, we must endeavour *in limine* to ascertain with some degree of precision, First, at what time Herod was declared king by the Romans, from which is to be dated what may be designated his *nominal* reign, and, Secondly, at what time occurred the death of Antigonus, from which began what may be called Herod's *actual* reign. We shall then proceed to determine in what sense Josephus is to be understood when he ascribes thirty-seven years in the one case, and thirty-four years in the other to the reign of Herod.

(a) As to the *nominal* reign of this king, all chronologers agree in assigning the commencement of it to B.C. 40, and we can arrive at the exact period of the year without much difficulty.

Early in B.C. 40, Pacorus and Barzaphernes, at the head of two divisions of Parthians, invade Judæa, the former proceeding along the coast and the latter through Galilee, and Pacorus advances against the two brothers Herod and Phasaelus, who were then in Jerusalem, about the time of the Pentecost, which was on 10th May.[†]

Pacorus, under pretext of reconciling differences, is shortly afterwards admitted into the city. Bell., i. 13, 3, Ant., xiv. 13, 4.

Hyrcanus and Phasaelus then go on an embassy to Barzaphernes in Galilee, and appearances of friendship are for some time kept up, but eventually Barzaphernes makes them prisoners. Bell., i. 13, 4. Ant., xiv. 13, 5.

Secret intelligence of this treachery is brought to Herod, and he and his adherents (9000 in all) quit Jerusalem at night. Bell., i. 13, 7, Ant., xiv. 13, 7.

The next day the Parthians are masters of the city, and make Antigonus king. Bell., i. 13, 9; Ant., xiv. 13, 10. (This was about 5th July B.C. 40 for at the fast, on 5th October B.C. 37, Antigonus had reigned three years and three months,[‡] and if so, he had been declared king by the Parthians about 5th July B.C. 40.)

Herod fights with his pursuers at Herodium, now the Frank Mountain, seven and a half miles distant from Jerusalem. Bell., i. 13, 8, Ant., xiv. 13, 9.

He meets his brother Joseph at Therssa, and commits his family to him, and posts him with a garrison at Masada in Idumæa, a place well stored for a siege, and proceeds himself to Petra. Bell., i. 13, 8, Ant., xiv. 13, 9.

Herod is repulsed by Malchus, king of Petra, and retires towards Egypt. He sleeps the first night in a temple, and the next night reaches Rhinocolura, on the borders of Egypt, where he hears of the death of Phasaelus. Bell., i. 14, 2, Ant., xiv. 14, 2.

Herod cannot procure a passage from Rhinocolura to Alexandria by sea, but is at length allowed to pass thither by land. Bell., i. 14, 2. Ant., xiv. 14, 2.

At Alexandria Cleopatra detains him, and tries to prevent his further progress. Ant., xiv. 14, 2, Bell., i. 14, 2.

He sets sail for Rome, though he would have to encounter the winter on his

⁹ Βασιλεύσας μεθ' ὃ μὲν ἀνέβλεν Ἀντίγονου ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα, μεθ' ὃ δὲ ὑπὸ Παρθαίων ἀποδέχεντο ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέρᾳ.

[†] See B.C. 40, No. 450.

[‡] See B.C. 37, No. 628.

voyage, *μῆτε τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ὑποδείσας*. Bell., i. 14, 2; and see Ant., xiv. 14, 2.

He sails by way of Pamphylia and is overtaken by a storm, and reaches Rhodes with difficulty. Bell., i. 14, 3; Ant., xiv. 14, 3.

At Rhodes he fits out another ship and sails to Brundisium, and then proceeds to Rome, which he reaches in due time. Bell., i. 14, 3; Ant., xiv. 14, 3.

During his absence his kinsfolk are distressed for water at Masada but are relieved by the rains (which usually occur about a month after the Feast of Tabernacles, and therefore late in October). Bell., i. 15, 1; Ant., xiv. 14, 6.

The summary may thus be stated. Herod was at Jerusalem at the Pentecost on 10th May B.C. 40. His flight from Jerusalem was about 5th July B.C. 40. After settling the garrison at Masada, and a detention for some time at Alexandria, he may have set sail from Egypt about 1st August B.C. 40, and would arrive at Rhodes about the middle of the same August. After fitting out a ship he would again set sail about the end of September B.C. 40, and would arrive at Rome some time in November of the same year. He remained at Rome seven days only, and it was during this brief interval that by a decree of the senate he was declared king of Judæa.

2. We have to fix the commencement of Herod's *actual* reign, i.e. from the death of Antigonus.

The capture of Jerusalem by Herod was in the year B.C. 37. Dion Cassius, indeed, places it in B.C. 38;^a but Josephus, in a matter peculiarly affecting his own people, is entitled to greater credit; and the series of events related by Josephus shows conclusively that Jerusalem could not have fallen *before* the year B.C. 37.^b Assuming this to be so, the capture of the city was on the day of the Fast A.D. 37, that is, on 5th October.^c Antigonus was then made a prisoner, and sent to Mark Antony at Antioch;^d and here, at the instance of Herod, Antigonus was beheaded. The execution of Antigonus may be placed, therefore, in November B.C. 37; and from this event, which closed the line of the Maccabean princes,^e commenced what may be called the *actual* reign of Herod.

Having ascertained with sufficient exactness the two *termini* from which the nominal reign and the actual reign of Herod are respectively to be dated, we have next to inquire in what sense Josephus attributes thirty-seven years to the nominal, and thirty-four years to the actual, reign of Herod.

We may observe, in the first place, that Josephus professes to and generally does write with no little precision. Thus, in the case of the Roman Emperors, Josephus gives us the exact length of each reign in the most particular manner. He tells us that Augustus reigned 57 years 6 months and 2 days;^f Tiberius, 22 years 5 months and 3 days;^g Caligula, 3 years and 8 months;^h Claudius, 13 years 5 months and 20 days;ⁱ Nero, 13 years and 8 days;^j Galba, 7 months and 7 days;^k Otho, 3 months

^a Jos., Ant., xiv. 14, 4 and 5.

^b Ἐπὶ μὲν δὲ τοῦ τε Κλαυδίου τοῦ τε Ναυδίου τοῦδ' οὕτως ἐγένετο. Dion., xlii. 22. See A.D. 37, No. 526.

^c See B.C. 39, Nos. 486-487; B.C. 38, Nos. 467, 503-510; B.C. 37, No. 587.

^d Τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς ἡμέρας. Ant., xiv. 15, 4.

^e Ant., xv. 1, 2.

^f Παύσανθ' οὕτως ἡ τοῦ Ἀσκαμανίου ἀρχὴ μετὰ ἔτη

ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑκατὰ ἑξ. Ant., xiv. 16, 1. See Tables, B.C. 37, No. 528.

^g Ant., xviii. 2, 2; Bell., ii. 9, 1.

^h Ant., xviii. 6, 10; but, according to the Wars, 22 years, 6 months, and 3 days. Bell., ii. 9, 5.

ⁱ Ant., xix. 2, 5; Bell., ii. 11, 1.

^j Ant., xx. 8, 1; Bell., ii. 12, 8.

^k Bell., iv. 9, 2.

^l Bell., iv. 9, 2.

and 2 days,⁴ and Vitellius, 8 months and 5 days.⁵ Josephus may or may not be correct in his calculations, but this manifests, at all events, a desire, where he had the means, of marking the duration of reigns even to the minutest fraction.

The Jewish kings, however, were comparatively insignificant, and the world at large paid little attention to the times of their accession or demise. The historian therefore, with respect to *them*, had not the same sources of information, and could not descend into the same details. The reigns of Agrippa I and Agrippa II, indeed, may have been well known to the historian, as they were his contemporaries,⁶ but not so the reigns of their predecessors Herod the Great and his three sons, Archelaus, Antipas, and Philip, as to whom Josephus could get no precise information. He could not, for instance, discover from any archives the day or month of Herod's accession or of his demise. All he could learn was the year. Herod, he says, was appointed king by the Romans *nominally* in the consulship of C. Donnius Calvinus and C. Asinius Pollio,⁷ that is, in B. C. 40, and Herod became king *actually* in the consulship of M. Agrippa and Carinus Gallus,⁸ that is, in B. C. 37.

It is obvious that the reign of Herod might be computed in three different modes, as, 1. From the commencement of the reign, *de facto*, if the time was known, that is, supposing Herod to have been appointed king *nominally* in November B. C. 40, and *actually* in November B. C. 37, the first year of the nominal reign might be reckoned from November B. C. 40, and the first year of the actual reign might be reckoned from November B. C. 37. 2. The computation of the reign might be regulated by the *Jewish* year, which began on 1st Nisan (March or April), and the first year of the reign might then be reckoned retrospectively, and carried back to 1st Nisan preceding the accession, so that the second year of the reign should begin on 1st Nisan following next after the accession. 3. The reign might be adapted to the Roman consular year, which began on 1st January, and then the first year of the reign might be carried back to 1st January preceding the accession, so that the second year should begin from 1st January next after the accession. We shall make some remarks upon each of these modes of computation.

1. The natural supposition would be that Josephus computed the years from the actual commencement of the reign, more particularly as such is his practice in the case of the Roman Emperors. Thus the Jewish war, which broke out in the month of Artemisius, or May, A. D. 66, is said to have commenced in the *twelfth year* of Nero,⁹ that is, in the twelfth year as current from 13th October A. D. 65 to 13th October A. D. 66. Jotapata, which was taken in the month of Panemus, or July, A. D. 67, is said to have fallen in the thirteenth year of Nero,¹⁰ that is, as current from 13th October A. D. 66 to 13th October A. D. 67. And again, the temple, which was burnt in the month of Lous, or August, A. D. 70, is said to have been thus destroyed in the second year of Vespasian, that is, in the second year as current from 1st July A. D. 70 to 1st July A. D. 71.¹¹ But in all these instances, Josephus was referring to reigns where the days of the accession were familiarly known, and where the years of the reigns were commonly employed by the world generally to designate the dates of occurrences. But in the case of the Jewish kings (with the exception of the two Agrippas, who were

⁴ Bell, ii. 8, 9.

⁵ Bell, ii. 11, 4.

⁶ Bell, ii. 11, 4. No 1680, A. D. 40, No 1728.

⁷ Ant, xii. 11, 5.

⁸ Ant, xii. 16, 4.

⁹ Δωδεκάτ' μὲν ἔτει τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας Bell, ii. 14, 4.

¹⁰ Bell, ii. 7, 8, 6.

¹¹ Ἐτει δευτέρῳ τῆς Οὐερσπασιάνου ἡγεμονίας Bell, vi. 4, 9.

Josephus's contemporaries) the same mode of reckoning was impracticable, as the exact times of their accession could not be recovered.

2. Josephus may have computed the reign of Herod by reference to the Jewish ecclesiastical year, which began on 1st Nisan. In fact the Jews are stated in the Rabbinical writings to have reckoned the years of their princes in this way—not from the actual day of accession, but from 1st Nisan preceding, and then to have attributed an additional year for every subsequent 1st Nisan, or New Year's day, that occurred during the reign¹. So the Egyptians are said to have calculated the years of a king—not from the time of his assuming the crown, but from their month of Thoth.^m To apply this mode of computation to the case in hand, if Herod began to reign *nominally* in November B.C. 40, and *actually* in November B.C. 37, the first year would be dated in the one case from 1st Nisan B.C. 40, and in the other from 1st Nisan B.C. 37, and the second year would be said to commence in the one case from 1st Nisan next after November B.C. 40, and in the other from 1st Nisan next after November B.C. 37. In this way, if Herod lived but a day beyond 1st Nisan B.C. 4, a new year would have begun. According to our tables (see B.C. 4, No. 924), Herod probably died on 1st April B.C. 4, and thus, as the Jewish sacred year had commenced on 7th March previously, Herod on 1st April had already advanced nearly a month into the new year. By this mode of computation, therefore, Herod would be said to have reigned thirty-seven years from his accession in November B.C. 40, and thirty-four years from his accession in B.C. 37.

3. Josephus, as writing at Rome and for a Roman public, might, when speaking of a prince's reign, have had in his mind the commencement of the Roman consular year, known universally to begin on 1st January. Thus if Herod was king *nominally* in November B.C. 40, Josephus might naturally consider 1st January B.C. 39 as the commencement of the second year. So if Herod became king *de facto* by the death of Antigonus in November B.C. 37, he might consider 1st January B.C. 36 as the commencement of the second year. Assuming that Herod died on 1st April B.C. 4, the year from 1st January B.C. 4 would thus be reckoned as another year, though only a few months of it had elapsed, and in this way Herod would be said, at the time of his death in the spring of B.C. 4, to have reigned thirty-seven *consular* years from his appointment by the Romans in B.C. 40, and thirty-four *consular* years from the death of Antigonus in B.C. 37.

It is impossible, in the author's judgment, to say whether Josephus regulated his computations of Herod's reign by Jewish years from 1st Nisan, or by consular years from 1st January, but unless he adopted one or other of these modes, we cannot reconcile the historian to himself, or make his statements harmonise with the general tenor of history. If, on the other hand, we only suppose him to have had recourse to one or other of these two modes, we find him at once consistent with himself and others. After all, in reckoning after this fashion, he would be doing no more than what, for the sake of convenience, is a usual practice with all writers, viz. to treat current years as complete years. If a war began in A.D. 2 and ended in A.D. 4, it would be a common expression to say in general terms that it lasted three years, though, if the exact dates of the commencement and conclusion were ascertained, it

¹ Non numerant in regibus nisi a Nisano Gemara Bob. Nisanus initium anni regibus eo dies quidem unus in anno (viz. post eundem Nisanum) iuxta annu computatur. *Id.* Unus dies in anni fine pro anno nu-

meratur. *Id.*, see Anger, p. 9 note (τ), Wieseler, 62, note 1.

^m See Anger, 16.

might be found that the actual duration was not quite two complete years " In some cases an historian could not by any industry come at the true dates, and where he could, so strait-laced a reckoning would serve only to clog the style with unnecessary precision That Josephus, at all events, availed himself of this latitude, not only where he was obliged for want of better materials, but also for convenience where he might have acquired more exact information, will abundantly appear from the numerous examples to which we shall now call attention.

1 The reign of Hyrcanus commenced on the day of the Fast, or 22nd September B.C. 63,^o and terminated three months before the Fast, or about Midsummer B.C. 40,^p so that Hyrcanus did not actually reign twenty-three years complete, and yet Josephus attributes to him twenty-four years,^q that is, the Jewish year from 1st Nisan B.C. 63, or the consular year from 1st January B.C. 63, was reckoned as one year, and the Jewish year from 1st Nisan B.C. 40, or the consular year from 1st January B.C. 40, was reckoned as another year.

2 The capture of Jerusalem by Herod at the Fast, 5th October, B.C. 37, is said to have occurred at an interval of twenty-seven years from the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey at the Fast, 22nd September, B.C. 63,^r that is, the space between these two events embraced twenty-seven Jewish years, as reckoned from every 1st Nisan, and twenty-seven consulships as reckoned from every 1st January.

3. Antigonus, the last of the Asmonean princes, was put to death by Antony, at the suggestion of Herod towards the close of B.C. 37,^s and this event is said by Josephus to have happened after a sway of the Asmoneans of 126 years.^t The dynasty of the Maccabees dated from the peace between Antiochus Eupator and Judas Maccabæus in the year B.C. 162. Thus in the 150th year of the Seleucian era (i.e. some time between 1st October B.C. 163 and 1st October B.C. 162), Judas Maccabæus laid siege to the Macedonian citadel called the Acra, in Jerusalem, and threw up mounds, and constructed engines, and pressed the siege with such vigour, that messengers were despatched to Antiochus to bring immediate succour, or the fortress must fall " Antiochus then collected an army of 100,000 foot and 20,000 horse, and attacked Bethsura, the frontier town, and much time was consumed in the siege of it " Judas then marched to the relief of Bethsura, when a battle followed, and Judas was defeated and returned to Jerusalem " Then Antiochus, leaving a detachment to continue the operations against Bethsura, marched himself against Jerusalem and besieged it, and this siege was also of long continuance " Antiochus was then straitened for provisions and perplexed by troubles in his own kingdom, and eventually offered terms of peace which were accepted by Judas, and from that peace

^a See A.D. 2 No 951

^b See A.D. 64, No 81 ^p See B.C. 40, No 454

^c ἔπειθε δὲ ὁ Ἰρκαῖος τίσασθαι καὶ εἰσσεύσθαι Ant,

xx 10, 1

^d Μετὰ τῆς εἰσευθῆς καὶ ἐστὶ Ant, xiv 6, 4

^e See B.C. 37, No 528

^f Ant, xiv 16, 4

^g Ant, xiv 9, 3

^h χρόνος ἐπὶ βετο πόλεις περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν Ant,

xiv 9, 4 and 5

ⁱ Ant, xiv 9, 1 & 5

^j Πολλὰ δὲ χρόνια τὸ ἔργον πολιορκιῶν Ant, xiv 9, 5

The distress of the besieged was the ground given by reason of the Sabbatic year which was current from 1st Nisan B.C. 163 to 1st Nisan B.C. 162 Τροφὴ δ' αὐτοῖς

ἐπελάλπει, τοῦ μὲν βυτος ἱκανηλαμένον καρποῦ, τῇ δὲ γῆν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μὴ γεωργημένης, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ εἶναι τὸ ἔσθονον ἔτος ἀσπορίου μεμνημένος Ant, xiv 9, 5 Assuming Josephus to mean that the Sabbatic year was current at the time of the siege in the 150th year of the Seleucian era, from 1st October B.C. 163 to 1st October B.C. 162, it is clear that the Sabbatic year was not reckoned, as some suppose, from the commencement of the civil year in the autumn, for then, as it would have begun in the autumn of B.C. 164, no part of it would have fallen within the 150th Seleucian year which began in the autumn of B.C. 163 But if the Sabbatic year commenced with the sacred year on 1st Nisan B.C. 163 one half of it would fall within

dated the dominion of the Maccabees.⁷ Thus, to recapitulate, Judas began the siege of the Macedonian Acra in the 150th year of the Seleucian era, i.e. not earlier than 1st October B.C. 163, and when only three months of B.C. 163 then remained, and after that was a long siege of Bethsura, and then another long siege of Jerusalem, and these and the other events before the conclusion of peace could not evidently have all occurred within the short space of the three remaining months of B.C. 163, but must have run into the commencement at least of the following year B.C. 162. If so, the dynasty of the Asmoneans dated from B.C. 162, and then, as Josephus makes it end in B.C. 37, and to have lasted 126 years, he must have reckoned either by Jewish years from every 1st Nisan, or by Roman consular years from every 1st January, and have counted the fragments of the years B.C. 162 and B.C. 37 as whole years.

4 The earthquake in Judaea in the spring of B.C. 31, and the battle of Actium on 2nd September B.C. 31, are both placed by Josephus in the seventh year of the reign of Herod, from the death of Antigonus in November B.C. 37.⁸ In fact Herod had not in either case completed his sixth year, but the period from November B.C. 37 to September B.C. 31, included the whole or parts of seven successive Jewish years from 1st Nisan B.C. 37, and of seven successive consular years from 1st January B.C. 37.

5. We read in Josephus, 'Now in this year, being the thirteenth of Herod, the greatest calamities overtook the country.'⁹ Of what year is the historian speaking? Of the year B.C. 25, as may be thus shown. Josephus relates that a dreadful famine arose in this year (the thirteenth of Herod) from the failure of the crops, from the want of rain in the past autumn and the then present spring, and that from the dearth arose plagues amongst the people, but that nevertheless the seed was sown as usual, in the hope of better success at the next harvest. So ended the first year of the famine. But in the next year (the fourteenth of Herod) there was a failure of the crops for the second time (μὴδὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἀνέστης τῆς γῆς, Ant., xv. 9, 1), and Herod now became the subject of invective from the people, who, of course, attributed their distress to the want of foresight in their ruler. In this emergency Herod sent into Egypt for corn. The Romans were very jealous of the exportation of corn from Egypt to any country but Rome itself. It happened, however, fortunately enough that just at this juncture Petronius had the prefecture of Egypt,¹⁰ and Petronius was a personal friend of Herod, so that the latter had no difficulty in obtaining leave from him to export corn to Judaea. Herod now regained the good will of his subjects by supplying their present necessities, and by furnishing seed which the following year produced an abundant harvest. About the same time with these importations from Egypt (περὶ δὲ τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνου, Ant., xv. 9, 3), Ælius Gallus, whose place Petronius had taken as governor of Egypt, made an expedition into Arabia by command of the emperor, and Herod sent him 500 auxiliaries. Here we have a clue to the exact period of which Josephus is speaking. Ælius Gallus made his campaign into Arabia, and Petronius succeeded him as governor of Egypt, in the year B.C. 24.¹¹ This, then, was the year in which Herod, by favour of his friend Petronius, procured corn from Egypt, and if so, the preceding year, the first of the famine and the thirteenth of Herod, was the year B.C. 25. It follows that Josephus computed the first year of

the 150th Seleucian year. It may be doubted, however, whether Josephus does not speak simply of the effect of the Sabbath year during the siege, without asserting that it was the actually current. See B.C. 37, No 525.

⁷ Ant., xii. 9, 7.

⁸ Ἐβδόμη ἔτος Ἡρόδου τῆς βασιλείας ἔσται Ant.,

xv. 5, 2. Κατ' ἔτος μὲν τῆς βασιλείας ἔβδομον Dell, i. 19, 3. See B.C. 81, No 619.

⁹ Jos Ant., xv. 9, 1.

¹⁰ Περωνίου τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἀπὸ Καίσαρος ἐληφθὸς Ant., xv. 9, 2.

¹¹ See Tables B.C. 24, No 636.

Herod from 1st Nisan B.C. 37, or 1st January B.C. 37 for in this way only could the thirteenth year of Herod be made to comprise the harvest of B.C. 25, when the famine began.

6 Augustus visited Syria at Midsummer B.C. 20, and at this time it is said that the seventeenth year of the reign of Herod from the death of Antigonus was *past*, and consequently that the eighteenth year was *current*.⁴ In fact, Herod had not *completed* his seventeenth year, if reckoned from the actual time of the death of Antigonus, viz from November B.C. 37. But if the reign of Herod was made to commence retrospectively from 1st Nisan or 1st January B.C. 37, then at Midsummer B.C. 20, as Josephus states, seventeen years would have expired and the eighteenth year would be *current*.

7 In B.C. 11 Herod sailed to Rome,⁵ and Josephus, after relating his return to Judaea (which would be at the close of B.C. 11 or the beginning of B.C. 10), follows it up by saying that about that time Caesarea was completed, in the twenty-eighth year of Herod.⁶ As the completion of Caesarea was after the voyage to Rome in B.C. 11, the historian apparently places it in B.C. 10, which would be the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Herod, reckoned as before either by Jewish years from 1st Nisan or by consular years from 1st January B.C. 37.

8. The capture of Jerusalem by Titus, on 8th Gorpæus, or 2nd September, A.D. 70, is said to have occurred 107 years after the accession of Herod, in November B.C. 37,⁷ which would be correct on one hypothesis, and one only, viz that Josephus meant either Jewish or consular years, as reckoned either from 1st Nisan or 1st January, so that fragments of Jewish or consular years should be counted as whole years.

After these repeated examples of Josephus's mode of computation by Jewish or consular years, we can have no difficulty in concluding that when he speaks in round numbers of the years of Herod's reign, he treats the nominal reign as running from 1st Nisan or 1st January, B.C. 40, and the actual reign as running from 1st Nisan, or 1st January, B.C. 37 and then, if Herod died on 1st April B.C. 4, he would be said in the first case to have reigned thirty-seven years, and in the second case to have reigned thirty-four years.

The upshot of the foregoing discussion is, that the death of Herod must be placed in B.C. 4, and not in any later year, and having laid this foundation, we come next to the inquiry, to what year and to what season of the year must be referred the Nativity, or Birth of Christ, which certainly preceded the death of Herod?

⁴ Ἡδὴ δ' αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἐντακαδεκάτῳ παρῇ.
 ὅτερος τῶν Καίσαρ εἰς Συρίαν ἀφίκετο Ant., xi 10 8

⁵ See B.C. 11, No 780

⁶ Ant., xxi 5, 1. See B.C. 10, No 805

⁷ Χρόνος δὲ τούτων ἔτη πρὸς τοὺς ἑκατὸν ἑπτα Ant.,
 xx 10, 6

CHAPTER II.

THE DATE OF THE NATIVITY.

THE circumstances from which any inference can be gleaned as to the space that elapsed between the death of Herod in the spring of B.C. 4, and the previous birth of Christ, are few and faint.

The circumcision was on the eighth day,^a and 'when the days of her purification, according to the law of Moses, were accomplished, they brought Him to Jerusalem, to present Him to the Lord.'^b The time of purification was, according to Leviticus, thirty-three days from the circumcision, that is, on the fortieth day from the birth,^c and as the presentation in the Temple must necessarily have preceded the murder of the Innocents and the flight into Egypt, the Nativity was at least more than forty days before the death of Herod. But this brings us but a little way on towards the solution of the question, as no one could suppose that the birth of Christ preceded the death of Herod by a *less* interval than forty days.

Nor is much further light to be extracted from the statement that Joseph 'took the young child and his mother by night and departed into Egypt, and *was there until the death of Herod*,'^d but if any deduction can be drawn from it, the distance of the country and the mention of a sojourn there would rather suggest that some considerable time must have intervened between the flight and the return.

Great stress for ascertaining the date of the Nativity has always and justly been laid on the enrolment or taxing referred to by Luke, but the Evangelist himself gives us no clue as to the precise date of it, remarking only in a general way, that 'this taxing was prior to Cyrenius being governor of Syria,'^e and therefore not to be confounded with the great enrolment or taxing under the auspices of Quirinus, or Cyrenius, which was completed in A.D. 7.

From Josephus, however, some rays of light break in upon us, and lead us to conclude that an enrolment in Judæa was or may have been proceeding in B.C. 6 Herod, during his previous career, had been in high favour with Augustus, but in B.C. 7 Herod, vexed and annoyed by repeated affronts received from his inveterate enemy, Obodas, king of Petra, or rather from his prime minister Syllaus, solicited and obtained leave from both the prefect and the procurator of Syria to make reprisals. Herod thereupon marched, with a small force, against a fortress within the dominions of Petra, where certain delinquents were harboured, and a skirmish following, Nacebus, the Arabian commander, was slain. Syllaus, who at the time happened to be at Rome, suppressed the permission given by the prefect and procurator of Syria, and magnifying the petty passage of arms into a regular campaign, made the palace at Rome ring with the enormity of Herod's invasion of Petra.

^a Luke ii. 21

^c Levit. xii. 4

^b Luke ii. 22

^d Matt. ii. 14

^e Luke ii. 1 For the several interpretations of this passage, see B.C. 6, No. 870

and the slaughter of vast multitudes of inoffensive Arabians. Of all outrages against the imperial policy the greatest was that of levying war, and on this occasion Augustus was thrown into a state of excitement but little consonant with the general mildness of his character. He sent off an angry and threatening letter to Herod, the sum of which was that 'hitherto he had regarded him as a friend, but that henceforth he should treat him as a subject'.¹ The first thing done on reducing a kingdom to dependency on Rome, was to order an enrolment for assessing the public taxes. Thus, on the banishment of Archelaus, about twelve years after this, Cyrenus was sent from Rome to make a survey of Judæa, the new province.² If Herod then was to be dealt with as a subject, it is highly probable that an edict was issued that Judæa should be enrolled, and as the intelligence of Herod's offence would reach Rome in the latter part of B.C. 7, the census, if ordered, would naturally begin in B.C. 6. It is not necessary to suppose that the census itself was ever brought to a conclusion, for Augustus, through the address and rhetorical talent of Nicolas Damascenus, was afterwards partially appeased, when the edict for the census may have been recalled or suffered to drop. It is sufficient for our purpose that a registration should have been commenced, and the reason why this enrolment is not particularly noticed by the Jewish historian may be the very fact that before its completion it was countermanded.

There are some further indications still to be found in Josephus of a census in Judæa in the year B.C. 6. Thus, contemporaneously with the misunderstanding between Herod and Augustus, Herod was contriving measures for taking the lives of his two sons by Mariamne, Alexander and Aristobulus. He had groundlessly conceived the intensest hatred against them, but, standing now in the light of a subject, he dared not proceed to extremities without the sanction of the emperor. However, when the wrath of Augustus had a little subsided, Herod obtained the emperor's leave to bring his sons to trial, not in Jerusalem before his own council, but at Berytus, within the province of Syria, before the prefect and other magnates of that province, a symptom (it may be remarked, by the way) that Judæa was already in some sense deemed an appanage of Syria a political change which would involve a census as a necessary accompaniment. But further, Josephus states that at the trial of Herod's sons, which occurred in the first half of B.C. 6,³ there were present amongst other assessors 'Pedannus and his suite'.⁴ This Pedannus was evidently a person of high official dignity, yet the post that he filled has been overlooked or suppressed, and it has been surmised, and not without reason, that his mission from Rome was to superintend the census ordered a few months previously on Herod's disgrace.

A more pregnant fact still is this. Josephus informs us that a little after the trial of Herod's sons, about March B.C. 6, 'the whole Jewish nation took an oath of fidelity to Cæsar and Herod.' What was the critical juncture that called for this oath not only to Herod but to Augustus? An enrolment almost invariably led to popular commotion. Thus there was a general outbreak in Gaul when the first census was commenced there,⁵ and on the death of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, when the country became a Roman province, the order for a census caused a rebellion of the

¹ 'Ὅτι πάλαι χρέμενος αὐτῷ φίλῳ, νῦν ὑπηκόω χρήσεται
Ant., xvi. 9, 3

² See A.D. 6, No. 1012

³ See B.C. 6, No. 867

⁴ Οἱ περὶ Πεδάνου πρεσβεις Bell. i. 27, 2. See B.C.
6, No. 857

⁵ Πάντος γοῦν τοῦ Ἰουδαίου βασιλεύσαντος δι' ἑρκυν
ἢ μὴν ἐνοῆσαι Καίσαρι, καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι πρὸς γαίῃ, &c.
Ant., xvi. 2, 1. See Tables B.C. 6, No. 867

⁶ 'Tumultus qui ob censum exortus erat compositus'
—J. v. Epit., 137

Clitæ, who had been the subjects of Archelaus;^a and, what is more to the point, when a census was commenced in Judæa on the expulsion of Archelaus the Ethnarch, Judas the Gaulonite headed a faction in opposition to it, and gave rise to the sect of the Galileans. Supposing Augustus, therefore, to have issued an edict for a census in Judæa in B.C. 6, a cautionary measure would be to exact from the people an oath of allegiance. Had Herod been as before an independent prince, the oath would have been to Herod only; but, on the occasion referred to, it was to Cæsar and Herod. This oath, as appears from the historian's account of it and the circumstances attending it, was administered not long after Midsummer B.C. 6;^b and if it was preliminary to the enrolment or taxing during which our Lord was born, the Nativity must be placed in B.C. 6, and not long after Midsummer of that year.

Let us now consider another part of the sacred narrative, which will serve to throw additional light upon our present inquiry. Matthew relates that 'there came wise men from the East to Jerusalem, saying, Where is He that is born *king of the Jews?*' When Herod the king heard of these things he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him. And when he had gathered all the chief priests and scribes of the people together, he demanded of them where *Christ* should be born; and they said unto him, at Bethlehem of Judæa, for *thus saith the prophet*;^c and very soon after followed the massacre of the Innocents at Bethlehem.

As the Gospels were written by illiterate fishermen, and solely with religious and not political views, and as Josephus, on the contrary, was a highly educated and accomplished courtier, and had more regard to popularity amongst his own countrymen than strict adherence to truth, we should expect to find these facts, so simply told by the evangelist, presented to us in very different colours and not a little distorted by the partial historian. The general features, however, are sufficiently preserved to establish the identity.

We shall first give the words of Josephus, and then offer a few comments upon them. 'The Pharisees,' says Josephus, 'who had the credit of *foreknowing events by divine inspiration*, foretold that a downfall of the throne was decreed by God against Herod, both himself and his issue, and that the kingdom would devolve upon her (Pheroras's wife) and the children that should be born to them. And these things, for they did not escape Salome, were communicated to the king; and moreover that they (the Pharisees) had corrupted some of those in the palace. And the king put to death not only the most guilty of the Pharisees, but also Bagoas the eunuch and one Carus, who exceeded all of that age in beauty, and was his *παῖδά*; and he slew also every one of his own family who assented to what the Pharisees said. But Bagoas had been carried away by them, as he was to be the father and benefactor of the *king that was to rise up according to the prophecy*, and who, for all things were to be in his power, would give him capacity for marriage and the procreation of children.'^d

1. In the first place we have here a great sensation created at Jerusalem by the expectation of some extraordinary event about to happen, and this stir penetrates into the palace, and at length reaches the ears of Herod himself. What is all this but an expansion of Matthew's summary, that Herod 'was troubled and all Jerusalem with him'!

2. The extraordinary event that was looked for was the appearance of a *king*

^a Tac. Ann., xi. 41.

^b See B.C. 6, No. 867.

^c Matt. ii. 1, &c.

^d Jos. Ant., xii. 2, 4.

who should displace Herod from the throne, which cannot fail to bring to mind the question of the wise men from the East, 'Where is He that is born *king of the Jews*?'

3 This report had been circulated by the sect of the Pharisees, which again tallies with the circumstance that the aged Synneon, at the time of the Presentation, took Jesus in his arms and pronounced Him to be 'a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of His people Israel' not that the Gospel describes Synneon in terms as a Pharisee, but he is believed to have been the son of Hillel and the father of Gamahel, and if so, of the same sect. At all events, it was the Pharisees, according to the Gospels, who were anxiously looking for the Messiah; and, when John Baptist opened his ministry, the mission sent to inquire into his pretensions was deputed by the Pharisees.²

4 The rumour now so widely spread was in some way connected with prophecy, for it gained credit with the people from the 'foreknowledge' attributed to the Pharisees through 'divine inspiration' the meaning of which is, that the Pharisees, as the most devoted to the study of the scriptures, were regarded as the best expositors of the sacred oracles, and so had credit for the gift of prophecy themselves. How this harmonizes with the account of Matthew that, on the arrival of the wise men, Herod consulted 'the chief priests and scribes of the people' (by whom Laidner unhesitatingly understands the Pharisees*) 'where Christ should be born and they said unto him in Bethlehem of Judæa, for thus it is written in the prophet'†

5 The coming king in Josephus was to be a *divine* person, who should work miracles, for 'all things were to be in his power, inasmuch that he was to remove the impotence of the eunuch and make him the father of a family. In short, he was to be the Messiah, for whom the children of Israel had been so anxiously waiting. When it is said that the throne was to devolve upon Pheroras's wife and her issue, we must suppose (if there be not a contradiction in the historian's narrative) that Messiah was to reign as supreme, and that in subordination to him the sovereignty was to be exercised by Pheroras's wife. This fable about Pheroras's wife was, as Josephus intimates, nothing but a piece of fulsome adulation which the Pharisees paid to her in requital for her kindness in having discharged the fine imposed a little before upon the Pharisees for refusing the oath of allegiance to Cæsar and Herod on the occasion of the census.

6 The report propagated by the Pharisees, that a new and heavenly king was about to displace Herod from his throne, so inflamed the jealous temperament of Herod, that he instantly had recourse to the most barbarous measures for securing his power. Thus he inflicted capital punishment on all the Pharisees who had been active in the movement, he took the life of many inmates of his own palace, as Bagoas the eunuch and Carus his favourite page, and of those of his own family who had lent themselves to the Pharisee views. All this coincides with and bears out the avowment of the evangelist, that Herod, on hearing that Christ was born in Bethlehem, ordered the massacre of all the male children there, two years old and under. Matthew, whose attention was devoted only to the good tidings of the gospel at Bethlehem, does not record the bloody tragedy in Jerusalem, and the high-born Josephus has passed over in silence the murder of the infants in the humble village of Bethlehem. Each account, however, serves to confirm the other, by showing the state of frenzy, regardless of all consequences, under which Herod at the time was labouring.

* Luke ii 32,

* John i 24

* Vol i p 295

† Matt ii 4

‡ Οὐδὲ ἀπειθήμενοι τῇ ἐβραϊκῇ αὐτῆς κτλ

Ant. xvii 2, 4

Putting together all these particulars as given by Josephus with reference to the *emeute* of the Pharisees, and observing how nearly they answer to the 'trouble of Herod and all Jerusalem' on the arrival of the wise men from the East in search of the new-born king, as recorded by Matthew, we are driven to the conclusion that Josephus and Matthew are speaking of one and the same period, and are treating of one and the same event, though differently coloured according to the different medium through which the writers regarded it. Now it can be shown by tracing the narrative of Josephus, that the *emeute* of the Pharisees must have originated about the month of October, B.C. 6, and that the execution of the leaders of the movement and their partisans followed not long afterwards, say in November, B.C. 6. If then the arrival of the wise men from the East was contemporaneous with the *emeute* of the Pharisees, and the massacre at Bethlehem was about the same time with the massacre of the Pharisees, the arrival of the wise men must be placed in October, B.C. 6, and the massacre at Bethlehem about November of the same year and if so, then the Nativity, which a little preceded the arrival of the wise men, would fall, as before, in B.C. 6, and not long after Midsummer of that year.¹

The testimony of Macrobius, a heathen writer who flourished in the 4th century, is not at variance with, but rather confirmatory of, the foregoing conclusions. 'When Augustus (he says) heard that amongst the male children under two years in Syria whom Herod, king of the Jews, had ordered to be slain, a son of his own also had fallen a victim, he observed, "Better be Herod's swine than Herod's son." ' The expression, 'male children under two years in Syria,' is so peculiar that, without doubt, Macrobius is referring to the murder of the Innocents, but whether he borrowed the language from Matthew, or from an independent source, is another question. The only material circumstance as regards the present inquiry is the fact, that the massacre is here connected with the death of one of Herod's sons; so that, if we can ascertain what son is referred to and when he perished, we have a clue to the time when Rachel wept for her children at Bethlehem.

At first sight it might be thought that Antipater, who was put to death five days before the demise of Herod himself, may be the subject of the anecdote, and if so, the murder of the Innocents would be referable to B.C. 4, when Herod died, and the Nativity itself would fall a little earlier, say at the close of B.C. 5. But, on reflection, the idea that Antipater is the son of Herod alluded to by Augustus must be discarded. Herod was evidently still living when the saying was uttered, but as Antipater was executed five days only before the death of Herod, the intelligence of both events would be carried to Rome by the same mail. Besides, Antipater was such a monster of vice, he was so execrated at Rome as well as in Syria, that the capital punishment of such 'a mystery of iniquity,' as Josephus calls him, would, instead of exciting commiseration, have been hailed with the utmost satisfaction.

Very different was the case when Alexander and Aristobulus, the two unhappy sons of Herod by Mariamne, became the victims of Herod's jealousy. Handsome and accomplished, and free from any serious charge, they had been caught in the meshes of Antipater's artifices, and, after a mock trial, had been put to death by the hands of their own father. Such an outrage upon humanity, where there was no actual guilt, had raised an outcry throughout the civilised world, and in particular had created the strongest sensation at Rome, where the young men had been educated. On such a violation of the ties of nature, Augustus might well have exclaimed, 'Better be

¹ See B.C. 6, Nos. 857, 867.

² Macrobi Saturn., ii. 4.

Herod's *swine* than Herod's *son*.¹ If in fact it was this occasion that called forth the caustic remark, then, as the execution of Alexander and Aristobulus was enacted on the first half of B.C. 6,² the murder of the Innocents, which is coupled with it, must also have fallen about the same time. This hypothesis, however, is open to one objection, viz. that the death of Alexander and Aristobulus occurred about March, B.C. 6, whereas the murder of the Innocents according to our view, fell about November B.C. 6, so that the two events, though comprised under the same year, are separated by such an interval that they would not very naturally be associated together in the speaker's mind. We look around, then, for some other solution, if such can be found, which shall be free from this objection.

Now it is observable that this son of Herod is said by Macrobius to have perished 'amongst the male children under two years;' and this implies that the son of Herod also was under that age. Josephus, in his account of the *éméute* of the Pharisees, mentions that, when the rumour of a coming king was rife at Jerusalem, Herod, in his fury, not only put to death the leading Pharisees who had propagated the report, but also 'every member of *his own family* that was implicated in the movement.'³ It would seem, therefore, that certain of Herod's own lineage had fallen victims, and if so, an infant son of Herod might have been amongst the number. Certainly a child under two years old could not have been an accomplice in the designs of the Pharisees, but one motive may easily have been mistaken for another, and while the rest were put to death as conspirators, the child may have been sacrificed because born, and born perhaps at Bethlehem, within the period during which, according to the Pharisees, the new king who was to subvert Herod's throne had come into the world.

It is also possible that as Herod, according to Josephus, at this time (B.C. 6) put to death *Curus*, his *παῖδά*, Rumour, which always exaggerates, may have substituted *παῖδα* for *παῖδά*, and have carried the news to Rome that Herod, in his phrenzy, had not even spared his own *son*.

Whether the victim was an actual son of Herod, or was his *παῖδά*, this bloodshed in the palace must, according to Josephus, have occurred about November B.C. 6, and then the massacre of the infants at Bethlehem, which is coupled with it by Macrobius, must be referred to the same period: and if so, the Nativity, as it must have preceded the massacre by some three months, would fall as before in B.C. 6, and soon after Midsummer of that year.

Assuming the Nativity to have occurred in B.C. 6, let us next see whether, by any possibility, we can determine within narrower limits, and by quite a different process, about what day of the year this event happened.

Luke remarks incidentally that Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, was a priest of the course of Abia or Abijah,⁴ and upon this statement, simple as it is, rests, if not the whole, yet the main part of the superstructure about to be raised. The temple was burnt by Titus on Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath, 9 Ab, or 4 August, A.D. 70,⁵ and according to the Rabbins, who on such a point are entitled to more than usual credit, this was the day on which the course of Jehoiarib, the first of the twenty-four courses, entered upon its duties.⁶ The courses served *separatim* as they were numbered each for a week, and it seems to confirm the testimony of the Rabbins that, if

¹ See B.C. 6, No 557.

² Πάρ 6, τι τοῦ αὐτοῦ συνεστήκει; ὁ δὲ καταρτὰς ἔλεγεν. Ant., viii 2, 4.

³ Luke i 5.

⁴ See Tables A.D. 70, No 2149.

⁵ Mishna iii 298, 3.

the first course began, according to Ezra, on the first day of the seventh month of the first year of Cyrus,¹ the first course would again take up its ministry on 4th August A.D. 70.² Now, from the time of the Nativity to the final destruction of the Temple, no political revolution occurred to interrupt the ordinary and regular rotation of the courses; and we may assume, therefore, that the usual succession continued throughout. From 4th August, then, A.D. 70 (exclusive) to 4th August B.C. 70 (inclusive) would be 27,759 days, and as each one of the twenty-four courses consumed 168 days, if we divide the former number by the latter, there will remain 39 days over; that is, on 4th August B.C. 7 the twenty-four courses had still 39 days to run before completing their cycle of 168 days, and must therefore have begun their cycle 129 days before 4th August B.C. 7, that is, on 28th March B.C. 7; but if the first course began on 28th March B.C. 7, the eighth course, which was that of Abijah, would begin on 16th May B.C. 7.

The conception of John the Baptist was at the close of Zachariah's course of seven days,³ and therefore about 22nd May B.C. 7; and the annunciation to the Virgin Mary was on the 6th month current (not the 6th month complete) after that,⁴ and therefore in November B.C. 7. The Nativity then, at the end of nine months from that time, would fall early in August B.C. 6; say, for the sake of clearness, on 1st August B.C. 6.

Such a season of the year agrees with the few particulars connected with the birth of Christ. It happened at the time of an enrolment or census, which could not with any probability have been fixed for a day during the winter, but might well have been ordered for the month of August, when the harvest was over, and the rains had not yet commenced. How, during the inclemency of a winter month, for instance, could the Virgin Mary, in an advanced state of pregnancy, have been suffered to travel all the way from Nazareth to Bethlehem? 'Pray ye (says our Lord) that your flight be not in winter.'⁵ The serenity of the air also, at the time of the Nativity, is evidenced by the fact that the shepherds were keeping their flocks in the open fields.⁶ According to the Rabbins, the flocks in Judæa were usually turned out at the Passover, and penned again in October.⁷

We should be chargeable with imperfectly treating our subject if, in discussing the date of the Nativity, we omitted all reference to the appearance of the star which brought the wise men to Jerusalem to greet the new-born King. It is said that Herod 'enquired of them diligently *what time the star appeared?*'⁸ and that afterwards, when he was mocked of the wise men, he slew all the children of Bethlehem 'from two years old and under, *according to the time which he had diligently enquired of the wise men.*'⁹ It has hence been inferred that the star must have appeared just two years before the murder of the Innocents, but this fails to do full justice to Herod's cold-blooded policy. His great object was, with all possible certainty, and at any expense of human life, to secure his victim; and we may conclude, therefore, that Herod's edict would, with that view, embrace all the children who had been born even some time (say six months) previously to the reported first appearance of the star. Thus we must look for the heavenly phenomenon not two years, but eighteen months, before the massacre. Assuming, as we have shown, that Matthew's account of the circum-

¹ See Ezra i. 1; iii. 6.

² This is Brown's calculation. Ordo Sæclor., p. 33.

³ Luke i. 23.

⁴ Luke i. 36.

⁵ Mark xiii. 18.

⁶ Luke ii. 8.

⁷ Anger, p. 12. note (è).

⁸ Matt. ii. 7.

⁹ Matt. ii. 16.

stances attending the arrival of the wise men from the East is only another version of the *émeute* of the Pharisees from the expectation of the coming king as recorded by Josephus, the arrival of the wise men as contemporaneous with the *émeute* of the Pharisees, would fall about October B.C. 6,^u and then the order for the massacre at Bethlehem, on Herod's finding himself mocked by them, would be referrible to November B.C. 6. But about eighteen months before this, viz. on 29th May B.C. 7, was an extraordinary conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn, so as to present the appearance of a double star in the zodiacal sign of Pisces, the zodiacal sign that more particularly dominated over the fortunes of the Jews.*

It may be objected to this explanation that such a conjunction was temporary only, while the star of the wise men 'went before them and came and stood over where the young child was.'^v Our reply is a conjectural illustration from an analogous case. In A.D. 1604 was a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn, and in A.D. 1605 was a conjunction of Jupiter, Saturn, and Mars; and a few months after, in the same year, a new and extraordinary star of great brilliancy presented itself, and shone continuously for about eighteen months and then vanished.^w In correspondence with these phenomena there occurred, according to Kepler, a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in B.C. 7, and then a conjunction of Jupiter, Saturn, and Mars in B.C. 6,^x and then, according to Matthew, an extraordinary star (which was evidently of some continuance) appeared at the birth of Christ, which we have placed soon after Midsummer B.C. 6. These parallelisms are so singular as almost to amount to argument.

* See B.C. 6, No. 878

^u Wieseler's Chronol., p. 65. Ideler's Hand-book, vol. II. p. 464. See B.C. 7, No. 834

^v Matt. II. 9

^w Wieseler's Chronol., p. 63.

^x Wieseler's Chronol., p. 64

CHAPTER III.

THE DATE OF THE CRUCIFIXION.

WE shall now investigate some of the most important dates connected with the first propagation of the Gospel, as, 1. The date of the commencement of the ministry of John the Baptist as the forerunner of Christ; 2. The date of our Lord's baptism; 3. The date of the commencement of our Lord's ministry; and 4. The date of the Crucifixion. These topics are to a great extent linked together, and the results will be found mutually dependent upon each other; but the arguments will be best understood, and be presented in the most cogent form, if we discuss the several questions in exactly the inverse order to that in which we have stated them. We shall, therefore, begin with the date of the Crucifixion.

That our Saviour was crucified on a *Friday* is a fact familiar to all. Now if we can show from the Gospels that the Jews did actually celebrate their Passover on the evening that preceded the Crucifixion, that is, on the Thursday, and that the Passover, by the rules which regulated it, would fall on a Thursday in the year A.D. 33, but would not so fall in any year either before or after A.D. 33, for a considerable period, it will necessarily follow that the crucifixion of our Lord must be assigned to the year A.D. 33, and cannot be referred to any earlier or later year. We have therefore to establish these two propositions: 1. That the Jewish Passover was eaten by the Jews on the evening next before our Lord's crucifixion; and 2. That, in the year A.D. 33, the Paschal feast fell on a Thursday.

1. That the Passover was eaten by the Jews on the evening which preceded the Crucifixion, is a point upon which there is the most perfect harmony amongst the *three first evangelists*. It is indeed so clearly stated by them, that one would think not a doubt could be raised about it.

The reader will bear in mind that the only question in dispute is, whether the Paschal feast of the Jews was eaten by them on the evening *before*, or on the evening *after*, the Crucifixion. What does our Saviour Himself foretell as to this? We find the following passage in Matthew: 'Ye know that after two days *is the feast of the Passover*, and *the Son of Man is betrayed* to be crucified.'^a Is it not to be plainly understood from these words, that the Passover was to begin *before* the Son of Man should be betrayed? If so, as Christ was betrayed on the Thursday night, and was crucified on Friday morning, the Passover could not commence on the Friday evening, but must have begun the day before.

Again, what account do the three first evangelists give of the Last Supper? Do they call it the Passover? and if so, Do they imply that our Saviour ate the Passover with His disciples at the usual time, or that He ate it proleptically, as it is called, i.e. by anticipation, and that while He kept the Passover on the Thursday, the Jews generally kept it on the Friday?

^a Matt. xxvi. 2.

What says St Matthew? 'Now the *first day* of the feast of Unleavened bread (τῇ δὲ πρώτῃ τῶν Ἀζύμων), the *disciples* came to Jesus, saying unto Him, Where wilt Thou that we prepare for Thee to eat the *Passover*? And He said, Go into the city to such a man, and say unto him, The Master saith, My time is at hand, I will keep the *Passover* at thy house, with My disciples. And the disciples did as Jesus had appointed them, and they made ready the *Passover*. Now when the even was come, He sat down with the twelve.'^b Here we have not the most distant hint that our Saviour ate the *Passover* a day before the usual time. On the contrary, it was manifestly at the ordinary season, for the question where He was to eat it was put to Jesus by the *disciples* themselves, who, of course, would reckon the *Passover* as their countrymen did. The very day, too, in which the inquiry is made, is called the *first day of unleavened bread*, i.e. the day of the paschal sacrifices, in the evening of which the paschal supper was eaten. An attempt, indeed, is made to explain this away by the suggestion that τῇ δὲ πρώτῃ τῶν Ἀζύμων means the day *before* the feast, but this cannot be, for both Mark and Luke, as we shall see call it the day of the paschal sacrifices. The supper, too, is repeatedly designated by Matthew as the *Passover*, without anything in the context to indicate that it was not the ordinary feast, eaten at the accustomed time. 'Where wilt Thou that we prepare the *Passover*?' 'I will keep the *Passover*.' 'They made ready the *Passover*.'

Mark gives the same relation, and in very similar terms, as Matthew,^c but to the words τῇ δὲ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν Ἀζύμων, 'on the first day of unleavened bread,' he adds, 'when they killed the *Passover*,' which is very observable, as identifying the very day on which the supper was eaten, for the paschal lamb was killed between noon and eventide (and generally between 3 and 5 o'clock), on the day in the evening of which the Paschal feast was celebrated.

St. Luke tells us, in the corresponding passage,^d 'Then came the day of unleavened bread, when the *Passover* must be killed,' ἦλθε δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν Ἀζύμων ἐν ᾗ δεῖν θύσθαι τὸ πάσχα. Here we are told expressly that the day (that is, the first day) of unleavened bread was come. It was not the day before, but the very day on which the *Passover* was slain in the afternoon, and was eaten in the evening. And Luke implies also, that our Saviour eat the *Passover* at the usual hour, for he adds, when 'the hour,' i.e. the customary hour, 'was come, (ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ ὥρα) He sat down.'^e

We shall now advert to the objections that have been urged against the hypothesis, that the *Passover* of the Jews preceded the Crucifixion. It is said, that if the *Passover* began on the Thursday, Christ was arrested by the rulers of the Jews *during the feast*, whereas, at the Sanhedrim previously held by them, they had come to the resolution of not apprehending Him 'on the feast day (ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ), lest there should be an uproar among the people.'^f And not only so, but the Crucifixion, it is said, would then be during a feast, and it was not lawful amongst the Jews to put any man to death during a festival. To the first of these objections we answer, that the rulers of the Jews had come to the resolution referred to, when they supposed that the apprehension of Jesus would be conducted openly and by force. But very unexpectedly Judas Iscariot presented himself to the rulers, and offered to betray Jesus, when then counsels were at once altered, for by means of the proffered treachery, which they accepted with eagerness, they were enabled, as they did, to arrest Jesus without the

^b Matt xxii 17—20

^c Mark xvi 12

^d Luke xxii 7

^e Luke xxii 14

^f Matt xxvi 5 Mark xiv 1

least public disturbance. As to the objection, that the Jews would not have put our Lord to death during a festival, the answer is, that the *Jews* did *not* put Him to death. If they had done so for blasphemy, the first accusation, our Lord would have been stoned, and then His prediction would not have been verified, that He should be 'lifted up,' but the rulers of the Jews admitted themselves before Pilate, 'It is not lawful for us to put any man to death,'^a viz. during the feast but by accusing Jesus of setting Himself up as king, they made it a Roman offence,—no less a charge than a violation of the Jewish laws, or high treason, and it was upon this count that Jesus was eventually tried before Pilate, and condemned, and then crucified,—the Roman mode of execution. Now, whatever scruples the Jews might have of profaning the festival by capital punishment, the Romans had none, but, on the contrary, considered the feasts, when such multitudes were congregated together, as the fittest occasion for making a public example. Even the Jews, however, occasionally, and under special circumstances, appear to have had recourse to capital punishment during their feasts, otherwise Hegesippus, in his account of the martyrdom of James the Just, would not have stated it to have occurred at the time of a Passover.^b The fact may or not have been as related, but at all events it is evident that, in the writer's opinion, there was no absurdity in the supposition.

But in support of the hypothesis that the Passover was eaten, not *before*, as we have assumed, but *after*, the Crucifixion, reliance is principally placed upon certain *ambiguous* expressions found in the Gospel of St. John, and which we shall now examine.

The first passage is the following: 'Now *before* the feast of the Passover (πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα), Jesus, knowing that His hour was come that He should depart out of this world unto the Father, having loved His own which were in the world, He loved them unto the end,'^c and the evangelist then recounts the instance of love to which he alluded, viz. the washing of the disciples' feet, and begins his narrative with the words, 'And supper being ended,' &c., 'He useth from supper,' &c. Here, it is said, the washing of the disciples' feet is expressly stated to be *after* the supper, and yet *before* the Passover, so that the supper of our Lord on the Thursday could not have been the celebration of the Passover itself. What are the facts? John had stated in the previous chapter, that Jesus came to Bethany, in the suburbs of Jerusalem, 'six days before the Passover.'^d By the expression, then, πρὸ ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα, he does not mean *the day* before the arrival of the Passover, or he would have used words to that effect, this evangelist being remarkably particular in the sequence of the *days*, as any one must observe on a perusal of the first chapter of his Gospel; but the import of the phrase is, 'now immediately before the *feast* of the Passover, or *paschal supper*;' Jesus testified His love by washing the disciples' feet, which was a preliminary ceremony before eating the lamb. Philo tells us, that before the guests presumed to eat the Passover they purified themselves by ablution, that is, by washing the head, and hands, and feet.^e Jesus discharged the most menial of these offices by washing, not the hands or head, but the feet of the disciples. Peter asked that

^a John xvii. 31

^b Euseb., l. ii. c. 23

^c John xiii. 1

^d John x. 1

^e Ἐκδοτῇ δὲ οἷα καὶ ἑαυτὸν τὸν χριστὸν σχήμα ἑαυτοῦ καὶ σκεπτόμενος περιβέβηκεν τοῦ σφαγιασθέντος ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἀποβύσσασθαι εὐχάρις ἐν τρεῖς ἡμέραις, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τὰ σκεπτόμενα σκεπτόμενος ἀγρευτοῦ περι-

βαρηντοῦς νεκροῦμένου Philo de Septenario, s. 18. Indeed, generally, the Jews, before a banquet were wont to wash their feet, as we may learn from the words of Christ when he supped with Simon the Pharisee, 'I entered into thy house, thou givest Me no water for My feet.'—Luke vii. 44

his hands and his head also might be washed, but Jesus rebuked him, as He had intended only to give a lesson of humility. The paschal supper, then, had not yet begun, and if we follow the narrative we shall find this to be the case. The words translated 'and supper being ended, . . . He riseth from supper,' are an unfortunate mistranslation of the words *καὶ δεῖπνον γενομένου . . . ἐγείρεται ἐκ τοῦ δεῖπνου*, which should be rendered 'and when it was supper,'^m &c. 'He riseth from table,' &c. For that the supper had not yet taken place is evident from the sequel. After Jesus had concluded the ceremony of washing the disciples' feet, He sat down again, *ἀναπεσὼν πάλιν*, John xiii 12, and the supper commenced. This is shown by the subsequent introduction of our Lord's declaration. 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, that one of you shall betray Me,'ⁿ for both Matthew (xxvi. 21) and Mark (xiv. 18), who relate the same words, expressly say that they were uttered while Jesus and His disciples were eating the Passover, *ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν*. The same thing is also implied in the Gospel of John himself; for when John asked Jesus who it was who should betray Him, Jesus said, 'He it is to whom I shall give a sop,' for no doubt the sop was given so as not to excite observation, in the course of the supper.

There are still three other passages of St. John which have been relied upon as showing that Christ was crucified *before* the Passover, and one of them is connected with the subject just discussed. When Judas, after the sop, left the room and went out, with an intimation from Jesus not to tarry, 'what thou doest do quickly,' the disciples surmised either that he had been directed to 'buy those things that they had need of against the feast' (*ὅν χρειαίαν ἔχομεν εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν*), or to 'give something to the poor'.^o The former supposition, it is said, assumes that the feast had not yet begun. However, though the paschal lamb had been eaten, yet some ceremonies might still remain, and it is much more likely that Judas, at that unreasonable hour, should have quitted the table abruptly to purchase something needed immediately for the due observance of the feast which they were then celebrating, than to procure provisions for a feast to begin the following afternoon. But even supposing that Judas's object was to buy provisions for a feast which was to be observed the next day, it by no means follows that such feast was the Passover. The feast of Unleavened bread continued, after the day of the paschal sacrifice, an entire week, and during the whole of that time unleavened cakes were eaten and sacrifices made; Judas, therefore, might well be thought to be engaged in making purchases against one of the remaining days of Unleavened bread.

Another passage is, that when the Jews conducted Jesus to the Prætorium they would not enter in, 'lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the Passover,'^p and these words have been cited as a proof that the Passover had not then been celebrated. But how is this language at variance with the hypothesis that the paschal lamb had been eaten the evening before? If, as is supposed on the other side, the Jews would not pollute themselves the morning *before* a feast, *à fortiori* they would not do so when the feast had actually begun, and was in the course of celebration. The words, 'that they might eat the Passover,' do not necessarily have any reference to the Passover in the strict sense, for the whole seven days of Unleavened bread were called the Passover, and as they were distinguished by the eating of unleavened cakes, 'to eat the Passover' was a synonymous expression with keeping the feast.^q The Jews there-

^m Thus *γενομένης δὲ ὑμεῖς*, Philo in Flacc, §. 13, is 'when evening was come,' and not 'when evening was past' *ἐπὶ ὧρας γενομένης* Matt xxiii 20, Mark xiv 17

ⁿ John xiii 21

^o John xiii 29

^p John xvi 28

^q 'They ate throughout the feast, seven days' 2 Chron xxx 22

fore would not enter into the Prætorium, not that they might eat the paschal lamb in the evening (by which time possibly they might have purified themselves again²), but that they might 'eat the Passover,' i.e. keep the remaining days of the feast without defilement.

The only other objection drawn from St. John's Gospel is the passage, that when Pilate took his seat on the tribunal, upon the Gabbatha or tessellated pavement, John remarks that 'It was *the Preparation of the Passover*;' ³ words which have been accepted as equivalent to 'the preparation for the Passover,' and indicating that the Passover had not yet arrived. Now the expression Preparation (Παρασκευή) had amongst the Jews a purely technical import, and signified *the day before the Sabbath*. Thus Mark writing for Roman converts, who might not be acquainted with the term, and speaking of the Friday of the Crucifixion, observes, 'It was the *Preparation*, that is, *the day before the Sabbath*, ἡ Παρασκευή, ὃ ἐστὶν πρὸς ἑβδόμενον,' Mark xvi. 42. Both Matthew and Luke, and even John himself, use it in the same sense.⁴ The Passover (by which name the feast of Unleavened bread was commonly known) lasted seven days, besides the day of the paschal sacrifices, and of course a Sabbath occurred during the week. This Sabbath was called the Sabbath of the Passover, and the preceding day, or Preparation (Παρασκευή), was known as the Preparation of the Passover. Thus the expression of John, instead of proving that the Passover was still future, indicates exactly the reverse, inasmuch as this Preparation is called the Paschal Preparation, or that which occurred *in* the paschal week.

Perhaps the ambiguous phrases found in the Gospel of St. John, and which we have just discussed, *might* at first sight, and taken by themselves, suggest the notion that the evangelist assumed the day of the Passover to be still future; but even in John we meet with other expressions implying as clearly that the Passover had already commenced. The words, 'The Preparation of (not for) the Passover,' tend to this conclusion: and again we read, 'The Jews therefore, because it was the Preparation, that the bodies should not remain upon the cross on the Sabbath day (which began at sunset on Friday), for that day was a high day, besought Pilate,' &c.⁵ Here the evangelist speaks of the Sabbath commencing on Friday at sunset as a 'high day;' but if, as supposed by those whose opinion we are impugning, the Passover itself was to take place on Friday, John would have called it the Passover, or *the* high day, and not merely *a* high day. But if, on the contrary, as we contend, the paschal supper had been eaten the previous evening (Thursday), the language is most appropriate, for the day after the Passover, or second day of the feast of Unleavened bread, viz. from Friday at sunset to Saturday at sunset, though not *the* high day, was *a* high day, being the feast of the Sheaf-offering.⁶ Again, Pilate is described in St. John as saying to the people on the Friday morning, 'Ye have a custom, that I should release unto you one at the Passover,' ἐν τῷ Πάσχα,⁷ i.e. 'during,' or 'in the course of,' the Passover; does it not then follow that at the time when these words were uttered, the Passover had already commenced?

The result of the argument is that Matthew, Mark, and Luke state most positively that the paschal supper was eaten the evening before the Crucifixion, whilst all the passages in St. John having a contrary tendency are capable of explanation.

² In general, however, a purification required a whole day.

³ John xix. 14.

⁴ Matt. xxvii. 62; Luke xxiii. 54; John xix. 31.

⁵ John xix. 31.

⁶ Philo de Septenario, sect. 20.

⁷ John xviii. 39.

We must therefore conclude that the paschal supper was eaten by the Jews on the evening of the Thursday next preceding our Lord's crucifixion.

2. We have now to establish that the Passover, or supper of the paschal Lamb, in the year A.D. 33 fell on a Thursday, and did not fall on that day in any other year either before or after, for a period of many years.

Before we enter upon a discussion of the authorities as to the rule by which the Passover was regulated, we must premise some general observations, without which the disjointed passages which will be cited can scarcely be understood.

The Passover (Πάσχα), or feast of Unleavened bread ("Ἄζυμα), for both terms were used,) in their ordinary and common acceptation comprised three distinct feasts that fell together at the same season of the year, viz. First, the Passover, properly so called, secondly, the feast of Unleavened bread; and thirdly, the feast of the Sheaf-offering. The Passover was always on 14th Nisan, reckoned from sunset to sunset, the paschal sacrifices being killed on 14th Nisan between noon and eventide, and the paschal supper being eaten the same evening. The feast of Unleavened bread began with 15th Nisan at sunset, and ended at sunset on that day week, during all which time certain sacrifices were killed, and unleavened cakes were eaten. The feast of the Sheaf-offering began with the second day of the feast of Unleavened bread, and lasted one day, the sheaf being offered in the morning. Thus, supposing 14th Nisan to begin on Wednesday at sunset, the paschal sacrifices would be killed on Thursday in the afternoon, and the paschal supper would be eaten the same evening. The feast of Unleavened bread would begin at sunset on the same Thursday, and expire at sunset on the Thursday following. The feast of the Sheaf-offering would begin at sunset on Friday, and the sheaf would be offered on Saturday morning, and the feast would end at sunset on Saturday. The Jewish Sabbath and the Sheaf-offering in this case falling together, would more particularly make the day what St. John calls 'a high day.' We may further remark, that the sacrifices for the Passover were killed, according to Philo,^a from 12 at noon till eventide, or, according to Josephus,^b between 3 p.m. and 6 p.m. on 14th Nisan. But both agree that this 14th of Nisan was reckoned the first day of the feast, so that the Passover, or feast of Unleavened bread, (in the larger signification of those terms,) was said to last eight days, beginning on 14th Nisan, and ending on 21st Nisan. The writers of the New Testament speak of the feast in the same way. Thus Matthew writes, 'On the first day of Unleavened bread,'^c (which evidently, from the context, was the day of the paschal sacrifices,) the disciples asked Jesus where He would eat the Passover, which was to be celebrated the same evening. So Mark in similar terms, 'On the first day of Unleavened bread, when they killed the Passover,'^d and Luke, 'Then came the day of Unleavened bread, when the Passover must be killed.'^e

What we have now to ascertain in the first place is, by what rule from year to year the recurrence of the paschal festival was determined. The pivot of the whole year was 15th Nisan, or the first day of Unleavened bread. The 14th day (exclusive) before it was the 1st Nisan, or the commencement of the Jewish ecclesiastical year, and all the other feasts followed at certain regular intervals.

The 15th Nisan then was that day (reckoned by the Jews from sunset to sunset) on which occurred the full moon, at the time of the vernal equinox, when the sun

^a Ἀσθμεναι κατὰ μεσημέριαν ἕως ἑσπερας Philo de Septen, sect 18

^b ὁμοῦ μετ' αὐτὸν ἕως ὡσπερ δὲ δεκάτης Jos

Dell, 11 9, 3

^c Τῇ δὲ πρώτῃ τῶν ἁζύμων

^d Μακ. κ. αὐτ. 12

Μ. i. 11 17

^e Λουκ. αὐτ. 7

was in Aries; and as, according to the Ancients, the sun entered Aries on 17th March and passed into Taurus on 17th April, the Passover was necessarily celebrated between these two limits. The Passover proper, or day of paschal sacrifices, was the day before, on 14th Nisan, and therefore always preceded the full moon. In strictness, the paschal sacrifices were to be both killed and eaten on 14th Nisan, viz. before sunset; but as the sacrifices were usually killed between the hours of 3 and 5, the paschal supper often, and in later times generally, extended into 15th Nisan, i.e. was celebrated after sunset on 14th Nisan.

According to the law of Moses, the lamb was to be chosen on 10th Nisan, and was to be killed on 14th Nisan, between the evenings, that is, in the twilight or afternoon, and was to be eaten the same evening,* with bitter herbs and unleavened bread.[†]

We cannot have any higher authority, after holy Writ, than Philo, who was living at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion, and was the most learned Jew of the day, and composed a tract upon the nature of the Jewish feasts. Philo then tells us that the sacrifices for the Passover were killed from noon to eventide on 14th Nisan,[‡] and were eaten the same day with the saying of prayer and the singing of hymns. And he then informs us that the feast of Unleavened bread, (in its proper and confined sense,) joined on to the feast of the Passover, and he proceeds thus:—“This feast (of Unleavened bread) begins on 15th Nisan, the day that divides the month, and on which the moon arrives at the full, in order that on that day there may be no darkness at all.”[§] The 15th Nisan then, which began at sunset of the day on which the paschal sacrifices were killed, and in the evening of which the paschal supper was eaten, was that day reckoned from sunset on which the moon arrived at the full, and for the reason assigned by Philo, viz. that there might be no darkness.

In a subsequent passage he is still more decided, for he explains the reason why the feast of Unleavened bread was observed on 15th Nisan thus:—“That not only by day, but by night also, the world may be full of the all-glorious light of the sun and moon, which on that day rise in exact opposition to each other with blended beams, so as to leave no interval of darkness.”^{||} The 15th Nisan, therefore, was the day on which the sun and moon were in direct opposition, that is, when the moon was at the full.

In another passage Philo observes:—“Moses writes, that the first month should begin with the vernal equinox. And in that month, on the fourteenth day, when the moon's orb is just about to be full, the Passover, a notable festival, called in Chaldee Pascha, is celebrated.”[¶] This exactly accords with his previous statement, viz. that the paschal sacrifices were killed on 14th Nisan, and that on 14th Nisan the moon was not full, but just about to be full, (μέλλοντας γένεσθαι πλησιφαούς,) i.e. it would be full a few hours after on 15th Nisan.

We cannot part from Philo without adverting to another remarkable passage, in which he states that the feast of the New moon was celebrated as being the first day of the month, ἀρχὴ μηνός, and also as the day on which the new moon became visible

* Levit. xxiii. 5; Numb. ix. 3; xxviii. 16.

† Exodus xii. 8.

‡ Ἀγεται δὲ πάνδημος θυσία (the Passover) τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνός (Nisan). Philo de Septem., s. 18, 19.

§ Τῆς δὲ ἰορτῆς (Ἀθύων) διχομήνου ἄρχεται, ἡ πεντηκαιδεκάτῃ καὶ ἥν σελήνη πλησιφαὸς γίνεται, προνοία τοῦ μηνὸς εἶναι ακότος κατ' ἀκρίνην τὴν ἡμέραν. Philo de Septem., s. 19.

¶ Ἰνα καὶ μετ' ἡμέραν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ νύκτωρ πλήρης

ὁ κόσμος ᾗ τοῦ παγκόμου φωτός, ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης κατ' ἀκρίνην τὴν ἡμέραν ἀλλήλοις ἐνανταγὰ λόντων ἀνταῖς ἀδίαστικτοῖς, εἰς μεθόριον οὐ διακρίνει σκότος. Philo de Septem., s. 24.

‡ Τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἰορτῆς ἰσημερίας πρῶτον ἀναγράφει μῆνα Μωυσῆς. . . . Τῷ δὲ μηνί τοῦτον περὶ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτην ἡμέραν μέλλοντας τοῦ σεληνιακοῦ κύκλου γένεσθαι πλησιφαούς ἔγεται τὰ διαβατήρια δημοφώνως ἰορτὴ τὸ Χалдайскі λεγόμενον Πάσχα. Phil. Vit. Moys., iii. 29.

to the eye, in other words, that the *first day of the month* was regulated, not by the actual new moon, or the change, but by the phasis¹. The explanation is as follows — The interval between the actual new moon, or change, and the full moon, being fourteen days and eighteen hours, and the full moon always falling on 15th Nisan, the *change* of the moon would not necessarily be on 1st Nisan, but would sometimes take place as much as eighteen hours before. Thus, if the full moon occurred at the first instant of 15th Nisan, the new moon would at the beginning of 1st Nisan be eighteen hours old, while, as the opposite extreme, if the full moon occurred at the last instant of 15th Nisan, the actual new moon would take place about six hours after the commencement of 1st Nisan. On the other hand, the moon not being visible until eighteen hours after the change, and again disappearing eighteen hours before the next change, (making together thirty-six hours, or a day and a half,) the whole lunation of the *visible* moon was just twenty-eight days, and the interval between the *phasis* or first appearance of the moon and the full was exactly fourteen days, and thus if the full moon was always on the 15th Nisan, the phasis would be always on 1st Nisan, and *vice versa*. The Jews, therefore, regulated their ecclesiastical year, not by the *change*, but by the *phasis* of the moon, and thus, as Philo remarks, the full moon was always on 15th Nisan, and the new moon was always on 1st Nisan.

Turn we now to Josephus, who being himself a priest, and acquainted with Jewish ceremonies, and living at the same time with Philo, though somewhat junior to him, must rank next to him in authority. We read in the Antiquities, 'But Moses made it a law, that in the month Xanthicus, called by us Nisan, and which is the beginning of the year, on the *fourteenth day* according to the moon, [i. e. according to the moon's *phasis*,²] when the sun is in Aries [from 17th March to 17th April] we should every year *kill the sacrifice called the Passover*. But on 15th Nisan, the *feast of Unleavened bread*, which lasts seven days, *succeeds the Passover*, and on the second day of the feast of Unleavened bread, being 16th Nisan, we offer the *first-fruits* of the barley, (i. e. the Sheaf-offering)'.³ Here we have a statement that the Passover was on 14th Nisan, and since the historian mentions in another place that the sacrifices were between 3 and 5 p.m. it follows that the paschal supper was eaten in the evening of the day on which began 15th Nisan, reckoned from sunset to sunset. Again, he tells us, as Philo had done before, that the feast of Unleavened bread commenced with 15th Nisan, and that the Sheaf-offering was on the second day of that feast, viz on 16th Nisan. Thus the Passover was on the day *before* the full moon, the feast of Unleavened bread began on the day of the full moon, and the feast of the Sheaf-offering was on the day *after* the full moon.

Another passage is this — 'Having performed the *sacrifice* called the *Passover* on the 14th day of the same month, (Nisan,) they fasted seven days'.⁴ Here again the Paschal sacrifices are placed on 14th Nisan, i. e. in the afternoon of that day, (the

¹ ἡ ἡμέρα ἰσότητος ἀναγράφουσα τὴν κατὰ σελήνης νομικίαν. Πρῶτον μὲν ἐστὶ ἀρχὴ μηνός. Ἰσχυρὰ δὲ ἐστὶ κατ' αὐτὴν οὐδὲν ἀφανιστὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ τρίτον δὲ, ἐστὶ τὴν ἐλάττωσιν καὶ ἀσθενεστέραν κατ' ἐκείνου τὸν χρόνον τὸ κρείττον καὶ δυνατώτερον ωφέλειαν ἀνακαλὰς μεταδίδουσι. Νομικῆς γὰρ ἀρχεται φωτίζειν αἰσθητῶ φεγγαί σελήνης ἥλιος, ἡ δὲ τὸ ἴδιον κάλλος ἀναφαίνει τοῖς δόξαι. Philo de Septen. sect. 17.

² It cannot be from the moon's change, for then 15th Nisan would not always be the day of the full moon, which it invariably was.

³ τῷ δὲ μηνί τῷ πανθὺς ἐς Νισάν παρ' ἡμῶν καλεῖται, καὶ τοῦ ἔτους ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτη κατὰ σελήνην, ἐν Κριεῖ τῷ ἡλίου καθ' ὅσοντος τὴν θυσίαν Πάσχα λεγομένην δι' ἔτους ἐκείνου θύειν ἐνύμει. Πέμπτη δὲ καὶ δεκάτη διαθέχεται τὴν τοῦ Πάσχα τῶν Ἀζύμων ἰσότη ἐπὶ ἡμέρας οὐσα. 1ῃ δὲ δευτέρῃ τῶν Ἀζύμων ἡμέρῃς (ἐκτῇ δ' ἐστὶν καὶ δεκάτῃ) τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν τῆς κριθῆς ἐπιφέρουσι. Ant. iii. 10, 5.

⁴ Τὴν τέσσαρα προσκαρτομένην θυσίαν τῇ τετάρτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνός (Νισάν) ἐπιτελέσαντες κατωαχθήσαν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας επτά. Δαν. xi. 4, 8.

paschal supper therefore being in the evening,) and after that, and exclusively, follow the seven days of Unleavened bread, making together, for the whole festival, eight days, the duration reckoned by Josephus in an earlier page of the same work.^p In the Wars we read, 'The feast of Unleavened bread (*Ἀζύμα*) being in the course of celebration on the 14th day of the month Xanthicus;^q which is consistent with his former accounts, for the feast of Unleavened bread (*Ἀζύμα*) here means the whole festival, called indifferently *Πάσχα* and *Ἀζύμα*, commencing with the paschal sacrifices on 14th Nisan, and making, with the seven days of Unleavened bread, the eight days allowed by him for the entire festival.

Ensebius furnishes us with the additional testimony of Aristobulus, who was an ancient master in Israel, and is said to have assisted in translating the Septuagint. It runs as follows:—'The day of the Passover being appointed for the 14th day of the month (Nisan), after eventide, the moon will be in diametrical opposition to the sun (as may be seen on every day of the full moon), and they will be, the sun in the quarter of the heavens denoting the vernal equinox, and consequently the moon in the quarter of the heavens denoting the autumnal equinox.'^r The passage is somewhat obscure, but we may collect the same results as before, viz. that the paschal sacrifices commenced on 14th Nisan, and that the paschal supper was eaten the same evening; i. e. after sunset, and therefore on 15th Nisan; and that on the latter day, i. e. some time between the sunset of 14th Nisan and the sunset of 15th Nisan, the sun and moon were in direct opposition, and consequently the moon was at the full.

The citations which have been adduced appear to justify the following conclusions, 1. That the Passover, including the paschal sacrifices and the paschal supper, was observed on 14th Nisan, the day next *before* the full of the moon; 2. That the feast of Unleavened bread began on 15th Nisan, reckoned from sunset to sunset, and was the *very day* of the *full moon*; and 3. That the feast of the Sheaf-offering was on the second day of the feast of Unleavened bread, and therefore on the day *after* the full moon.

There is one fact incidentally recorded in history which is usually appealed to on the subject of the Jewish festivals, and therefore must not be passed over in silence. Josephus relates that when Antiochus Sidetes made a campaign against the Parthians, he was accompanied by Hyrcanus the Highpriest; and Josephus refers, in confirmation of this statement, to Nicolas Damascenus, who related that Antiochus, after a victory over Indates, the Parthian general, halted two days on the banks of the Lycus, in deference to Hyrcanus, as the Jews were observing a festival which prevented them from marching; and Josephus adds that Nicolas was perfectly right, for that, as it happened, 'the Feast of *Pentecost* in that year followed after a Jewish sabbath,' so that the Jews could not move from their quarters during those two days.^s Of what year then is the historian speaking? Livy, according to his epitomiser, mentions the consulship of M. Perpenna (B.C. 130), and then the campaign of Antiochus against the Parthians, and then the consulship of Sempronius (B.C. 120),^t so that Livy

^p Ant., ii. 15, 1.

^q Τῇ τῶν Ἀζύμων δεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκτην ἑσπέρην (Nisan). Bell., τ. 3, 1.

^r Δελτίσις τῆς τῶν Διωβατηρίων ἡμέρας τῇ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκτη τῆς μηνὸς μὲθ' ἑσπέρας, ἐσθίεται μὲν ἡ σελήνη τὴν ἐναντίαν καὶ (λογὸν κατὰ) διάμετρον τῇ ἡλίῳ στάσι· ὥστερ οὖν ἔστιν ἐν ταῖς πασιελήουσιν ἡμέρᾳ

ἔσονται δὲ ὁ μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τὸν ἡμερίων ὁ ἡλίου τμήμα, ἡ δὲ ἐξ ἀνάγκης κατὰ τὸ φθινοπώριον ἡμερίων ἡ σελήνη. Eccles. Hist., vii. 32.

^s Ἐκείνη γὰρ ἡ Πεντηκοστή μετὰ τὸ σάββατον Ant., xiii. 8, 4.

^t Liv. Epit., lib. 59.

evidently placed the campaign of Antiochus against the Parthians in the consulship of C. Claudius and M. Perpenna, 1 e in b c 130.

There is a little confusion as to the details of the war, but the fullest account of it is to be found in Justin, viz that Antiochus advanced boldly into the enemy's country and fought three battles successfully, and then dispersed his troops into winter quarters in different parts of Babylonia, and that this division of the forces emboldened the king of Parthia to resume the offensive, and Antiochus was slain in the winter.*

This date of the war is confirmed by a decree of the Romans, preserved by Josephus. 'When Hyrcanus,' writes the historian, 'heard of the death of Antiochus, he sent an embassy to the Romans, to obtain, if he could, a restitution of the dominions of which he had been deprived by Antiochus, and solicited for this purpose the Roman alliance.* The decree of the Senate in answer runs thus—*Φάνιος, Μάρκου υἱός, στρατηγὸς βουλὴν συνηγαγε πρὸς ὀκτὼ εἰδὼν Φεβρουαρίων ἐν Κομτίῳ, παρόντος Λουκίου Μαννίου, Λουκίου υἱοῦ Μεντινᾶ καὶ Γαίου Σεμπρονίου, Γαίου υἱοῦ Φαλέρνα, περὶ ὧν ἐπρέσβευσεν, &c.*' The consuls for the year b c 129 were Manius Aquilius and C. Sempionius,^a whose names appear in the decree as presiding in the senate. Thus the date of the decree was 6th February b c 129, and the war of Antiochus against the Parthians must therefore have been waged the year before, 1 e in b c 130. This agrees with the other dates in the life of Antiochus, for he came to the throne in the 174th year of the Seleucian era,^a 1 e some time between the autumn of b c 139 and the autumn of b c 138, and Eusebius tells us that Antiochus reigned nine years,^b which he would thus have done, if he ceased to reign toward the close of b c 130. We cannot doubt, therefore, that the victory over Indates, mentioned by Josephus, was the first of the three battles fought in b c 130, and that the Pentecost alluded to was the feast of that year.^c

On what day, then, did the feast of Pentecost fall in the year b c 130? The hinge upon which the whole Jewish year turned was, as we have said, the 15th Nisan, which was always the day of full moon, about the time of the vernal equinox, when the sun was in Aries, that is, between 17th March and 17th April. The Passover full moon then, in b c 130, was that which occurred at the latter end of March. The real new moon was on 11th March, at 1 a m.,^d and the phases therefore would be eighteen hours after, on 11th March, at 7 p m., and the full moon would be fourteen days after, on 25th March, at 7 p m. Thus the 15th Nisan, or day of full moon, was from sunset on 25th March to sunset on 26th March. The Sheaf-offering, or 16th Nisan, was from sunset on 26th March to sunset on 27th March, and Pentecost was the fiftieth day from that (exclusive), and was therefore from sunset on 15th May to sunset on 16th May.

That the Pentecost, or fiftieth day, was thus computed may be satisfactorily proved in Leviticus, xxii. 15, we read, And ye shall count unto you from the morrow after

* Justin, xxxiii. 10

* Aul., xiii. 9, 2

* Ibid.

* Vall. Pal., ii. 4

* I Macceb., xv. 10

* Euseb. Chronic.

^c See further Wiesel, Chron. Synop., 456. We should add that there are coins of Antiochus Sidetes with the stamp of a Seleucian era of a later date than b c 130, viz b c 129 and b c 128, Eckhel, iii. 237. But there seems to be no doubt that the Parthian expedition was in b c 130, though the historians may be in error in assuming that the death of Antiochus was contemporaneous with his defeat.

Demetrius, his immediate predecessor, ceased to reign in b c 158, on being made prisoner by the Parthians, but he was again set at liberty in b c 150, in order to aid the Parthians by embarrassing Antiochus the reigning king, when Demetrius, pursuing his own interests, resumed the throne for himself, and the reign of Antiochus was then considered as closed, though possibly Antiochus may have lived somewhat longer.

^d Wieseler, Chron. Synop., 461

the Sabbath (meaning by the Sabbath the 15th Nisan) From the day that ye brought the sheaf of the wave-offering, (the 16th Nisan,) seven Sabbaths (or weeks) shall be complete Even unto the morrow *after* the seventh Sabbath (or week) shall ye number fifty days, and ye shall offer a new meat-offering,¹ &c (viz the Pentecost) So Philo tells us that the 16th Nisan, or second day of Unleavened bread, was called the sheaf (*σπάγμα*), and 'from that day forward is reckoned the Pentecost, or fiftieth day, *the odd day setting the seal to the sacred number of seven weeks*'² And Josephus uses very similar terms.³ Indeed, Maimonides expressly tells us that the Pentecost was the fiftieth day from 16th Nisan, *exclusive*⁴ Our Church, therefore, has from the earliest ages celebrated Whit-Sunday, which corresponds to the Jewish Pentecost, on the right day, for our Saviour was crucified, as we shall see, on Friday, the 15th Nisan, so that Saturday was the 16th Nisan, and Whit-Sunday is always the fiftieth day from the Saturday next before Easter, *exclusive*

On what day of the week, then, did 16th May n. c. 130 fall? We turn to De Morgan's Book of Almanacks (whose calculations can be relied upon, not only from the reputation of the writer, but from their corresponding with the German computations), and we find that 16th May n. c. 130 was a Saturday, or Jewish Sabbath But, if so, the Pentecost in n. c. 130 did *not* follow a Sabbath, but was on the day of the Sabbath itself. If we stopped here we should be chargeable with error either in the date of Antiochus's war in n. c. 130, or in our canons for determining the Jewish festivals. But another ingredient calls for attention. The Jews thrice in every octad of years intercalated a month, and the 5th year of the Sabbatic cycle (such as was the year n. c. 130) was in great favor for intercalation. Not only so, but the paschal moon of that year, if there was no intercalation, would fall almost as early as it possibly could, viz on 25th March, the very day of the equinox itself, as calculated by the ancients It is more than probable, therefore, that the year n. c. 130 was fixed upon for intercalation; and if so, the paschal full moon would be a month later, viz in April. The full moon for that month was on 24th April,⁵ which was therefore 15th Nisan, and 25th April was 16th Nisan, and the fiftieth day from that (*exclusive*), or 14th June, was the Pentecost We open De Morgan's Book of Almanacks and find that 14th June was a Sunday, and the day before it was a Saturday, or Jewish Sabbath Thus, as Josephus remarks, 'the Pentecost that year followed next after a Sabbath'

We have now to apply the foregoing principles to A. D. 33, the year to which we have assigned the Crucifixion In A. D. 33 the full moon of the vernal equinox, when the sun was in Aries, i. e. between 17th March and 17th April, was at Jerusalem on 3rd April at 5h. 12m p. m.⁶

The 15th Nisan then was from sunset on 2nd April to sunset on 3rd April The paschal sacrifices were killed the day before, i. e. on 2nd April, between noon and evening, and the paschal supper was eaten the same evening On *what day of the week*, then, did the 2nd of April fall in A. D. 33? We consult the Book of Almanacks,

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⁴ Anger, 36, and see L'Art de Vérifier les Dates

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and we there learn that 2nd April was a *Thursday*^a. This, then, agrees with the narratives of the New Testament, for the Evangelists tell us that the Crucifixion occurred on the day preceding the Sabbath, that is, on a Friday, and that the paschal supper was eaten the evening before, that is, on a *Thursday*. It is stated by Mr. Mann,^o in his Essay on the time of our Saviour's Passion, that the paschal feast did not fall on a Thursday from A.D. 26 (exclusive) to A.D. 35 (inclusive), except in the year A.D. 33. What is the result? That the year A.D. 33, and no other, was the year in which our Saviour was crucified.

Can this date of our Lord's crucifixion be confirmed by any external testimony? We learn from the Evangelists, that on the day of our Lord's crucifixion occurred a supernatural darkness from 12 o'clock at noon to 3 p.m.^p Now Phlegon, a heathen writer, the author of the Olympiads, and who flourished in the reign of Adrian, records the fact of an eclipse of the sun at noon in the 4th year of the 202nd Olympiad.^q The 4th year of the 202nd Olympiad was from Midsummer A.D. 32 to Midsummer A.D. 33, and on referring to the Table of Eclipses which will be found in *L'Art de Venir les Dates*,^r it will be observed that from Midsummer A.D. 32 to Midsummer A.D. 33, there was *no natural eclipse of the sun*. Phlegon, therefore, records what never happened, unless the occurrence mentioned by the Evangelists be true. If the Gospels be authentic, and if, as we have shown, the crucifixion of our Lord was at the Passover of A.D. 33, the Evangelists and Phlegon confirm each other.

Our Lord's crucifixion has been referred to the Passover of A.D. 33, from a careful comparison of historical data, without the least reference to the fulfilment of prophecy, which of course could not be allowed to accomplish itself by influencing our view of the current of events. Having arrived, however, at the above conclusion, upon perfectly independent principles, we may point out in how striking a manner the prediction of the seventy weeks in the book of Daniel is fulfilled upon this hypothesis. The prophecy is one of the most remarkable in Holy Scripture, both from the definite manner in which the periods of years are marked, and the certainty with which the *terminus* from which they commence can be ascertained. The words of the prophet are as follows:—

1. *“Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most Holy.”*

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^a See also *post*, A.D. 32, No. 1469.

^o De Anno Emortuiah, &c., and see A.D. 33, No. 1458.

^p Mark xvi. 33, Luke xxiii. 44, Matt. xxviii. 46.

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^b De Anno Emendatili, &c., and see A.D. 33, No. 1468.

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^e See *post*, p. 374.

5. 'And *the one week* shall confirm the covenant with many' and in the midst of the week, (i.e. in the middle year, being the fourth of the week,) he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease

6. 'And (thenceforth) for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate.'

The weeks are of course weeks of years, and thus we have 7 weeks, or 49 years, for the rebuilding of the city, then an interval of 62 weeks, or 434 years, and then the last week, or a compass of 7 years, during which the prophet tells us, 1 That the new covenant should be introduced, 2. That in the middle year of the week, the Messiah should cause the ceremonial law of Moses to cease; and 3 That at the end of the week, being the end also of the 70 weeks, the Messiah should be cut off, not for Himself, but as an atonement for the sins of mankind

It will be observed that the decree from which the 70 weeks, or 490 years, are to be reckoned, is not the decree to rebuild the *sanctuary*, but to restore the *street and wall* of Jerusalem. The decree of Cyrus to the Jews was to rebuild the temple,^a and the decree of Darius the Mede was to the same effect,² and the temple was rebuilt and finished accordingly.³ But after this, Artaxerxes, in the seventh year of his reign, issued a decree to Ezra to establish *Jerusalem as a city*, by appointing magistrates and judges, with the power of inflicting capital punishment,⁴ and this included the rebuilding of the street, and also of the wall, for Ezra tells us that God had 'extended mercy unto them in the sight of the kings of Persia . . . to give them a *wall* in Judah and in Jerusalem' ^a The decree, therefore, to which the prophet refers is that of Artaxerxes, (as indeed all commentators agree,) and we have now to investigate the precise time at which it was issued. Ezra tells us that 'the first day of the first month (Nisan) was the foundation of the going up' ^b from Babylon,⁵ and that this was in the *seventh year* of the reign of Artaxerxes.⁶ When, then, did Artaxerxes begin to reign? We have some light upon this from Scripture itself, and we shall refer to it before we cite the heathen writers. We have seen that the Nisan in question was in the seventh year of Artaxerxes, and Ezra tells us in another place⁷ that the fifth month or Ab was also in the seventh year, so that he did not ascend the throne at any time between Nisan and Ab, that is, between April and August. Again, Nehemiah informs us that Chisleu, or December, was in the 20th year of Artaxerxes,⁸ and that the month of Nisan was also in the 20th year,⁹ so that Artaxerxes did not commence his reign at any time during the interval between Nisan or April, and Chisleu or December, and putting the testimonies of Ezra and Nehemiah together, Artaxerxes could only have come to the throne some time between Ab and Chisleu, i.e. between August and December.

But in what *year* did this occur? Thucydides the most accurate of historians, and the contemporary of Artaxerxes himself, states in his immortal work, the Peloponnesian War, that when the summer half of the seventh year of the war, i.e. B.C. 425, was ended,¹⁰ and the winter half had set in,¹¹ an envoy from Persia was intercepted and brought to Athens, and that the Athenians thereupon sent an embassy to Ephesus,

^a Καὶ ὡς ἐκείνη ἐκτίσθη πολλοὶς ἐβδόμας πλεῖ Sept

^b Dan ix 24

^c Ezra i 2

^d Ezra vi 16

^e Ezra ix 9, and see Nehem i 3

^f Ezra vi 1

^g Ezra vi 25

^h Marginal reading for 'began to go up,' in the text

ⁱ Ezra vi 9

^j Ezra vii 7

^k Ezra vii 8

^l Nehem i 1

^m Nehem i 1

ⁿ Καὶ τὸ θερὸς ἐτελεύτησεν ix 19

^o Τοῦ ἐκτελεσθέντος χειμῶνος ix 50

where they heard that Artaxerxes was just dead.^k From this account it is evident that the Athenian envoys heard the news at Ephesus about December, so that the death of Artaxerxes had occurred about the month of November. Now Diodorus Siculus states that Artaxerxes reigned forty years,^l and he afterwards repeats the same thing without any variation ^m and as all history harmonizes with the fact, we may safely assume it. If we reckon back these forty years from November B.C. 425, it will carry us to November B.C. 465, as the commencement of the reign of Artaxerxes, which agrees with the inferences from the passages noticed in Scripture, that he mounted the throne some time between August and December. The seventh year of the reign would therefore be from November B.C. 459 to November B.C. 458. The decree consequently would be dated the 1st Nisan, B.C. 458, that day being stated as 'the foundation of the going up from Babylon.'ⁿ The prophet, therefore, predicts that during 7 weeks, or 49 years, from Nisan B.C. 458, the street and wall of Jerusalem should be built (as it was) in troublous times; that an interval of 62 weeks, or 434 years, should then intervene; and after that should commence the last week, which should bring in the covenant, set aside the law of Moses, and witness the cutting off of the Messiah. The 7 weeks and 62 weeks make together 483 years, and reckoning them from the month of Nisan B.C. 458, we come to the month of Nisan A.D. 26, as the commencement of the last week. Was then the prophecy fulfilled? In the course of that week, viz. from Nisan A.D. 26 to Nisan A.D. 33, the covenant was confirmed to many, first by John the Baptist, and then by our Saviour. 'In the midst of the week,' or in the middle year of the week, viz. at the Passover A.D. 29, Jesus began to preach the new dispensation, which was to supersede the sacrifices and oblations, and this ministry of Christ was continued until the end of the week which expired at the Passover, A.D. 33. And lastly and chiefly, at the Passover of A.D. 33, being the end of the week, and also of the 70 weeks, or 490 years, the Messiah was cut off, and the typical sacrifices of the law were concluded and determined by the real sacrifice once offered for the sins of the world.

From that time forth the Jews were from year to year oppressed more and more by the Romans, until they were driven to arms against their masters, and eventually 'the prince that should come destroyed the city and the sanctuary, and the end thereof was with a flood, and unto the end of the war were desolations.'

^k *Οι πυθόμενοι αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖ Ἀρταξέρξῃ τὸν Περσὺν
 πᾶσι τὴν ἐκείνην (κατὰ τὴν ταύτην τὸν χρόνον ἐτελεύ-
 τησεν) ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀνεχώρησαν 11. 50

^l Τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν διαδεξιμένος ὁ Ἀρταξέρξης ἡβασίλευσεν

ἐτη τεσσαράκοντα 21. 69

^m *Ἀρταξέρξης δ' ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησεν
 ἔχων ἐτη τεσσαράκοντα 211. 61

ⁿ Εἰσα 11. 9

CHAPTER IV.

DURATION OF OUR LORD'S MINISTRY.

WE have found the extreme limit one way of our Lord's ministry in the date of the Crucifixion; we have next to investigate the period occupied by the exercise of His ministry, which will enable us to determine the time of its commencement. The duration of the ministry may be measured by the several Passovers.

The *first* is that when Jesus, after His baptism, returned to Cana, and thence visited Capernaum, and thence after a few days went up to Jerusalem at the Passover^a. This was *before* the arrest of John the Baptist; for when Jesus returned after the Passover to some part of the land of Judah, John was still at large and baptizing at Ænon. 'John,' says the evangelist, 'was not yet cast into prison'^b.

The *second* Passover is not mentioned expressly, but is indicated as plainly as if it were. Thus we are told that Jesus, after the first Passover, retired into Judæa, and then preached long enough to make more disciples than John, then, on hearing that the Baptist had been incarcerated, returned to Galilee, and fixed His abode at Capernaum, then made a circuit through at least some part of Galilee, and came back to Capernaum then made a circuit through the *whole* of Galilee, which again terminated at Capernaum; and then commenced a third circuit, and in the course of it passed through the cornfields on a Sabbath day, when the disciples rubbed the ears of corn in their hands. This, therefore, must have been in the month of May or June and not long after a Passover, which always a little preceded the harvest. Considering the various intervening events which we have enumerated, it is quite impossible that the Passover next before the journey through the cornfields could have been the Passover already mentioned, when Jesus went up to Jerusalem from Capernaum. But further, the sabbath when Jesus was in the cornfields is designated by Luke as δευτεροπρωτον σαββατον.^c The most commonly received opinion is, that this means the first sabbath after the Sheaf-offering the second day of Unleavened bread, from which day Pentecost, or the Feast of Weeks, was reckoned; and if so, it would prove decisively that the Passover referred to under the word δευτεροπρωτον, cannot be identical with the Passover when Jesus went up to Jerusalem from Capernaum, as it would be absurd to suppose that the intervening events could be compressed into so short an interval. The more correct interpretation, however, of the word δευτεροπρωτον is the first sabbath of the second Jewish month Iyar and even on this supposition there would be a space of about a fortnight only between the close of the Passover and the δευτεροπρωτονσαββατον, a period much too brief to include the several occurrences before noticed. We cannot then avoid the conclusion, that the term δευτεροπρωτον coupled with the journey of our Lord on that day through the

^a John ii 1

^b John iii 24

^c Luke vi 1

ripe cornfields, necessarily implies another distinct Passover from that when Jesus went up to Jerusalem from Capernaum. In a word, the Passover when Jesus was at Jerusalem was certainly before the Baptist was cast into prison,⁴ and the journey through the cornfields was certainly after John was cast into prison,⁵ and yet the latter event was about the time of some Passover, or the corn would not have still been standing, and the two Passovers referred to could not be identical, as the occurrences between the first Passover and the journey through the cornfields show that a lengthened interval had intervened.

A *third* Passover is that mentioned by John as being nigh at hand, when the 5,000 were fed.⁶ This of course is not the Passover when Jesus went up to Jerusalem from Capernaum, as the same evangelist records both facts. Neither can it be the Passover when Jesus passed with His disciples through the cornfields, for on the latter occasion the Passover was already past, but at the time of feeding the 5,000 (which was unquestionably a later event than the journey through the cornfields), the Passover had not yet arrived. No more, therefore, need be said to show that we have here a third Passover.

A *fourth* Passover is attended with more difficulty, but still can be distinctly proved. In the first place, a Passover seems to be implied by the call made upon our Lord at Capernaum to pay the half sicles or didrachm, the tribute-money or Temple rate due to the Temple exchequer, called the corban,⁷ for, on the authority of the Mishna, the tribute was collected on 15th Adar, i. e. a little before the Passover,⁸ and if a Passover can be assumed at this time, it was certainly not the Passover when Jesus went up to Jerusalem from Capernaum, or the Passover when Jesus passed through the cornfields. The only question is, whether it could have been the Passover which was at hand when the 5,000 were fed or the Passover of the Crucifixion, or whether in fact it was some intermediate Passover. It could not have been the Passover at the feeding of the 5,000, for at the time of that miracle the Passover was nigh, ἔγγυς,⁹ i. e. only a few days off. But between this miracle and the payment of the tribute-money, our Lord visited the borders of Tyre and Sidon, and Cesarea Philippi, which He could not have done before the actual arrival of the Passover, if nigh at hand when the miracle was wrought. Neither could the tribute-money have been demanded on 15th Adar, before the Passover of the Crucifixion, for in that case there would not remain sufficient time for the long journey from Galilee to Jerusalem, related as a subsequent event by Luke ix. 51—xix. 28.

However, we cannot assume with certainty that the tribute was in fact demanded and paid by our Lord on 15th Adar. No doubt as the Passover was the first feast of the sacred year, the tribute properly became due, as we have seen from the Mishna, just before that feast. But there were constantly large arrears, arising from the absence of some ratepayers and the inability of others, and in consequence the tax was gathered from the defaulters as opportunity offered, and particularly a little before the Pentecost, and again a little before the Tabernacles,¹⁰ at which times these arrears called *sicli veteres* could be conveniently earned up by the pilgrims to the

⁴ John iii. 24

⁵ Compare Luke ix. 14 with Matt. ix. 12, Mark i. 14

⁶ John vi. 4

⁷ Matt. xxiii. 24

⁸ XV Adar ubique sedebant nummulum extra Hierosolymam, et pridie a quovis semisiclum expecterunt, nec tamen adegerunt, qui tunc nomum obtulerat. A die xiv vero, cum in sancta urbe sedissent,

tandem quemvis urgebant donec tradidisset, et in longas moras necisset nec dedisset in pignus, vel vestes retenti oppugnabant. Tractat Talmud Shekalim

⁹ John vi. 4

¹⁰ Ter in anno curant de conclavi—in spatio semestri (fifteen days) ante Pascha—in spatio semestri ante Pentecosten—in et in spatio semestri ante Scenopagium

Temple. Still here, on the hypothesis that the corban was occasionally collected previously to the Feasts of Pentecost and Tabernacles, as well as before the Passover, the very circumstance that our Lord paid the tribute at all leads to the presumption that a year had intervened between the Passover when the 5,000 were fed and the Passover of the Crucifixion; for as our Lord had been at Capernaum just before the miracle of the 5,000, and was again there just after it, we must conclude that He had long ago paid the tribute for that year on one of those occasions. Neither on the other hand could the tribute now demanded have been that for the Passover of the Crucifixion, as our Lord must have quitted Capernaum, and commenced the journey recorded by Luke ix. 51 long before 15th Adar, i.e. long before the tribute for the year of the Crucifixion had even become due.

If the Temple tax then was demanded at the usual time, i.e. a little before a Passover, it is clear that such Passover could not have been the first, second, or third Passover of our Lord's ministry, nor the Passover of the Crucifixion, and must therefore have been some other Passover not particularly mentioned by the Evangelists. And even supposing that the tax was not demanded before a Passover at all, it would still appear highly probable from the foregoing remarks, that a fourth Passover, omitted by the Evangelists, must have occurred.

We shall now proceed to show, from a careful analysis of the long journey recorded by Luke, from ix. 51 to xix. 28, that in fact a fourth Passover did intervene between the Passover when the 5,000 were fed and the Passover of the Crucifixion, so that the Passovers during our Lord's ministry were, in all, five in number. The details of this journey are as follows:—

It was in the neighbourhood of Casarea Philippi that our Lord first openly announced to His disciples that He was the Messiah, and as such that He must be betrayed and put to death, and on the third day rise again, Matt. xvii. 22; Mark viii. 31; Luke ix. 22. Thus at the very outset, before the journey begins, an impression is created that our Lord from this forewarning was about to suffer shortly. Eight days after this was the Transfiguration, when Moses and Elias were seen conversing on the subject of His approaching death, *τὴν ἑξοδὸν αὐτοῦ ἣν ἔμελλε πληροῦν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ*, Luke ix. 31; and as Jesus and His three disciples were descending from the mountain, our Lord in explaining Elias to be John Baptist again referred to His passion, *οὗτος καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μέλλει πάσχειν*, Matt. xvii. 12. What could be the meaning of these repeated warnings, but to prepare the minds of His disciples for the scene at Jerusalem at His next visit there.

Jesus then passed through Galilee to Capernaum, but the journey was a private one, and why? Mark tells us that it was for the purpose of instructing His disciples by the way, on the subject of His betrayal and death at Jerusalem, Mark ix. 31.

On arriving at Capernaum, the corban, or Temple tax of a half sicles or didrachm a head, was demanded of Him, Matt. xviii. 24.

Our Lord then bade adieu to Capernaum and set out for Jerusalem; but the words of Luke are remarkable: *Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναλῆψεως αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐστῆριξε τοῦ πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ*, Luke ix. 51. After all the distortions to which this passage has been subjected in the hands of commentators and harmonists, there cannot be a shadow of doubt that

Mishna ii. 184, 3; which Maimonides interprets thus:—Tempore Festi Paschalis publicabatur adjuvendum oblationem primam de loco propinquo; et illi, qui

remotiores erant, adjuvarent tempore Pentecostis; et illi, qui remotissimi erant, adjuvarent tempore Festi Tabernaculorum. See 2 Gress. Diss., 342.

the natural meaning is the true one, viz that, when the days of our Lord's assumption were accomplishing, He set His face resolutely to go to Jerusalem. The words *ἀναλήψεως* and *συμπληροῦσθαι* must be interpreted from the use of them by the same writer. Thus in the Acts we have *ἄχρι ἣς ἡμέρας*. . . *ἀνελήφθη* (i. 2), and *ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς* (n. 1). Luke then tells us in the plainest terms, that Jesus was now going up to Jerusalem to His death, in other words, that this was His last journey.

On entering a Samaritan village by the way, Jesus was repulsed by the inhabitants, and then changed His route, and appointed seventy disciples to make ready before Him in the new line He meant to take.¹ The seventy went two and two, and therefore to thirty-five different places. It is not said whether they all started together while our Lord waited for their return, or whether they were dispatched from time to time and returned to Jesus, or were overtaken by Him, according to circumstances. In the first case a long interval would elapse before our Lord could resume His progress, but even on the latter supposition it is evident that our Lord contemplated teaching Himself in thirty-five different localities between the appointment of the seventy and His arrival at Jerusalem. If we allow only a days sojourn at each place, we should thus have thirty-five days, but which of course would fall very far short of the time actually consumed including the delays of travelling from station to station.

The next incident is of considerable importance, and one which has not hitherto received the attention it deserves. While our Lord was upon the road to Jerusalem, intelligence was brought to Him that Pilate had mingled the blood of the Galileans with their sacrifices, *τῶν Γαλιλαίων ὃν τὸ αἷμα Πιλάτος ἔμιξε μετὰ τῶν θυσιῶν αὐτῶν*, Luke xiii. 1. Now, sacrifices, could be performed nowhere but at Jerusalem, which therefore, as we should have otherwise concluded, was the scene of the massacre. But the Galileans resided at a distance from Jerusalem, and only went up thither at the principal Feasts. On these occasions vast multitudes flocked to Jerusalem, and, as we learn from Josephus, tumults, often accompanied with bloodshed, were of frequent occurrence, notwithstanding the occupation of the western cloister by the Roman soldiery for the purpose of keeping the peace. The massacre of the Galileans, therefore, over their sacrifices implies that one of the great Jewish Festivals occurred while our Lord was on His way to Jerusalem.

Again, while He was still *en route* along the borders of Samaria toward the Jordan, we find Him preaching in a synagogue on one sabbath,^m and eating bread with a Pharisee on another Sabbath.ⁿ We have here, then, an interval of a week at least which we do not dwell upon as material in respect of time, but as evidencing the deliberate manner in which our Lord was progressing, for, from the point at which He had been repulsed by the Samaritans, the journey to the Jordan would, by the direct route, occupy at the most two days only, but we have here an interval of a week mentioned incidentally on the road. Plainly, therefore, our Lord was not travelling with the sole view of reaching His final destination, but was exercising His ministry amongst the cities and villages within His reach. Indeed, Luke tells us this in express terms, *καὶ διεπορεύετο κατὰ πόλεις καὶ κώμας διδάσκων καὶ πορεύαν ποιούμενος εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ*, Luke xiii. 22.

After this some Pharisees, emissaries of Herod, came to our Lord, and told Him, with the view of getting Him out of Galilee, that Herod was seeking His life. Our Lord answered that He was travelling from day to day until He should reach Jerusalem; for that, like every prophet, He must suffer at Jerusalem, Luke xiii. 31. What

¹ Luke x. 1^m Luke xiii. 10ⁿ Luke xiii. 1

possible inference can be drawn from this but that Jesus was now on the road to Jerusalem to meet his death, and consequently that this journey was the last. But further, our Lord, apostrophising Jerusalem, adds that the Holy City should see Him no more until they should say, 'Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord' that is, I am now on my way for the last time to Jerusalem, and henceforth (i.e. after this my final visit) they shall see Me no more till my triumphant appearance at the day of judgment.*

A little further on we find our Lord still pursuing His journey along the borders of Samaria and Galilee toward Jerusalem, *καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, καὶ αὐτὸς διήρχετο διὰ μέσου Σαμαρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας*, Luke xvii 11. We shall only observe upon this, that Luke very pointedly throughout lays a stress on the word Jerusalem. Our Lord was to suffer at Jerusalem (Luke ix 31), He sets His face to go to Jerusalem (Luke ix 51); He is seen advancing from place to place on His way to Jerusalem (Luke xiii 22), and here again He is said, though travelling eastward, to be on His way to Jerusalem. His object throughout, therefore, was to go up to Jerusalem. These remarks are made with reference to the theory advocated by some, that this journey was merely to Judæa, and that after his arrival in Judæa, he went up to Jerusalem at the Ἐγκαίνια, and returned to Galilee, and then again went up to Jerusalem at the Passover at which he suffered. Such a view is at variance with the whole character of the journey as described by Luke, which is repeatedly said to have had, not Judæa, but Jerusalem, for its object, and Jerusalem not as an arena for the exercise of his ministry, but as the terminus or goal at which he was to close his life at the hands of his enemies.

Our Lord now crosses the Jordan into Peræa, where he resumes his labours as usual, and was therefore occupied for some considerable time, *καὶ ὡς εἰώθει, πάλιν ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς* (Mark x. 1).

From Peræa He crosses the Jordan, and then, passing through Jericho, arrives at Bethany six days before the Passover, and on the day of the paschal sacrifices is betrayed, and the next day suffers death.

As this journey of our Lord occupies from Luke ix. 51 to xix 28, or about ten chapters out of the twenty-four comprised in the gospel, this alone tends to show that the time thus occupied must have been no brief interval.

The conclusions, therefore, to be drawn from this lengthened journey are—1. That it was *one* continuous journey, 2. That it was our Lord's *last* journey to Jerusalem, and, 3. That it must have occupied at least several months. We now proceed to build some arguments on the foundation which has thus been laid.

The question is, Whether, between the Passover at the feeding of the five thousand (John ii 13) and the Passover of the Crucifixion, another Passover did or did not intervene?

1. The first argument is of a negative character, and arises from the unreasonableness of a contrary supposition. Let us assume (and it is immaterial what year we take) that the Crucifixion occurred at the Passover A.D. 33, which fell on 2nd April of that year, and that the Passover at the feeding of the five thousand was in A.D. 32, which fell on 13th April of that year. Now John tells us that *after* this miracle of the five thousand Jesus attended the feast of Tabernacles, and after that the feast of Ἐγκαίνια at Jerusalem. The latter feast in A.D. 32 was on 16th

* See A.D. 32, No 1412

December (see Tables) and lasted eight days and therefore ended on 23rd December A.D. 32. After this Jesus went over Jordan to Bethabara, and there abode, *καὶ ἔμεινεν ἐκεῖ* (John x. 40), and that long enough to make many converts there (John x. 42). We cannot well allow *less* than a fortnight for this retirement, which will bring us to 6th January, A.D. 33. Then Mary and Martha, the sisters of Lazarus, send a message from Bethany, and two days after Jesus returns and raises Lazarus (John xi. 6), and then retires to Ephraim (John xi. 54). For this we should add another week, which will reach to 13th January, A.D. 33. At Ephraim he made a sojourn, *καὶ ἐκεῖ διέτριψε* (John xi. 54), which would require about a fortnight, and, if so, we come to 27th January. As the Passover of A.D. 33 was on 2nd April and our Lord arrived at Bethany six days before, he would reach that place on 27th March. From 27th January to 27th March would be just two months, and if we further deduct the time required for his return to Galilee, *viz.* another week, the remnant will be seven weeks only. As the journey recorded by Luke was one continuous journey, and that the last, all the events comprised within its limits must have occurred within this short compass of seven weeks, and looking to the variety of the incidents and the time they must have occupied, more particularly the mission of the seventy, two and two, and therefore to thirty-five different places, we must conclude that, instead of a few weeks, many months must have been consumed, and consequently that the *'Εγκαίνια* referred to by John could not have been the feast which immediately preceded the Passover of the Crucifixion, but must have been the feast of the previous year, *viz.* A.D. 31, and that between it and the Passover of the Crucifixion was another Passover, *viz.* the Passover of A.D. 32.

2. A second argument is this. We have seen that, during our Lord's last journey, Pilate mingled the blood of the Galileans with their sacrifices, in other words that one of the great festivals of the Jews had been celebrated, for at a feast only could such a massacre have been committed. What feast then could this be, on the supposition that the Passover at the feeding of the five thousand was in A.D. 32, and the Passover of the Crucifixion in A.D. 33? Was it the *Pentecost* of A.D. 32? Impossible, for between the Passover and Pentecost were fifty days only, and from the miracle of the five thousand to the news of the Galilean massacre the following events happened. Our Lord returns to Capernaum, returns to the borders of Tyre and Sidon, exercises his ministry in Decapolis, crosses the lake to Bethsaida, retreats northward to the villages of Casarea Philippi, returns to Capernaum, enters a Samaritan village, and, being repulsed by the inhabitants, takes the road to the Jordan; sends the seventy, two and two, and therefore to thirty-five different places, &c. It is evident at first sight, that all this cannot on any hypothesis be compressed within the compass of fifty days, and, if so, the feast when the Galileans were slain could not be the Pentecost of A.D. 32. Was it then the *Tabernacles* of A.D. 32? Certainly not, for John tells us that *after* the miracle of the five thousand Jesus was at a feast of Tabernacles at Jerusalem, and if the Passover of the Crucifixion was in the year which followed that of the miracle of the five thousand, the Tabernacles referred to by John could only be that of A.D. 32, and at the Tabernacles of A.D. 32 our Lord was at Jerusalem itself, and therefore not in Galilee, which was his whereabouts when intelligence was brought to him of the outrage committed by Pilate against the Galileans. Was the feast in question, then, the feast of *'Εγκαίνια*? We answer no, for the like reason, *viz.* that at the *'Εγκαίνια* also Jesus was at Jerusalem, and not in Galilee. There remains only one other feast, *viz.* the feast of Purim, and as to this we would

observe, in the first place, that this festival was not of sacred institution, and was of secondary importance. Besides, the Purim did not require the Jews to go up to Jerusalem at all, but was celebrated at their own homes. But on another ground also the massacre could not have befallen at the feast of Purim. The days during which it was celebrated were 13th Adar, which was a fast, and the 14th and 15th Adar, which were feasts. The season, therefore, was just one month before the Passover, and as our Lord reached Bethany six days before the Passover, three weeks only would intervene between the massacre, if enacted at the Purim, and the arrival at Bethany. But, after our Lord received intelligence of the massacre, two sabbaths are mentioned as having happened while he was still in Galilee (Luke xiii. 10 and xiv. 1), and he preached in cities and villages *καὶ διεπορεύετο κατὰ πόλεις καὶ κώμας διδάσκων*, Luke xii. 22, and is found travelling along the borders of Samaria and Galilee towards the Jordan, Luke xvii. 11, then crosses the Jordan and exercises his ministry as usual in Perea, *καὶ ὡς ἔλωθε πάλιν ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς*, Mark x. 1, and finally passes through Jericho to Bethany. Considering the slow rate of our Lord's progress while he was thus preaching in the numerous cities and villages which lay within reach, and to which he had sent the seventy disciples to prepare for him, it seems in the highest degree improbable, and all but impossible, that three weeks only should have been consumed. The inference is that the feast at which the blood of the Galileans was shed cannot be accounted for at all on the hypothesis, that the Passover of the Crucifixion followed next after that of the feeding of the five thousand, but if we place the latter miracle two years before the last Passover, i. e. in A. D. 31, then all runs smoothly. There is time enough for the intervening events, and all these difficulties vanish.

The general result of the preceding discussion is, that the ministry of our Lord comprised five distinct Passovers, and therefore lasted four complete years. In the previous chapter it has been shown that our Lord's crucifixion occurred at the Passover A. D. 33, and it consequently follows that it commenced four years before, viz. at the Passover A. D. 29.

CHAPTER V.

DATE OF OUR LORD'S BAPTISM.

We have now established the proposition, that the ministry of our Lord commenced at the Passover, A.D. 29, and, keeping this date in view, we can determine, with some degree of exactness, the time of our Lord's Baptism. The Passover A.D. 29, when Jesus began his ministry, was on 16th April, and He had come to Jerusalem from Capernaum and to judge from the course adopted by Him on another occasion,^a He reached Jerusalem six days before the feast. His arrival, therefore, would be on 10th April, and allowing a week for the journey from Capernaum, He may have set out on 4th April. At Capernaum He sojourned not many days (say four), *οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας*^b He had come from the marriage at Cana, therefore, on 31st March. Nuptial rejoicings are said to have continued among the Jews for seven consecutive days, and, if so, His arrival at Cana was about 23rd March. This was on the third day after He had left Bethabara, *τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ*^c which carries us back to 21st March. The day before that, or 20th March, John pointed out Jesus to two of his disciples^d. The day before that, or 19th March, John testified that Jesus was the Lamb of God^e. This was at the close of the forty days' temptation, and allowing two days more for the retreat into the adjoining wilderness, and the return from it, we arrive at 4th February for the day of the Baptism.

We have reached this result by a retrograde calculation from the Passover A.D. 29 to the preceding Baptism. But some of the steps are, as regards time, of uncertain duration. Thus, it does not follow that Jesus, when He went up to Jerusalem A.D. 29 arrived there six days before the Passover, nor, when he attended the marriage feast at Cana, is it likely that he remained there for the whole seven days of the nuptial rejoicings. We should place the baptism, therefore, somewhat later than 4th February, but only by a brief interval.^f

^a John vii. 1

^b John ii. 12

^c John i. 1

^d John i. 35

^e John i. 29

^f See Tables A.D. 29, No. 1180

CHAPTER VI.

DATE OF THE COMMENCEMENT OF JOHN THE BAPTIST'S MINISTRY.

ASSUMING that we have correctly assigned the baptism of Jesus to the first part of February A. D. 29, we may take this as the extreme limit *after* which John the Baptist could not have commenced his ministry, and the other extreme limit *before* which he could not have commenced his ministry may be determined by the testimony of Luke. His words are, 'Now in the *fifteenth year* of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judæa, and Herod (Antipas) being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of Ituræa and the region of Trachonitis, and Lysanias the tetrarch of Abilene, Annas and Caiaphas being high priests, the word of God came unto John the son of Zacharias in the wilderness.'^a The fifteenth year of Tiberius began on 19th Aug. A. D. 28, and therefore John entered upon his office some time between 19th Aug. A. D. 28, the commencement of the fifteenth year, and 4th Feb. A. D. 29, when our Lord was baptized, and during this period, as stated by Luke, Pontius Pilate *was* procurator of Judæa, Herod Antipas *was* tetrarch of Galilee, Herod Philip *was* tetrarch of Trachonitis, and Caiaphas, with Annas his father-in-law, *was* highpriest.

One would suppose that here no door was open to controversy, and yet some chronologers, labouring under the impression that the mission of John in A. D. 28-29 cannot be reconciled with the statement of Luke, that Jesus, when he began, was of about thirty years, have endeavoured to evade the express testimony of Luke as to the fifteenth year of Tiberius, by surmising that the reign of Tiberius was computed by him not in the ordinary mode from 19th Aug. A. D. 14, the death of Augustus, but from some point of time two years earlier, in A. D. 12, and they rely upon certain passages in Tacitus, Suetonius, and Vell. Paterculus,^b but which, when taken together, show only that in A. D. 12 large powers were conferred on Tiberius, but not that he was then emperor jointly with Augustus, or that his reign was ever supposed to commence from that period. Other chronologers, as Burton, admit that the fifteenth year of Tiberius must begin in A. D. 14, but then they maintain that instead of being computed from 19th Aug. of that year, it must be referred back to 1st January of the same year for as the Romans reckoned then year from one first of January to another, the whole year within these limits was, according to Burton and his followers, considered as the fifteenth year of Tiberius.

These hypotheses are open to one overwhelming objection, viz. that the reign of Tiberius, as beginning from 19th Aug. A. D. 14, was as well-known a date in the time of Luke as the reign of Queen Victoria in our own day, and that no single case has ever been or can be produced in which the years of Tiberius were reckoned in any other manner.

^a Luke iii. 1

^b See A. D. 12, Nos. 1042-1044

Tacitus opens the fourth book of his Annals with these words, 'C. Asinius and C. Antistius being consuls, it was the *ninth* year of Tiberius,'^a that is, he makes the 1st of Jan. A.D. 23 (the year of this consulship) coincide with the *ninth* year of Tiberius, which could only be the case on the assumption that the ninth year commenced on 19th Aug. A.D. 22, and ended, not, as contended by Burton and others, on 31st Dec. A.D. 22, but on 19th Aug. A.D. 23. So Pliny the Elder refers the same consulship to the same year of Tiberius. 'In the *ninth* year of the reign of Tiberius, in the consulship of C. Asinius Pollio and C. Antistius Vetus'^b that is, the consulship of Asinius Pollio and Antistius Vetus, reckoned from 1st Jan. A.D. 23, fell in the ninth year of Tiberius up to 19th Aug. A.D. 23, when the tenth year would commence. Dion Cassius again reckons in the same way, for in speaking of the year A.D. 24 he mentions, that in the course of it (viz. on 19th Aug.), 'ten years of the reign of Tiberius expired,'^c and again, he places the consulship of Lucius Vitellius and Fabius Persicus on 1st Jan. A.D. 34, in the twentieth year of Tiberius.^d So Philo computes the reign of Tiberius in round numbers at twenty-three years, and as Tiberius died in A.D. 37, Philo, of course, dated the commencement of the reign from 19th Aug. A.D. 14.^e So Josephus computes the reign of Tiberius from 19th Aug. A.D. 14, for he assigns the death of Herod Philip, which was at the close of A.D. 33, to the twentieth year of Tiberius, and the remnant of the year A.D. 33 from 19th Aug. would fall in the twentieth year of Tiberius.^f And again, Josephus reckons the reign of Tiberius at 22 years, 3 months, and 3 days,^g or, as in another place, at 22 years, 6 months, and 3 days,^h and as the death of Tiberius occurred on 16th March A.D. 37, Josephus refers the commencement of the reign to 19th Aug. A.D. 14.

There are two coins of Antioch, however, which have been thought to countenance the notion that Tiberius began to reign in A.D. 12. One of them has the head of Tiberius, with the inscription *Καισαρ Σεβαστος*, ΓΜ, i.e. in the 43rd year of the Actian era, commencing from 2nd Sept. B.C. 31, and therefore struck in A.D. 12-13, and the other has the head of Tiberius, with the inscription *Καισαρ Σεβαστος*, ΔΜ, i.e. in the 44th year of the Actian era, and therefore struck A.D. 13-14,ⁱ and as the head of Tiberius is found on these coins with the title of *Augustus*, it has hence been argued that he was emperor as early as A.D. 12. The genuineness of these coins has been questioned by Eckhel, m. 277. But even admitting them to be free from suspicion, they prove only that Tiberius had then been honoured with the title of Augustus, not that he had then begun to reign as emperor. Besides, there are other undoubted coins of Antioch which show conclusively that the Antiochians (and Luke himself was a native, or at least an inhabitant, of that city) dated the reign of Tiberius not from A.D. 12, but from the death of Augustus in A.D. 14. Thus we have one coin of Antioch with the head of Tiberius and the letter A, i.e. in the first year of his reign, and coupled with the Actian year EM, or 45, and therefore equivalent to A.D. 14-15. Again, there are other coins with the head of Tiberius, and the letter Γ,

^a C. Asinio, C. Antistio consulibus nonus Tiberius annus erat Tac. Ann. iv. 1.

^b Tiberii divi principatus nono anno C. Asinio Pollione, C. Antistio Vetre consulibus Plin. N. H. xxi. 8.

^c Διελευθ των 12 των δεκα εναν της αρχης αυτου Dion. lvi. 24, and so Dion. lvi. 24.

^d Dion. lvi. 24.

^e Τρια πρις τους εικοσι τρη γης και θαλασσης α-α.

φαιμεν το πρως Philo, I. 9, 21.

^f Ιετα δε και Φιλιστος (Ηρώδου δε ην αδελφου) τελευτα τον βιον εικοστω μεν εναντω της Τιβεριου αρχης ηγγεσμενος δε αυτος επη και τριδαντα της Τραχανιτιδος και Γαυλαντιδος και του Βατοναλων ενθους προς αυτου Jos. Ant. xxi. 4, 6.

^g Ant. xxi. 6, 10.

^h Eckhel, m. 276.

ⁱ Bll., ii. 9, 5.

i.e. that is, in the third year of his reign, and coupled with the Actian year ZM, or 47, and therefore equivalent to A.D. 16-17.^m

In the time of Luke, then, the reign of Tiberius was a well-known date, as beginning from 19th Aug. A.D. 14; and the evangelist, in referring the commencement of John's ministry to the fifteenth year of Tiberius, must have meant the fifteenth year as universally computed, viz. from 19th Aug. A.D. 28. We shall assume, therefore, that John the Baptist lifted up his voice in the wilderness, as the harbinger of the Messiah, some time after 19th Aug. A.D. 28, when the fifteenth year of Tiberius began, and some time before 4th Feb. A.D. 29, when, as we have seen, our Lord was baptized.

At what exact time, during that interval, John the Baptist commenced, it is hard if not impossible to say. The only fact that has any bearing upon the subject is the statement in the fourth gospel, that on the day next preceding our Lord's return from the Temptation to John at Bethabara, and therefore about March A.D. 29, a commission, consisting of Priests and Levites of the Pharisaic party, arrived at Bethabara to inquire into the nature of the Baptist's office, whether he were the Messiah or not,ⁿ from which two inferences may be drawn, 1. That John the Baptist must have proclaimed the coming Messiah some little time previously, or he would not have attracted the attention of the Sanhedrim, and, 2. That he could not have been preaching this doctrine for any *great* length of time, or the embassy would have been sent at an earlier day, for the Pharisees were at this period on the watch for the Messiah, and so soon as John proclaimed the revelation made to him, they would examine into his pretensions.

The birth of John the Baptist was in the sixth month current before the birth of Christ, and it is not improbable that the precursورش of John the Baptist preceded the baptism of our Lord by about the same period. We should therefore place the commencement of John's ministry in the latter end of Aug. A.D. 28, being the sixth month current before the baptism of Jesus in the first half of February A.D. 29. This interval of about six months between the commencement of John's ministry and the arrival of the mission of the Pharisees is sufficient to account satisfactorily for the spread of John's notoriety, and the consequent excitement of the Pharisees as to the Baptist's character.

In speaking of the commencement of John the Baptist's ministry, we mean of course his ministry as precursor of the Messiah, for as John at the time of the revelation made to him was already in the wilderness,^o it seems to be implied, and can scarcely be doubted as a fact, that from his youth upward, and for many years before the announcement of the coming Messiah, he had been a preacher of righteousness, and had admitted disciples by the rite of baptism.^p

^m Eekhel, in 278

ⁿ John i. 19

^o Luke iii. 2

^p as at Ephesus (Acts xix. 3), which rather implies a lengthened exercise of his ministry

CHAPTER VII.

NOTES OF TIME TO BE FOUND IN THE GOSPELS.

We shall now advert to some chronological *indicia* which appear in the Evangelists, and which will be found, if we mistake not, to confirm, or at least to harmonise with, the views adopted in the foregoing pages.

1. The first note of time is this. At the Passover, when our Lord opened His public ministry (i.e. in A.D. 29), the Jews, when our Lord was discoursing with them in the temple, exclaimed, '*Forty and six years has this temple (ὁ ναὸς οὗτος) been building.*'^a To understand this, we must remember that Herod the Great had begun the restoration of the temple, and that the fabric was not fully completed until the year which preceded the Jewish war, viz. A.D. 65.^b At the time when these words were spoken forty-six years are said to have elapsed since the commencement, and if we can ascertain in what year Herod first began the structure, we shall be able to elicit the year of the Passover when the expression was used.

The circumstances under which Herod undertook to rebuild the temple were these. In the latter part of the year B.C. 20, Augustus arrived at Antioch, and Herod shortly afterwards visited him there and established himself highly in the emperor's favour.^c Before winter set in Augustus sailed to Samos,^d and Herod returned to Jerusalem, and in order to conciliate the Jews, remitted to them one-third of their taxes.^e He next erected a temple to Augustus in the neighbourhood of Paneas, afterwards *Cæsarea Philippi*.^f He then for the first time unfolded to his countrymen the grand project of taking down the temple of God and restoring it on a much more magnificent scale. What induced him to undertake so vast a work was, as we learn from Josephus, the distinguished favour in which he now stood with the Romans,^g so that the conception was certainly posterior to the meeting of Herod with Augustus at Antioch in A.D. 20. In the *Antiquities* Josephus refers the undertaking to the nineteenth year of Herod's reign, or B.C. 19,^h and in the Wars the expression is πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει,ⁱ which is clearly a mistake, and probably miswritten for another word much resembling it, viz. ἑννεακαιδεκάτῳ, i.e. the nineteenth year as stated in the *Antiquities*,

^a Τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἕξ ἔτεσιν οἰκοδομήθη ὁ ναὸς οὗτος John ii 20. The authorised translation, 'Forty and six years was this temple in building, does not correctly represent the original, as it implies that the temple, at the time when the words were spoken, was completed, which was not the fact.

^b Jos. Ant., xx 9, 7.

^c Jos. Ant., vii 10, 3.

^d Jos. Ant., xi 10, 4.

^e Dion., lvi 9.

^f Jos. Ant. xv 10, 3.

^g "Ἐπειὶν ἐπὶ πλείστον μὲν εὐδαιμονίας προσέκοιεν, εἰς

μεῖζον δὲ ἐξήρθη φρόνημα καὶ τὸ πλεόν τῆς μεγαλοπίας ἐκτετεῖεν εἰς εὐσεβείαν Jos. Bell., i 20, 4. Τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, φίλοι καὶ δι' εὐτοίας οἱ πάντων ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν κρατοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι Jos. Ant. xv 11, 1.

^h Ὀκτωκαίδεκάτου τῆς Ἡρώδου βασιλείας γεγονότος ἀναιστοῦ Ant., xi 11, 1, where γεγονότος seems equivalent to παρελθόντος in Ant., xv 10, 3, viz. 'being passed.' See Tablous, v c 20, No 738.

ⁱ Jos. Bell., i 21, 1.

Herod had first of all some difficulty in obtaining the consent of the people, who were naturally apprehensive that the structure might be taken down and never re-stored at all. At last it was agreed that Herod should not remove a stone of the temple until all should be in readiness for the erection of the new fabric. Herod now employed himself in collecting the most costly materials for the work from various quarters, and a thousand wagons were made ready for the transport. He also procured 10,000 skilful artisans for laying the foundations and constructing the cloisters, but as to the *vaos* or temple itself, it could only be built by the priests, and for this purpose 1,000 priests were apprenticed as masons and carpenters to learn the necessary handicrafts.^k As the temple was remarkable for its exquisite workmanship, these priests must have been occupied some time in learning their trades. Now, we cannot allow less than one year for the full preparation of the materials and for the training of the priests. If we suppose, therefore, that Herod first entered upon his *design* about the Passover of B.C. 19 (six months after his intimacy with Augustus at Antioch), the temple itself would be commenced about the Passover of B.C. 18. And if we reckon forward forty-six years from this date, it will bring us to the Passover of A.D. 29. It is not a little remarkable that Josephus, in speaking of the *building* of the temple after the completion of the *preparations*, uses the expression, *ᾠκοδομήθη δὲ ὁ ναός*, &c.,^l corresponding word for word with the language of the Evangelist, *Τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑξ ἔτησιν ᾠκοδομήθη ὁ ναὸς οὗτος*. St John and Josephus are manifestly speaking of the same subject-matter.

2 The imprisonment of John the Baptist is a chronological premiss of some importance. We learn from John's gospel, that after the first Passover—the Passover of A.D. 29—Jesus retired into some part of Judæa, and there exercised his ministry long enough to make more converts than John the Baptist, who was still at liberty.^m This remarkable success called forth the jealousy of the Pharisees, and therefore our Lord withdrew into Galilee. But when he did so, John the Baptist was already in prison, Mark i. 14, Matt. iv. 12. The incarceration of the Baptist must therefore have occurred in the latter half of A.D. 29, and this, so far as can be ascertained, was the fact.

The circumstances were as follows. Herod Antipas (called by our Saviour ‘that fox’)ⁿ was a crafty monarch and had contrived by fawning flatteries, and the meanest artifices, to insinuate himself into the favour of the Emperor Tiberius. At the very beginning of A.D. 29 died Livia, or Julia, or Augusta, the wife of Augustus, and mother of Tiberius.^o Calpurnia, then a youth, delivered her funeral oration^p and she was interred in the tomb of Augustus, and at the same time the ladies of Rome were ordered to wear mourning for a whole year.^q Addresses of condolence poured in upon the emperor from all quarters, and it seems that Antipas, amongst others, made a voyage to Rome for the purpose. Livia had held some valuable possessions in Judæa, viz. Jamnia and Archelais, and the palm-groves of Phasaelis,^r and perhaps the aifful tetrarch may have entertained the hope of obtaining a grant of them from the emperor, his patron, more particularly as Antipas had built two cities in honour of the imperial family, one, Tiberias, after the name of the emperor, and the other, Julias, after the name of Livia herself.^s Antipas, on his way from Galilee to the embarkation, lodged with his brother Philip (not the tetrarch, but called by Josephus, Herod), when he

^k Jos. Ant., xv. 11, 2. See Tables B.C. 20, No 738, B.C. 18, No 745.

^l Jos. Ant., xi. 11, 3.

^m John iii. 24.

ⁿ Tac. Ann., i. 1.

^o Dion., lvi. 2.

^p Ant., xiii. 2, 1, 3, Bell., ii. 9, 1.

^q Ibid.

^r Jos. Bell., ii. 9, 1.

became enamoured of Philip's wife Herodias. Antipas had been married for some years to a daughter of Aretas, king of Petra, and as Philip had a daughter Salome by Herodias, her marriage to a brother of Philip would be a most heinous infraction of the Jewish law. The unprincipled Antipas, however, cast aside all scruples, and Herodias was induced to enter into a compact with him, that on his return from Rome she should elope from Philip and become his wife. As Antipas sailed to Rome in the spring of A. D. 29, and would return with all speed to carry out his compact with Herodias, his arrival in Judæa may be placed in the third quarter of A. D. 29. Antipas's own wife saved him the trouble of a divorce, for having during his absence discovered the plot against her, she escaped from the tetrarch and took refuge with her father at Petra. As soon as publicity was given to the fact of Herod's marriage contract with Herodias, John the Baptist openly rebuked him. Antipas himself had a respect for the Baptist, and might have overlooked the affront, but the malice of Herodias prevailed, and John was apprehended and imprisoned. Thus the historical facts attending the imprisonment of John warrant us in placing it as we have done, in the latter part of A. D. 29, about the time of our Lord's departure from Judæa into Galilee.

We shall here notice an objection that has been, and may again be urged, against this date of John's imprisonment. It is said that Drusus, the son of Tiberius, died in A. D. 23,* and that Agrippa was obliged shortly afterwards to leave Rome, as Tiberius, from grief at his son's loss, could not endure the sight of Agrippa, the friend of Drusus,[†] and that Agrippa therefore, in A. D. 23, or A. D. 24 at the latest, sailed to Judæa, and resided at Malatha, and that his sister Herodias, as expressly mentioned by Josephus, was then already living with Herod the tetrarch, and exerted her influence with him to procure some relief for Agrippa.[‡] If so, it is argued, the imprisonment of John, which arose from his rebuke of Herod's marriage with Herodias, must have followed soon afterwards, and cannot be placed so late as A. D. 29. Now this objection is founded upon an entire misapprehension. True, Drusus died in A. D. 23, but his death was then attributed to the effects of his own intemperance, and Tiberius, so far from being overcome with sorrow upon the occasion, affected the utmost indifference at it, and even made a jest of it. When the Illyrians or Trojans, for instance, offered their condolence for the loss of Drusus, the emperor begged to condole with them in return for the death of Hector.[§] Agrippa then could not have been obliged to quit Rome at this time, as it would have been a direct contradiction to the emperor's other demeanour. It was in A. D. 31, and not before, that the necessity for Agrippa's departure arose as follows. Sejanus was put to death on 18th October A. D. 31, and a few days after, from an examination of his wife, Apicata, it came to light, for the first time, that Drusus in A. D. 23 had not died, as before supposed, from his own excesses, but that he had been poisoned by Sejanus, to make room for that courtier's own ambitious views.[¶] Now it was that Tiberius, finding his son to have been the victim, not as he had been led to believe of his own debauchery, but of conspiracy, gave way to the deepest sorrow for his loss, and displayed a spirit of fretfulness and exasperation against all about him.^{**} It was at this juncture that Agrippa, as reviving the memory of Drusus, was dismissed

* Tac. Ann., iv. 8, Dion., lxxii. 22

† Tac. Ann., xiii. 6, 1

‡ Ἡρώδης τῇ Τερπιδῇ καὶ συνιοικοῦσαν. Ant. xviii. 6, 2

§ Tac. Hist. i. 52, Tac. Ann. ix. 8, 13, and Seneca

Consol. ad Marciam, 15 See the passages cited under

A. D. 23, No. 1147

¶ Dion., lxxii. 11

** Tac. Hist. i. 62 See An. 3, No. 1368

from the emperor's presence, and sailed to Judea. He would on this supposition reach Malatha, in Idumæa, either at the close of A. D. 31, or the beginning of A. D. 32, and in either case he would find his sister Herodias living with Antipas, as the marriage contract between them had been entered into at the very commencement of A. D. 29.

3. The feast of Tabernacles which our Lord attended at Jerusalem, John vii. 2, could not, as we have shown, be that of A. D. 32, the year next before the Crucifixion, but, in order to allow time for the intervening events, it must have occurred one year earlier, viz. in A. D. 31. Supposing this to be so, have we any circumstance in John's gospel confirmatory of the hypothesis? We read that our Lord was present on the *last* day of the feast, and then retired, as was his custom, to Mount Olivet. *Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἑσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ τῆς ἑορτῆς*, John vii. 37. The next morning, and therefore the day after the feast, Jesus returned to the temple, when the people attempted to stone Him, but He escaped, and on His way from the temple wrought the cure of the man who had been born blind, *ὁρθρον δὲ πάλιν παρεγένετο εἰς τὸ ἱερόν*, John viii. 2; and *the day on which the miracle was performed was a Jewish Sabbath*, i. e. a Saturday, *ἣν δὲ σάββατον ὅτε τὸν πηλὸν*, &c. John ix. 14. We have then to ask whether, in A. D. 31, the day next after the close of the feast of Tabernacles was or not a Saturday? The feast of Tabernacles began on the day of full moon, about the time of the autumnal equinox. We find in Pingré's Tables that an eclipse of the moon occurred at 4 a. m. for the meridian of Paris, i. e. at 6.12 a. m. for the meridian of Jerusalem, on 19th October A. D. 31, in other words, that the moon was then at the full, when only an eclipse can occur. Greswell assumes that this 19th October was the first day of the feast of Tabernacles, and if so, then, as it was celebrated for eight days, the 26th October would be the last, and the 27th October would be the day after the close of the festival, and on which therefore the miracle must have been wrought. Was this 27th October, A. D. 31, a Jewish Sabbath, or Saturday? We consult De Morgan's Book of Almanacks, and we find that it was.

To this result, so in harmony with our calculations, there are, however, two objections. In the first place it may be questioned, whether the feast of Tabernacles did not begin a month earlier, for as the full moon in April A. D. 31 was on the 25th of the month at 9 p. m., the preceding full moon would fall on 27th March, at 9 a. m. for the meridian of Paris, i. e. at 11.12 a. m. for the meridian of Jerusalem, and the 26th March would therefore be, unquestionably, the day of paschal sacrifices, or 14th Nisan. The Tabernacles occurred in the seventh lunar month from Nisan, both inclusive, and if the Passover therefore was on 26th March A. D. 31, the Tabernacles would fall in September A. D. 31. There was an eclipse of the moon, and it was therefore full moon, on 19th October at 4 a. m. for the meridian of Paris, i. e. at 6.12 a. m. for the meridian of Jerusalem. The preceding full moon would therefore fall about 6.12 p. m. at Jerusalem on 19th September. The feast of Tabernacles would thus begin at sunset on 19th September, and being a feast of eight days would end at sunset on 27th September, or (as the full moon was just about sunset) it is possible that the feast of Tabernacles might have begun at sunset on 18th September, and have ended at sunset on 26th September, and we shall be content, as will be seen presently, to argue upon either of these suppositions.

The second objection to which we have referred is this. We have assumed, from the words *ὁρθρον δὲ πάλιν παρεγένετο*, John viii. 2, that it was the morning after the last day of the feast spoken of just previously. But Lachmann, Tischendorf, and the best modern critics have come to the conclusion, that the whole passage, be-

gunning John viii 2 down to viii 11, is an interpolation not necessarily apocryphal, but more properly belonging to Luke's gospel, where also it is found in many ancient MSS

These two objections are of course fatal to the line of argument with which we started, and which assumed the miracle to have been wrought on the day next after the feast, and the feast itself to have begun on 19th October A D 31. But let us see whether, even if we admit the objections, the narrative of John will not enable us, by a fair and even probable interpretation, to fix this feast of Tabernacles to the year A D 31. The gospel of John, if we reject the disputed passage, proceeds, after the account of the last day of the feast, as follows *πάλιν οὖν ὁ Ἰησοῦς αὐτοῖς ἐλάλησε λέγων, &c.*, John viii 12, and this discourse was delivered in the treasury, *ἐν τῷ γαζοφυλακίῳ* viii. 20, and as John here uses the introductory word *πάλιν* and shifts the scene to the treasury, it is a reasonable inference that he intends a different day and therefore the *first* day *after* the feast. A little after we find another note of time, *Ἔπειν οὖν πάλιν ὁ Ἰησοῦς Ἐγὼ ὑπάγω, &c.* viii. 21, and as this was spoken in the temple without any reference to the treasury, it was presumably in a different part of the temple, viii 59. Here then, from the repetition of the introductory word, *πάλιν*, and the change of the locality, we are justified in concluding that another day had commenced, being the *second* after the feast. It was on this latter day, as He was going out of the temple, that the miracle was wrought on the Jewish Sabbath or Saturday, ix 14. If, therefore, the feast of Tabernacles ended, as we have supposed, on 27th September, the second day after it, and which should be a Sabbath, would be 29th September, and according to De Morgan's Book of Almanacks, the 29th September A D 31 was a Saturday, or Jewish Sabbath. Even if the feast of Tabernacles began at sunset on 18th September, instead of at sunset on 19th September, and ended at sunset on 26th September instead of at sunset on 27th September, the miracle on the second day after the feast—i.e. on 28th September—would still fall on a Sabbath, if, as is not unlikely, it was wrought on Friday 28th September, toward the close of the day—that is, after sunset, when the Jewish Sabbath commenced.

As it is not an uncommon opinion that the feast of Tabernacles, John vii 2, was the feast of Tabernacles next before the Crucifixion (A D 33), and therefore to be placed in A D 32, let us see if either the first or second day after the close of the feast in that year would fall on a Saturday, or Jewish Sabbath. In A D 32 the full moon of the autumnal equinox was on 7th October at half-past 1 pm for the meridian of Paris—that is, at 3 42 for the meridian of Jerusalem, for at that time there was an eclipse of the moon which can only be at the full (see Puget's Tables). The 7th October would therefore be the first day of the feast, and 14th October the last. The *first* day after the feast would be 15th October, and the second day after the feast would be 16th October. But the 15th and 16th October in A D 32 were *Wednesday* and *Thursday*, and therefore neither of them could be a Jewish Sabbath. The Feast of Tabernacles in question, therefore, could not have fallen in A D 32.

4 According to the system adopted in the preceding pages, the ministry of our Lord lasted four full years. Have we any trace of this four-year period in the Gospels? When our Lord was on his last journey to Jerusalem, and therefore toward the close of his career, he delivered the parable of the figtree. Jewy was the vineyard of Jehovah, and Jerusalem was the figtree which grew and flourished within it. In this parable the lord of the vineyard is represented as saying, *Three years have I sought*

'I went on this tree and found none,' Ἰδοὺ, τρία ἔτη ἔρχομαι ζητῶν καρπὸν ἐν τῇ συκῇ ταύτῃ καὶ οὐχ εὕρισκω, Luke xiii. 7 The vine-dresser, i. e. our Lord himself, answers. 'Let it alone *this year also*, that I may dig about it and dung it,' Κύριε, ἄφεσ αὐτὴν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔτος, &c, Luke xiii. 8 Does not our Lord here plainly intimate that his ministry had already lasted three years without producing repentance, and that his labours would continue for one year more, i. e. a fourth year, and then that Jerusalem would be abandoned to its fate. The facts correspond with the parable. Our Lord opened his public ministry at Jerusalem at the Passover of A. D. 29. For the next three years he exercised his ministry in Judaea and Galilee. Then, in the fourth year, he made his longest and most laborious circuit, and thus dug about the ground and dressed it in the hope of eliciting fertility, and at the end of the fourth year, that is, at the Passover A. D. 33, he expired on the cross, and then closed his ministry with the dying words, which might be applied to the fate of Jerusalem, 'It is finished!'

CHAPTER VIII.

DATE OF ST PAUL'S FIRST ARRIVAL AT CORINTH.

WE now propose to investigate some of the leading dates in the life of St Paul, as—
 1. The year of his conversion, when on the road to Damascus, 2. The time of his visit to Jerusalem, when Herod Agrippa killed James, the brother of John, with the sword, Acts xii 1, 3 The date of his arrival at Corinth on the first occasion, when he 'departed from Athens and came to Corinth, and found a certain Jew there named 'Aquila, lately come from Italy,' Acts xviii 1, 4 The time of his visit to Jerusalem, when he was arrested by Lyngas in the temple; and 5. The date of his release from imprisonment at Rome.

This is the order in which the events followed each other, but it will be necessary in our discussion to commence with the third question, viz What was the date of Paul's arrival at Corinth at his first visit? as on the result of this will depend the year to which the conversion must be referred.

When all our inquiries have been answered, the harmony of the whole will be the strongest argument in support of each particular part, but at present, as we cannot show the time of Paul's arrival at Corinth by assuming any given date of his history anterior or subsequent, we must break ground by an appeal to independent circumstances peculiarly and exclusively applicable to the arrival itself.

We have two notes of time in the account of Paul's visit to Corinth, which may furnish us with a clue to the period of its occurrence First, when Paul reached Corinth, he found there Aquila, a Jew of Pontus, 'just (*προσφάτως*) come from Italy with his wife Priscilla, because that *Claudius* had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome,'* and secondly, towards the end of Paul's sojourn at Corinth (which was a year and a half^b), Gallio was appointed proconsul of Achaia.

1. Expulsion from Rome was generally resorted to as a measure of security, and was enforced against some particular class of inhabitants, when the nation to which they belonged was either in open rebellion or was under gnevous suspicion. Thus, when Varus lost his legions in Gaul, Augustus immediately issued a proclamation that all *Gauls* should depart from Rome.^c As the edict against the Jews was promulgated by Claudius, whose reign was from A.D. 41 to A.D. 54, we have to look for some outbreak of the Jews against the Roman authority during this interval, and such we find in the histories of both Josephus and Tacitus. The former tells us that during the procuratorship of Cumanus, some Galileans, in passing through Samaria, on their way to the feast at Jerusalem, were intercepted by the Samaritans and slain The Galileans flew to

* Acts xviii 2

^b Acts xviii 11

^c Dion, lvi 23 See Tables A D 2, No 1032

Cumanus for justice, but the procurator, having been bribed by the Samaritans, slighted their remonstrances. Upon this the multitude, assembled at Jerusalem for the feast, determined on taking reprisals into their own hands, and, marching down into Samaria and joining their hands to Eleazar, a noted bandit, who had been proscribed by the Romans, sacked and burnt some of the Samaritan villages. Cumanus hastened down with horse and foot, and an engagement took place. Some of the Romans were slain,^d but in the end the Jews were defeated, many killed, and more taken prisoners. Judæa, it not now in open rebellion, was expected momentarily to be so. Josephus calls it a revolt (*ἀνόστασις*), Ant. xx. 6, 3, and Tacitus says it was a miracle that the whole province was not in flames, Tac. Ann. xii. 54. Quadratus, the prefect of Syria, marched with his forces to Samaria, where he summoned the Jews and Samaritans before him, and investigated the cause of the disturbance, executed those whom Cumanus had taken, and then adjourned the hearing till he should reach Judæa. Some time after he proceeded to Lydda, where the trial was resumed, and the result was that further executions took place, and Cumanus, and Celer his tribune, were sent in chains to Rome, to plead before Claudius. After this, Quadratus marched to Jerusalem, to check any similar outbreak, and was present at the feast of the *Passover*.^e It is evident from this narrative, that the feast at which the Jews had marched into Samaria, and joined their forces to the bandit Eleazar, was the preceding feast, and therefore the feast of Tabernacles. In what year, then, did this occur? Josephus informs us that Cumanus and Celer, who had been sent to Rome by Quadratus, were condemned, after trial, the one to banishment, and the other to death, and then subjoins, 'and Claudius also sends Felix, the brother of Pallas (*vice* Cumanus), to take the command of affairs in Judæa, and *having now completed his twelfth year*, he invests Agrippa with the tetraarchy,' &c.^f The banishment of Cumanus, and the appointment of Felix, was therefore a little before the completion of Claudius's twelfth year. But the twelfth year of his reign expired on 25th January, A. D. 53. Cumanus and Celer, therefore, had been sent by Quadratus to Rome in A. D. 52, and at the *Passover* of that year Quadratus had been at Jerusalem, and the outbreak of the Jews had occurred at the preceding feast of Tabernacles A. D. 51. This inference from the account of Josephus is fully confirmed by the narrative of Tacitus, who places the trial of Cumanus before Claudius, and the pacification of the province by the intervention of Quadratus, in the consulship of Faustus Sulla and Salvius Otho, that is, in the year A. D. 52,^g and if so, the revolt of Judæa must be referred to the feast of Tabernacles A. D. 51. Upon the concurrent testimony, therefore, of Josephus and Tacitus, we may refer the disturbances in Judæa to the feast of Tabernacles, A. D. 51, which was on 8th October of that year, and assuming this to be so, intelligence of the rebellion would reach Rome at the very beginning of the following year A. D. 52, and Claudius, whose timidity of character is notorious, would, upon receipt of the news, issue an immediate order for the expulsion of the Jews from Rome.

Josephus, out of tenderness, perhaps, to his countrymen, has passed over this edict in silence, but, if we mistake not, there are some traces of it to be found in Tacitus. In the very first chapter relating to the events of A. D. 52 occurs the following passage: 'A decree was passed (as violent as it was *nugatory*) for the expulsion of the Chaldeans

^a Cæsi milites, Tac. Ann., xii. 54.

^b Jos. Bell., ii. 12, 6. Ant., xx. 6, 1.

^c Πλευραι δὲ καὶ Κλαυδίου υἱὸς Πάλλωντος ἀδελφοὶν (vice Cumanus) τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προσεσθρόμενων

πραγμάτων. Τῆς δὲ ἀρχῆς δωδέκατον ἔτος ἦδη νεκρωσὶν δορεῖται τὸν Ἀγρίππαν τῇ Φιλίππου τετραρχίᾳ, &c. Ant., xx. 7, 1.

^g Tac. Ann., xii. 52, 54.

(*Mathematici*) from Italy.^{1a} And if the *Jews* were connected with the Chaldeans by Tacitus, whose ignorance, at least on this part of the Jewish history, is very remarkable, the expulsion referred to by St Luke, in the Acts, is confirmed by the heathen historian. It is singular that the two edicts, unless they were identical, should both have been issued at the same moment. They both also agree in this particular, that Tacitus calls the decree, mentioned by him, 'nugatory,' and we know that the order of Claudius, referred to by Luke was not long in force, for when the supposed rebellion had blown over, the Jews soon returned to the capital, and lived there in the same freedom as before.

The edict, then, against the Jews was promulgated at the very commencement of A D 52, and if so, Aquila would reach Corinth the beginning of February A D 52, and as Paul came thither about the same time, we may place his arrival also about the beginning of February A D. 52.

2 Let us now examine how far this date is consistent with the other note of time, viz the proconsulship of Galho. The sojourn of Paul at Corinth, altogether, was a year and six months,² so that if he arrived at Corinth the beginning of February A D 52, his departure would be at the beginning of August A D 53, which would allow a convenient interval for reaching Jerusalem at the feast of Tabernacles (as he intended) on 16th September of that year.¹ Galho had been some little time (*ἡμέρας ἱκανάς*, Acts xviii 18) in office when Paul left, so that Galho would probably come to Corinth a little before Midsummer, A D 53, which would be the usual season of a proconsul's entrance into his province, the order being that proconsuls should leave Rome by 15th April.³ Can we then collect from the few facts known of Galho the probability of his holding the province in A D 53? The advancement of Galho must be ascribed to the influence of his brother Seneca. In the very first year of the reign of Claudius A D 41, Seneca was banished, and remained in disgrace until A D 49,⁴ and it is unlikely that during this interval Galho would have enjoyed the imperial favour while his brother was in exile. But in A D. 49, Agrippina, who had just married Claudius, endeavoured to make herself popular by the recall of Seneca, and procured also at the same time his nomination to the prætorship, *Veniam exilii pro Anno Senecæ, simul Præturam impetrat*, Tac Ann xii 8. The elections for the prætorship were in the autumn, and the prætors entered upon office the 1st of January following. Now if Galho, as well as Seneca, had been nominated to the prætorship at Seneca's return, it is scarcely possible that Tacitus should not have mentioned it. Neither is it likely that Seneca, immediately on his own recall and before he had established his own influence at court, should have exerted himself to obtain the prætorship for his brother. It is improbable, therefore, that Galho was amongst those elected in A D 49, and if so, he would not be in actual office as prætor for the year A D 50. But there is no objection to the hypothesis that Seneca's influence led to the nomination of Galho to the prætorship in the autumn of A D 50, so that he

^{1a} De Mathematicis Iti diâ pellendis factum senatus-consultum atrox et irritum Tac Ann, xii 52 See Suet. Tib. 36

² Compare Tac Ann i, xii 54 with Jos Bell, ii 12, 3, Ant xx 6, 1

³ Ἐδίδασκεν τοὺς ἐπιστολὰς καὶ ῥητὰς ἐξ διδασκων ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ Acts, xviii 11 See Tables, A D 53, No 1793

⁴ Paul sailed from Philippi after the expiration of

the Passover, for the purpose of reaching Jerusalem at the Pentecost, the 50th day from the 2nd day of the seven days of Unleavened bread Acts xx 6 He thus allowed himself only forty four days from Philippi to Jerusalem, and twice on the road, viz at Iroas and Ijrie, he tarried a whole week

⁵ Dion Iv 17

⁶ Dion, Iv 8 See Tables A D 41, No 1627 A D 49, No 1729

might be actual praetor for the year A.D. 51. It was an inflexible rule of Claudius, and founded on the justest principles, that no two offices should be held consecutively, but that, on the expiration of any magistracy, there should at least be an interval of a year, during which the *functus officio* should be at Rome and ready to answer any accusations that might be brought against him for maladministration*. If Gallo then was praetor in A.D. 51, he was at Rome during A.D. 52, but in A.D. 53 he was capable of taking a province, and his brother Seneca being then at the height of his popularity, might, with every probability in its favour, have secured for him the proconsulship of Achaia. It is clear that Gallo in the following year, A.D. 54 was *not* in Achaia, but at Rome as we find him exerting his wit there on the subject of the death of Claudius†. Assuming, then, that Gallo was proconsul for the year A.D. 53, he would leave Rome about the middle of April, and arrive at Corinth, as we have supposed, a little before Midsummer A.D. 53, a month or two before Paul's departure.

Having thus fixed the arrival of Paul at Corinth in A.D. 52, let us trace forward the apostle's history, to see the bearings of this hypothesis upon the date of his visit to Jerusalem, when he was arrested in the temple, and which in a future discussion will be referred to the time of the Pentecost A.D. 58. If Paul came to Corinth early in February A.D. 52, it follows that he quitted it, after a year and six months, early in August A.D. 53, and was at Jerusalem at the feast of Tabernacles, the 16th of September in the same year. He then went down to Antioch, and after staying a little time there, χρόνον τινά, Acts xviii. 23, passed through Galatia and Phrygia to Ephesus. Now, on his way to Jerusalem, he had *promised* the Ephesians to return to them after the feast of Tabernacles, so that he would probably arrive at Ephesus in the spring of A.D. 54. He sojourned there three years, τρεῖς ἔτη, Acts xx. 31, and left, sometime between the Passover and Pentecost. 1 Cor. v. 7, xvi. 8, and therefore between the Passover and Pentecost of the year A.D. 57, and remained during the winter at Corinth, for the space of three months, μῆνας τρεῖς, Acts xx. 3. At the Passover of the following year, A.D. 58, he was at Philippi, Acts xx. 6, so that if we can establish, on independent grounds, that Paul was at Corinth the first time in A.D. 52, it results that he was at Philippi at the Passover of A.D. 58, and that Paul was at Philippi in A.D. 58 we shall show hereafter, by a perfectly different chain of reasoning. On the other hand, if we can prove, as we shall, that Paul was at Philippi at the Passover of A.D. 58, we have only to reckon backwards to arrive at the conclusion that Paul reached Corinth, on the first occasion, early in A.D. 52. Thus either date supports the other, and one being conceded, the other will follow.

* Dion, lx. 25

† Dion, lx. 35

CHAPTER IX

DATE OF ST PAUL'S CONVERSION

THIS question depends, in great measure, on a passage in the Galatians. St Paul, in speaking of the great mercy of God in having called him to be an apostle, tells us, that immediately after his conversion he went into Arabia, where he had no intercourse with man at all, but received certain divine revelations, and then returned to Damascus. Gal. i. 16. It is not clear whether the three years are to be reckoned from the conversion or from the return to Damascus. But as the seclusion in Arabia must have been very brief, the interval between the conversion and the return to Damascus may for our present purpose be disregarded. 'Then,' he proceeds, 'after three years, I went up to Jerusalem,' *ἔπειτα μετὰ ἑτῆ τρία ἀνῆλθον εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα*, i. 18, and 'Then, fourteen years after, I went up again to Jerusalem,' *ἔπειτα διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν πάλιν ἀνέβην εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα*, ii. 1. We have here, then, two consecutive periods of three years and fourteen years, making together seventeen years between the conversion and the subsequent visit to Jerusalem referred to by the apostle. Now this subsequent visit, described as occurring after an interval of seventeen years from the conversion, can be no other than that which we have placed at the feast of Tabernacles, A. D. 53, and if so, then, reckoning backward the fourteen years and three years, making together seventeen years, we arrive at the feast of Tabernacles A. D. 36.

In order, however, to determine the time of the conversion more nearly, we must consider the exact force of the expressions, *μετὰ ἑτῆ τρία* and *διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν*. The former words have been translated in our bibles 'after three years,' but this scarcely gives the meaning of the original. According to the Greek idiom, *μετὰ ἑτῆ τρία* signifies not after the expiration of the three full years, but in the course of the third year current. Thus *μετὰ μίαν ἡμέραν* is the next day. *μετὰ ἑτῆ δύο*, Bell. i. 13, 1, is varied in the Antiquities by the phrase *δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει*, &c., Ant. xiv. 13, 8, &c.^a St Paul, then, does not mean that three full years elapsed from the time of his conversion to this visit to Jerusalem, but only that this visit was sometime in the course of the third year current, i. e. more than two years after his conversion.

The expression, *ἔπειτα διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν*, stands in the authorised translation, 'Then, fourteen years after,' but it should more properly have been rendered, 'after fourteen years,' i. e. after an interval of fourteen years complete. Thus Philo, a Jew and a contemporary of the Apostles in speaking of the Sabbath, writes *ὅτι δι' ἑξ ἡμερῶν ἑρὰ ἡβδόμη*,^b 'the sacred day, the seventh after an interval of six.' The phrase, *διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν*, will therefore carry us back through an interval of fourteen complete years from the feast of Tabernacles A. D. 53, i. e. to the feast of Tabernacles

^a See A. D. 99. No. 1, 41.

^b De Septenario, c. 6.

A.D. 39 and the third year current from the feast of Tabernacles, A.D. 39, will be the year from the feast of Tabernacles, A.D. 36, to the feast of Tabernacles, A.D. 37.

But the conversion of St Paul was connected with and immediately followed upon the martyrdom of Stephen. Is there, then, any reason for supposing that the protomartyr suffered between the feast of Tabernacles, A.D. 36, and the same feast in A.D. 37. It is almost demonstrable that such was the case. The stoning of Stephen is the very counterpart of the stoning of James the Just, as recorded by Josephus, Ant. xx 9, 1,^o and as the latter occurred during a period of anarchy in the absence of a Roman procurator, we look naturally for a similar period of anarchy as prompting the martyrdom of Stephen, and just such an interregnum we find at the close of A.D. 36, and the beginning of A.D. 37.

Pilate, in A.D. 36, had committed a merciless massacre of the Samaritans, and a complaint was lodged against him in consequence before Vitellius, governor of Syria, who had then just returned to Antioch from the Euphrates, whither he had accompanied Tirdates on his expedition to Parthia. Pilate was ordered by Vitellius to meet the charge, and probably attended personally in his defence at Antioch, at least we do not hear of Vitellius himself visiting Jerusalem for the purpose. Pilate was tried, condemned, and deposed, and despatched to Rome. But at what time of year did this happen? This we can curiously enough determine with considerable accuracy, for Pilate, on being deposed, was obliged to sail instantly for Rome, εἰς Ῥώμην ἡπείροτο,^a and before he reached Rome the Emperor Tiberius was dead.^b The demise of Tiberius was on 16th March, A.D. 37, so that Pilate must have commenced his voyage at the very end of A.D. 36, when the Jews were left without a procurator. But further, Vitellius visited Jerusalem at the next Passover, A.D. 37, to keep the peace, and on that occasion displaced Caiaphas, the tool of Pilate, and appointed in his stead Theophilus (the son of Ananus, or Annas, who had been so instrumental in procuring the death of Christ, and the brother of that Ananus who, a few years after, procured the death of James the Just). Vitellius was returning from Jerusalem to Antioch, when he unexpectedly received orders from Tiberius, the patron of Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee, to march against Aretas, king of Petra, who had lately declared war against Antipas, and defeated his general in a pitched battle, and Vitellius, on receipt of this despatch, led back his forces on his way to Petra, and went up with Antipas to Jerusalem, and was there at the feast of *Pentecost*, on 9th May, A.D. 37. Four days after the feast came the news of the death of Tiberius in the preceding March, when Vitellius, whose heart rankled with revenge against Antipas, for an affront offered him the year before on the Euphrates, turned his back on the tetrarch and returned to Antioch. The Jews were now left to themselves. No successor to Pilate had yet arrived. The prefect of Syria was at Antioch, and Tiberius, whose severity they had dreaded, was dead.^c Under such a fortunate combination of circumstances, the Jews might well rush upon their prey, and vent their smothered fury upon Stephen, the most zealous of the sect.

From the presence of the Hellenists, who disputed with Stephen, and who came from Cyrene, Alexandria, Cilicia, and Asia,^d it was evidently the season of some public festival when Stephen was martyred, and as Tiberius died on 16th March, A.D. 37, and about two months would be required for the transmission of the intelligence to Jerusalem, the feast in question was, we may presume, that of the Pentecost, which was

^a See A.D. 62, No 1931.

^b Ant., xviii 4, 2.

^c *metaxds* Ant., xviii 4, 2.

^d Πρὸς δε ἡ τῇ Ῥώμῃ προελθόντων φράσαι. *Libérius*.

^e *See* Ant., xviii 5, 3.

^f Acts xi 9.

celebrated on 9th May, A.D. 37. If the death of Stephen, then, occurred in May, A.D. 37, the conversion of Paul would follow very shortly afterwards, and if so, it would be in the third year current before the feast of Tabernacles, A.D. 39, and in the seventeenth year current before the feast of Tabernacles, A.D. 53.^b

It is not an uncommon opinion, and therefore we notice it, that not only the three years, but also the *fourteen years*, are to be dated from the time of St Paul's conversion, but this is not the natural sense, and cannot be adopted without absolute necessity. Supposing, however, that the language itself offered no objection, the assumption could not be made to harmonize with the facts. Thus, if the voyage from Corinth to Jerusalem be placed, as it must be, at the feast of Tabernacles A.D. 53, fourteen years before that would, on this hypothesis, carry us to the feast of Tabernacles A.D. 39 as the time of the conversion. Paul visited Jerusalem three years after his conversion, Gal. i. 18 which would therefore be in A.D. 42, and we shall show presently, as a date to be received without the least question, that he was again at Jerusalem at the Passover of A.D. 44. Now in this interval of two years, from A.D. 42 to A.D. 44, occurred the following events—Paul, after attempting to preach at Jerusalem, was obliged to leave it, and was sent by the disciples to Tarsus, where he sojourned, Acts ix. 30, the Churches had an interval of rest, Acts ix. 31, Peter made a general circuit (*διὰ πάντων*), Acts ix. 32, Cornelius was called at Cæsarea, Acts x. 1, Peter returned to Jerusalem, and a council was held on the subject of the admission of the Gentiles, Acts xi. 1, the gospel was preached to the Greeks at Antioch, Acts xi. 19, the Church of Jerusalem heard of it, and sent Barnabas thither, Acts xi. 22, Barnabas went on to Tarsus, and brought Saul back with him, Acts xi. 23; Saul and Barnabas remained at Antioch a whole year, *ἑνιαυτὸν ὅλον*, Acts xi. 26. Paul and Barnabas went up to Jerusalem before the Passover, A.D. 44. Now these events are far too numerous to be compressed within the space of two years only, and if so, Paul's first visit to Jerusalem, after his conversion, could not have been in the year A.D. 42—that is, his conversion could not have been three years before, in A.D. 39, in which year, however, it must be placed, if the fourteen years before his visit in A.D. 53 were dated from the conversion and not from the expiration of the three years. It follows that the three years and the fourteen years of the Galatians must be distinct and consecutive periods, and the first visit to Jerusalem after the conversion being in A.D. 39, the conversion itself must be carried back to the third year current before, viz. to the year A.D. 37.

^b That the martyrdom of Stephen was either at the feast of Tabernacles A.D. 36, or at the Passover A.D. 37, or Pentecost A.D. 37, is almost certain, but the reader may well hesitate to which of these three feasts it should more properly be referred. If it be thought that some considerable time elapsed between the martyrdom of Stephen and the conversion of Paul, and that some considerable time also elapsed from the time of the conversion to Paul's return from Arabia to Damascus, then as the conversion, or at least the return from Damascus, is stated to have been in the

the third year current before Paul's visit to Jerusalem at the feast of Tabernacles A.D. 39 (which was on 21st September), the time of the martyrdom might perhaps be more consistently assigned to the Passover A.D. 37, or to the feast of Tabernacles A.D. 36. In either case there was the absence of a Roman governor from Jerusalem, as Pilate, towards the close of A.D. 40, had been summoned by Vitellius to Antioch to meet the charges of the Samaritans and was thence sent to Rome.

CHAPTER X

DATE OF THE VISIT OF PAUL AND BARNABAS TO JERUSALEM, WHEN THEY WERE SENT UP
WITH THE ALMS OF THE ANTIOCHIAN CHURCH

THE circumstances of this visit are familiar to all. Agabus, a member of the Jerusalem Church, and who had lately come down with some others to Antioch, predicted that a general famine was at hand, and thereupon the Antiochian converts made a charitable collection amongst themselves for the relief of the poor brethren at Jerusalem, and forwarded it by the hands of Paul and Barnabas. The two envoys arrived at Jerusalem just before a Passover. Herod Agrippa, probably while Paul and Barnabas were at Jerusalem, slew James the brother of John, and furthermore cast Peter into prison, with the view of putting him also to death, after the Passover. Agrippa, when the feast was ended, 'went down to Cæsarea, and there abode,' and not long after was struck by the hand of death in the theatre.^a

We have here two notes of time in connection with the journey of Paul and Barnabas,—first the famine, and secondly, the death of Agrippa. Luke tells us that the famine came to pass in the reign of Claudius, Acts xi 28, and therefore after 24th January A.D. 41, when Claudius ascended the throne and before 13th October A.D. 54, when Claudius died. Josephus speaks of the same famine, and states that it occurred under the procuratorship of Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander.^b Cuspius Fadus was appointed in the latter half of A.D. 44, and was succeeded by Tiberius Alexander in A.D. 46.^c The famine, therefore, may have commenced, according to Josephus in the latter part of A.D. 44, but apparently it had begun to be felt somewhat earlier, for Cuspius Fadus was sent to Judæa in the latter half of A.D. 44, in the place of Agrippa, who had lately died, and in the lifetime of Agrippa, and therefore probably not later than Midsummer A.D. 44, the Syrians and Sidonians had arrived at Cæsarea, to make peace with Agrippa, 'because their country was nourished by the king's country.'^d They were evidently straitened at this time for provisions from the prevailing scarcity. These notices of the famine therefore would lead us to the conclusion that, as Paul and Barnabas came up from Antioch to Jerusalem in *anticipation* of a famine, and just before a certain Passover, this Passover could be none other than that of A.D. 44.

But we shall arrive at this date with greater certainty by adverting to the other circumstance connected with the apostle's visit, viz. the death of Agrippa.

The account in the Acts runs—'And he (Agrippa) went down from Judæa to Cæsarea, and there abode *καὶ ἐκεῖ διέτριβεν*. And Herod was highly displeased with

^a Act. xxi 27 et seq.

^b c. 6, 2

^c Ἐπὶ τούτοις δὴ (Fadus and Alexander) καὶ τότε ἦν γὰρ λιμὸς καὶ ἔργον λαοφάνης συνέβη γενέσθαι. Ant.

^d See A.D. 44, No 1679, A.D. 46, No 1701

^e Act. xxi 20

them of Tyre and Sidon,' &c, when follow the particulars of his death in the theatre.^c The awful circumstances related by St. Luke were evidently so close after the Passover, as to force themselves from their proximity into the sacred narrative, though the writer had been treating of different matters. The words *ἐκεῖ διέτριβεν* do not imply any length of time, and should more properly have been rendered 'was sojourning there,' when the Tyrians and Sidonians implored his clemency, &c.

Agrippa, it is manifest, never returned again to Jerusalem, and therefore could not have long survived the Passover, for he was a rigid observer of the law of Moses and would have deemed it a heinous sin not to attend the regular festivals. Accident or illness might lead to his absence from some one of the feasts, as the next Pentecost, but he must at living have worshipped again at Jerusalem before the Passover of the following year. His death, then, may probably be placed after an interval of two or three months, at the most, from the Passover when Paul and Barnabas were present with him at Jerusalem. In what year, then, did this occur? The answer will be found in Josephus. He mentions that Agrippa, at his death, had completed the third year of his reign over *all Judaea* *τρίτον ἔτος αὐτῷ βασιλεύοντι τῆς ὅλης Ἰουδαίας πεπλήρωτο*, Ant. xix 8, 2, *βεβασίλευκὼς μὲν ἔτη τρία*, Bell. ii 11, 6, and that he had reigned seven years, from the time of his appointment as king of *Tiarchonitis*, *ἄγων ἔτος τῆς βασιλείας ἑβδομον* *τέτταρας μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Γαίου Καίσαρος ἐβασίλευσεν ἱνιαντοῦς, τῆς μὲν Φιλίππου τετραρχίας εἰς τριετίαν ἄρξας, τῷ τετάρτῳ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου προσειληφώς*, Ant. xix 8, 2. Now Agrippa was made king of *all Judaea* by Claudius not long after his accession, and as Claudius succeeded Caligula on 24th January A.D. 41, the appointment of Agrippa may be placed in April A.D. 41, and three years from that time would bring us to April A.D. 44, but as at his death Agrippa had *completed* three years, he lived somewhat longer. Again, Agrippa was made king of *Tiarchonitis* by Caligula, soon after the latter came to the throne. Tiberius died on 16th March, A.D. 37, Tac. Ann. vi 50, and Caligula was then in Campania, but celebrated the funeral at Rome, Suet. Calig. 13. and a few days after the ceremony, and therefore some time in April, he created Agrippa king of *Tiarchonitis*.^f Counting, then, seven years from April, A.D. 37, as the commencement of Agrippa's reign, we arrive at April A.D. 44 as the completion of the 7th year. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the death of Agrippa must be placed in A.D. 44, and not long after the Passover, which was on the 31st of March.

This conclusion is confirmed by another circumstance mentioned casually by Josephus. Agrippa, the Jewish historian tells us, died during the celebration of some festival 'in honour of Claudius, for his safety,' *εἰς τὴν Καίσαρος τιμὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ*, Ant. xix 8, 2.^g I know not what this can refer to but the safe return of Claudius from Britain to Rome, in January A.D. 44, after a six months' absence.^h Great festivities were everywhere celebrated on the occasion not only in Italy but in the provinces, and no doubt when the news reached Judaea, which would be about April, the same mark of respect would be paid to him at Caesarea the Roman *capitol*. Claudius was not only a patron of the Jews generally but of Agrippa in particular, upon whom he had conferred the kingdom of Judaea.

^c Acts xii 20.

^d Γαῖος δ' ἔς ἐπὶ τ' ῥώμην παρὴν ἔργον τοῦ Τιβερίου τὸ σῶμα ταφά, τε αὐτοῦ ποιεῖται πολὺν χρόνον ἰσχυρὸς πατρίος Ἀγρίππας δὲ αὐθημερὸν λύει ὕψα πρόθυμον, κώλυμα Ἀγριππῆς ἦν. Διελθουσιν μέντοι οὐ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν βασιλεὺς καθίστησι αὐτῷ. Ant. xix. 6 10.

^e The words *ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας* are the very same words as those used with reference to the sacrifices for the safe return of Caligula from Gaul. See i. 20 40, No. 1001.

^h See A.D. 44, No. 1674.

and it cannot be doubted that Agrippa, when he heard of the emperor's return would be present at a festival 'in honour of Claudius for his safety'. The death of Agrippa, on this hypothesis, if we allow some time for the preparations for the spectacle, would be about May, A.D. 44, and if so, the visit of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem would be, as we have stated, a little before the Passover of the same year.

CHAPTER XI.

DATE OF ST PAUL'S VISIT TO JERUSALEM WHEN HE WAS ARRESTED IN THE TEMPLE.

We refer this visit to the year A.D. 58, and we shall establish this by shewing, first, That the visit cannot be placed in any earlier year than A.D. 58 2 That it cannot be placed in any later year, and 3. That there are certain particulars belonging to this visit which characterize the year A.D. 58.

First This visit of Paul cannot be placed in any year earlier than A.D. 58.

It is clear that the arrival of Paul at the Jewish capital was subsequent to the rise of the *Sicarii*, and even to the later event of the disturbance caused by the *Egyptian prophet*. Lysias, in his hurried conversation with Paul on the stairs of Fort Antonia, alludes both to the *Sicarii* and the Egyptian — ‘Art not thou that Egyptian which, before these days, madest an uproar, and leddest out in the wilderness four thousand men of the *Sicarii*?’* At what period, then, did the *émeute* of the Egyptian impostor occur? We learn from Josephus that it was in the time of Nero, and if we examine the events recorded by that historian under the reign of Nero, which preceded the appearance of the Egyptian prophet, we shall find that this impostor could not have made his attempt before the year A.D. 57. Nero began to reign on 13th October, A.D. 54, and the transactions in Judæa and the East during the time of Nero (τὰ Ἰουδαίως κατ’ αὐτὸν γενόμενα, Bell. ii. 13, 1, and see Ant. xx. 8, 4) are enumerated in the following order:—

1. Nero makes Soemus king of Emesa, and gives the Lesser Armenia to Aristobulus, and extends the dominions of Agrippa, Ant. xx. 8, 4, Bell. ii. 13, 2.

2. Judæa is filled with bandits, and Felix is busy in extirpating them, πολλοὺς μὲν, καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν λαμβάνων, Ant. xx. 8, 5, till the country is cleared, Καθαρθείσης τῆς χώρας, Bell. ii. 13, 3. Eleazar, the arch-robber, who had defied the governors for twenty years, is captured and sent to Rome, Ant. xx. 8, 5, Bell. ii. 13, 2 (The tranquillity thus produced is the peace for which Tertullus complimented Felix πολλῆς εἰρήνης τυγχάνοντες διὰ σοῦ, Acts xxiv. 3)

3. The rise of the *Sicarii*, or secret assassins, ἕτερον εἶδος ληστῶν, Bell. ii. 13, 3, chiefly at the great feasts Jonathan, the high priest, is then first victim, and as this passed over with impunity, the evil spreads Ant. xx. 8, 5. Bell. ii. 13, 3 Observe, also, that Lysias speaks of 4,000 *Sicarii*, τετρακισχιλίους ἄνδρας τῶν Σικαρίων, Acts xvi. 38. Some interval, therefore, had elapsed between the murder of Jonathan and the arrival of Paul, or the name of *Sicarii* would not have been so familiar, or their number so great

4. Religious impostors στίφος ἕτερον πονηρῶν, Bell. ii. 13, 4, lead multitudes

* Οὐκ ἄρα σὺ εἶ δ’ Αἰγύπτιος δὲ πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀκασπατόσας καὶ ἐξαγαγὼν εἰς τὴν ἑρημὴν τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους ἄνδρας τῶν Σικαρίων Acts xxiv. 38

of followers into the desert, and Felix sends a force against them and disperses them, Ant. xv 8, 6 Bell ii 13, 4

5 The Egyptian prophet, *μείζονι ταύτης πληγῇ*, Bell. ii. 13, 5, arises and leads 4,000 followers Acts xxi. 38 from Jerusalem into the desert, and afterwards returns at the head of 30,000 men to the Mount of Olives, to make a triumphal entry into Jerusalem, but Felix attacks them and kills many, but the Egyptian himself escapes, Ant. xv 8, 6, Bell ii 13, 5 Lysias had, not improbably, been sent by Felix against the Egyptian, and this would account for his having the Egyptian so much in his thoughts, Acts xxi 38

The above events were not contemporaneous, but followed each other, as in a broken constitution, no sooner was one disease cured than another showed itself. *Κατεσταλμένων δὲ καὶ τούτων ὥσπερ ἐν νοσοῦντι σώματι πάλιν ἕτερον μέρος ἐφλέγμαινεν*, Bell ii 13, 6.

A less space than three years cannot be allowed for this series of transactions, and this will bring us to 13th October A.D. 57. But Paul's arrival at Jerusalem was some time even after the attempt of the Egyptian, for Lysias speaks of it as having occurred 'before these days,' *πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν*, Acts xxi 38. The arrival of the Apostle, therefore, cannot be placed earlier than some time in the year A.D. 58

Secondly We shall show that Paul's arrival at Jerusalem could not have been later than in A.D. 58.

Paul had been two years a prisoner at Cæsarea when Felix was succeeded by Festus, Acts xxiv 27. The question then is, when was Felix recalled?

On Felix's return to Rome he was followed by an embassy of the Jews, to accuse him to the emperor, and he escaped condign punishment through the influence only of his brother Pallas, Ant. xv 8, 9. But Pallas was taken off by poison in A.D. 62, Tac. Ann. xiv. 65, Dion. lxi. 14. The recall of Felix therefore, at least, could not have been later than the summer of A.D. 61, for Felix was certainly succeeded by Festus in some summer, and if it was the summer of A.D. 62, and not of A.D. 61, he could not have reached Rome in the lifetime of Pallas

Neither could Felix have been recalled in the summer of A.D. 61, for if so, Paul also must have been sent by Festus from Cæsarea to Rome in the autumn of that year, and have reached Rome in the spring of A.D. 62. But when Paul arrived at Rome he was delivered to a single prefect of the Prætorium, *τῷ στρατοπεδάρχῃ*, Acts xxviii. 16, and not to prefects, in the plural. Now Burrhus had been the single prefect for ten years and upwards, but, at the very beginning of A.D. 62, Burrhus died, and from that time two prefects were appointed in his place. Paul, therefore, must have reached Rome in an earlier year than A.D. 62, that is, in A.D. 61, and if so, as he passed the winter at Malta, he must have sailed from Cæsarea in an earlier year than A.D. 61, that is, in A.D. 60. Consequently, Felix also, who was succeeded by Festus in the summer of the year in which Paul sailed, must have been recalled before the year A.D. 61, that is, in A.D. 60.

But if Felix was displaced in A.D. 60, then, as Paul was a prisoner for two years, he could not have been apprehended in the temple later than in A.D. 58

We have assumed that Burrhus died at the very beginning of A.D. 62, and this will appear from the detail of events related by Tacitus, as occurring between 1st January and 9th June of that year

The only facts recorded by Tacitus *before* the death of Burrhus, are the accusations against Antistius and Vento, Tac. Ann. xiv. 48--51. But the occurrences between

the death of Burrhus and the death of Octavia on 9th June of the same year, are such as to require all the space that can be allowed them, even on the supposition that Burrhus died some time in the month of January. The events of this year up to 9th June are thus given —

Antistius and Veneto are accused. Tac Ann xiv. 48, 50	} Jan
The death of Burrhus, xiv 51.	
Seneca loses his power in consequence, xiv 51, 52.	} Feb.
He is accused before Nero, and defends himself, xiv. 53	
Rufus Fennius falls into disgrace, xiv 57	
Tigellinus, his colleague, urges the death of Sulla in Gaul, and Plautus in Asia, xiv. 57	} March
Sulla is executed in Gaul, and his head brought to Rome, xiv 57; and Plautus is put to death in Asia, and his head also brought to Rome, xiv 59 This voyage from Rome to Asia and back must have occupied a considerable time, the more so as the report of the plot against Plautus reached him, in Asia, before his executioners arrived.	
The Senate pass a vote of thanks to Nero, xiv 59	} and Aprl
Divorce of Octavia xiv 60	
Nero's marriage with Poppæa, xiv 60, twelve days after the divorce, Suet Nero, 35.	} May.
Murmurs of the people at the usage of Octavia, Tac Ann, xiv 60	
Octavia recalled from Campania, xiv 60.	
Rejoicings of the people, xiv. 61.	} June
Octavia banished to Pandateria, xiv. 63.	
Some days after (<i>paucis interjectis diebus</i>) Octavia is put to death, xiv 64.	
This was on the same day as the death of Nero, and therefore on 9th June, Suet. Nero, 57	

We leave the reader to judge from this table, whether Burrhus could have survived the month of January, and have been still alive when Paul reached Rome, at the end of February, or beginning of March

Thirdly There are arguments which will evince that Paul arrived at Jerusalem in the year A. D. 58, and not in any other year. Let the reader attend to the following remarkable coincidence. Paul had originally purposed to sail direct from Corinth to Judæa, but an ambush by the way was laid against him, and he was obliged for safety to go round by Macedonia. This circuit caused considerable delay, and he was under the necessity of making all haste, in order to reach Jerusalem at the Pentecost, 'if it were possible,' *εἰ δυνατόν ἦν αὐτῷ*, Acts xx 16. He arrived at Philippi just before the Passover, and stayed till it was over. He then sailed for Troas, which he reached on the fifth day. He tarried there seven days, and the last was a Sunday, on which he preached, before departing on the Monday *Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐξεπλεύσαμεν μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἁγίων ἀπὸ Φιλιππων, καὶ ἤλθομεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν Τρωάδα ἄχρις ἡμερῶν πέντε, οὗ διετρίψαμεν ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ*. *Ἐν δὲ τῇ μὲτ' τῶν σαββάτων*, &c, Acts xx. 6. Now in A. D. 58, the day of the paschal sacrifices, the first of the eight days' feast

fell on Monday the 27th of March (beginning at sunset of the evening before), and the last day of the feast was Monday the 8th of April. Paul, therefore, started on Tuesday, the 4th of April, and reached Troas on Sunday, the 9th of April, and stayed a week there, and preached at Troas on Sunday the 16th of April.

Now every year about this time, except the year A. D. 58, presents features at variance with the fact mentioned by Luke, that Paul spent the Sunday being the 13th day after leaving Philippi, in Troas. To have done this, Paul must have sailed from Philippi on a Tuesday, and this Tuesday must have been at the conclusion of a Passover. The following table will show how little any year but A. D. 58 will answer the requisitions —

A. D.	Passover begins.	Passover ends.
53	March 22, Thursday.	March 29, <i>Thursday</i>
54	April 10, Wednesday	April 17, <i>Wednesday</i>
55	March 30, Sunday.	April 6, <i>Sunday</i> .
56	March 19, Friday.	March 26, <i>Friday</i>
57	April 7, Thursday.	April 14, <i>Thursday</i>
58	March 27, Monday.	April 3, <i>Monday</i>
59	April 15, Sunday.	April 22, <i>Sunday</i> .
60	April 4, Friday.	April 11, <i>Friday</i> . ^b

The years that agree best after A. D. 58 are the years A. D. 55 and A. D. 59, in which the Passover ended on a Sunday, and then, if Paul remained one day at Philippi, and started on the following day, viz. Tuesday, he would still be at Troas on Sunday, the 13th day after. But Paul could not have been at Philippi in A. D. 55, for then he would have reached Jerusalem at the Pentecost of the same year, but this could not have been the case, for the outbreak of the Egyptian referred to by Lysias must upon this hypothesis have occurred some time (say six months) before, which is utterly at variance with the narrative of Josephus, who places it much later, when Nero, who began to reign in the last quarter of A. D. 54, had been some years emperor. Neither could Paul have started from Philippi in A. D. 59, for then he must have sailed from Caesarea in A. D. 61, and have been delivered over in February, A. D. 62, to Burrhus, τῷ στρατοῦσέδρχῳ, Acts xxviii. 16, but who had died the preceding month. We must conclude therefore, upon the whole, that Paul's departure from Philippi, and arrival at Jerusalem, was in A. D. 58, and could have been in no other year.

There is also an argument not identical with the foregoing, but connected with it, which is this. The Apostle started from Philippi *after* the Passover, and arrived at Jerusalem on or *before* the day of Pentecost. What space of time, then, was consumed in the journey? The Pentecost was the 50th day from the second day (exclusively) of the feast of Unleavened bread. We must deduct then the five last days of the feast of Unleavened bread, during which Paul was still at Philippi, and the day of Pentecost itself, and we have remaining forty-four days only. The enemies of Christianity have ventured on the assertion, that Paul could not possibly, between the Passover and Pentecost of any year, have accomplished the voyage from Philippi to Jerusalem, but although that proposition be untenable, we shall, nevertheless be satisfied, from an inspection of the subjoined table, that the intermediate space is fully occupied, and

^b For the feast-days in this table, see Greswell's Prolegomena, and for the week-days, see De Morgan's

Book of Almanacks, and see upon the subject generally, Wieseler's Chronology, Appendix 99.

that Paul had not even a day to throw away. Now, in A D 58, no time would be wasted, but in every other year one or more days would be necessarily so. Thus, to explain our meaning more fully, the Apostle's voyage from Philippi to Troas occupied five days, and he stayed at Troas seven days, and the last day was a *Sunday*, when Paul preached. He must, therefore, have started from Philippi on a *Tuesday*. In A D 58 the Passover ended on a *Monday*, and if Paul quitted Philippi the next day, *Tuesday*, no part of the forty-four days between the Passover and Pentecost was lost. But this would not be the case with any other year: thus, in A D 57, the Passover ended on a *Thursday*, and therefore, as Paul took his departure on a *Tuesday*, he would waste four days at Philippi between the close of the Passover and the commencement of his journey. Now, on this supposition, it is not possible that Paul could have reached Jerusalem before the day of Pentecost.

The following table will exhibit the course of Paul's voyage in A D 58 and the reader will collect from it that, to enable the Apostle to reach Jerusalem before the Pentecost, he must have quitted Philippi the very day after the Passover —

A D 58.

The Passover was on Monday, the 27th of March, beginning from 6 p m of the preceding evening, and ended on Monday, the 3rd of April, at 6 p m.

Paul started on Tuesday, the 4th of April	April 4
In five days (<i>ἄχρις ἡμερῶν πέντε</i> , xx. 6), and therefore on Sunday, he reached Troas, and remained seven days, <i>οὗ διατρίψαμεν ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ</i> , xx. 6	9
On the last of the seven days, and therefore on Sunday, the 16th, Paul preached at Troas, xx. 7	16
On Monday, the 17th, he embarked at Troas, and reached Mitylene	17
Tuesday, the 18th (<i>τῇ ἐπιούσῃ</i> , xx. 15), to Chios	18
Wednesday, the 19th (<i>τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ</i> , xx. 15), to Samos	19
Thursday, the 20th (<i>τῇ ἐχόμενῃ</i> , xx. 15), to Miletus, whence he sent off a despatch to Ephesus, for the elders to come to him	20
Sunday, the 23rd, the elders arrived, and Paul addressed them, probably, through the night before his departure in the morning, as at Troas	23
Monday, the 24th, Paul embarked apparently at the close of his sermon (see xx. 38), and reached Cos	24
Tuesday, the 25th, (<i>τῇ ἐξῆς</i> , xxi. 1), to Rhodes	25
Wednesday, the 26th, to Patara	26
Thursday, the 27th, Paul sailed direct for Tyre	27
Sunday, the 30th, Paul arrived at Tyre, where they stayed a week (<i>ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ</i> , xxi. 4)	30
At the end of the seven days, that is, on Monday, when the Sabbath was over (<i>ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡμᾶς ἑξαπτάσις τὰς ἡμέρας</i> , xxi. 5), Paul sailed to Acire	May 8
At Acire, Paul stayed one day (<i>ἡμέραν μίαν</i> , xxi. 7), and on Wednesday, the 10th (<i>τῇ ἑταύριον</i> , xxi. 8), to Caesarea, whence intelligence was forwarded to Jerusalem	10

Sunday, the 14th, Agabus arrived from Jerusalem, and warned Paul of his danger, xxi 10.	May 14
Monday, the 15th, Paul, having stayed at Caesarea several days (<i>ἡμέρας πλείους</i> , xxi 10), viz. five days, proceeded to Jerusalem seventy-five miles distant.	15
On Wednesday, the 17th, Paul reached Jerusalem, and the Pentecost began at 6 p m.	16

There are several circumstances belonging to Paul's visit to Jerusalem, when he was arrested, which, though they may not prove, yet confirm, the hypothesis that it occurred in the year A. D. 58. Thus, in the first place, Paul tells us that he had not been at Jerusalem before for several years, *ἐκ ἐτῶν δὲ πλείονων παρεγένεσθαι*, Acts xxi. 17, and, according to the views which we have adopted, he had been last at Jerusalem at the feast of Tabernacles, A. D. 53, nearly five years before. Again, when Paul was pleading before Felix, during this visit, he begins by alluding to the length of time during which Felix had been procurator 'Forasmuch as I know that thou hast been for many years a judge unto this nation,' *ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν ὅτι σε κριτὴν τῇ ἔθνει τούτῳ*, Acts xxiv. 10. Felix had been appointed in A. D. 52, and as the usual time of office was two or three years, Paul might well speak of a period of six years, viz. from A. D. 52 to A. D. 58, as a prolonged administration.

Another argument does not lie so much on the surface. It is this. If the date of Paul's voyage from Greece to Jerusalem be placed, as it is by Gieswell, in A. D. 56, then Paul had left Ephesus for Greece in the preceding year, or A. D. 55, and had arrived at Ephesus from Galatia three years before that, viz. in A. D. 52, Acts xx. 31. That the Epistle to the Galatians was written after this second visit to Galatia is evident, for the Apostle alludes to the first 'Ye know that through infirmity of the flesh I preached the gospel unto you *the former time*,' *τὸ πρότερον*, Galat. iv. 13, and it must, therefore, have been despatched after A. D. 52. It was also sent to them during the observance of a Sabbath year 'Ye are observing days and months and seasons and years,' *ἡμέρας παρατηρεῖσθε καὶ μῆνας καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἔνιαυτοὺς*, Galat. iv. 10, and therefore some time in A. D. 55, the Sabbath year. But, if so, three years would have elapsed since his last appearance amongst the Galatians. Now, several passages in the epistle show that Paul had left them *not long before* thus, 'I marvel that ye are so soon removed from the faith,' &c., Galat. i. 6, and there are many other similar texts. But assuming the date of Paul's visit to Jerusalem to be, not in A. D. 56 but in A. D. 58, the difficulty vanishes; for Paul, on this supposition, had quitted Ephesus for Greece in A. D. 57, and his arrival at Ephesus three years before, from Galatia, had been in A. D. 54, and the Epistle to the Galatians would be written the following year, viz. in A. D. 55 and a brief interval of this kind accords admirably with the expressions in the epistle alluding to his presence amongst the Galatians not very long previously.

We must now advert to one or two objections against the date of A. D. 58. It is said by Josephus, that when Felix was recalled, his brother Pallas was still at the height of his influence, *μάλιστα διὰ τιμῆς*, Ant. xx. 8, 9; but if Paul arrived at Jerusalem in A. D. 58, then Felix was recalled in A. D. 60, and Pallas at that time, though still living, had lost his power. This objection proves too much, for Pallas was out of favour so early as A. D. 54;^a and in A. D. 55 was actually deprived of office,^d and Felix could not

^a Tac. Ann., xiii. 2^d Tac. Ann., xiii. 14

possibly have been recalled so late as A. D. 54, or A. D. 55, for, if so, Paul had been mistaken by Lysias in A. D. 52, or A. D. 53, at which time he could not have been mistaken for the Egyptian, who, on the authority of Josephus himself, did not make his appearance till the reign of Nero, which began on 13th October, A. D. 54. Josephus then, in using the expression *μάλιστα διὰ τιμῆς*, evidently exaggerates Pallas, at the recall of Felix was still living, and could, no doubt, still exert great interest for his brother with the judges before whom he was tried, but to describe Pallas as then *at the height of his influence* is a misrepresentation. Had the fact been so, Felix would not have been recalled.

Another objection to be noticed is, that if Paul arrived at Jerusalem in A. D. 58, then the Epistle to the Romans was written early in the same year, just before Paul started from Corinth, and in that epistle Paul sends a salutation to Narcissus at Rome, and Narcissus, it is said, had been put to death in A. D. 54. Tac. Ann. xiii. 1. We answer that this also *proves too much*; for if Narcissus was alive at the date of the epistle, then Paul must have written it in the spring of A. D. 54, and have visited Jerusalem at the Pentecost of A. D. 54. But this, again, would be before the appearance of the Egyptian false prophet, alluded to by Lysias, and placed by Josephus in the reign of Nero, which commenced on 13th October, A. D. 54. The Narcissus saluted by Paul in the Epistle to the Romans was, no doubt, a much purer character than the celebrated courtier of that name, and was probably some person eminent for his piety in private life. There were many Narcissuses at Rome, and two of them were freedmen of note,* under Claudius and Nero, but neither of them could have been the Narcissus honoured with the Apostle's salutation.

* A second freedman of that name was put to death by Galba Dion, lxxv. 3

CHAPTER XII.

DATE OF ST PAUL'S RELEASE FROM IMPRISONMENT AT ROME.

THE arrest of Paul in the temple at Jerusalem, and his release from imprisonment at Rome, are dates mutually dependent upon each other. Thus, assuming that Paul was set upon in the temple at the feast of *Pentecost*, A.D. 58, Acts xx. 16, he was two years a prisoner at Cæsarea, Acts xxiv. 27 which brings us to the Pentecost of A.D. 60, and in the autumn of that year he sailed for Rome. He was at Pan Havens, in Crete, just after the fast, which this year, A.D. 60, was on 25th September, Acts xxvii. 9, and he spent the three winter months at Malta, Acts xxviii. 11, and therefore arrived at Rome in the spring of A.D. 61. He remained a prisoner there for two years, Acts xxviii. 30, and consequently was liberated in the spring of A.D. 63. The same result may be arrived at from the following circumstances connected with the Epistle to the Hebrews.

It is clear that this epistle was penned just after the Apostle's liberation from imprisonment, and when he was only waiting for the return of Timothy from Philippi, to set sail for Judæa. 'With whom (he writes) if he (Timothy) come shortly I will see you, Heb. xiii. 23, for he could not have used this language if still a prisoner, and not master of his own movements. He was, however, still in Italy, as is manifest from the salutation, '*They of Italy* salute you, Heb. xiii. 24. But, in the next place, Paul had recently received intelligence of a persecution of the Christians in Judæa, and indeed the epistle throughout is an earnest exhortation to the Hebrews, or Christians of Judæa, to persist in their faith, notwithstanding the severe trials to which they were exposed. They had lately seen, he says, their rulers put to death,^a and many of the brethren were still in bonds,^b and yet these sufferings were not for the first time, but a repetition of the like afflictions which the Church had experienced at an earlier stage.^c Such a state of things agrees with the well-known persecution of the Christians at Jerusalem during the interregnum between the death of the Procurator Festus and the arrival of Albinus as his successor, during which occurred the martyrdom of James the Just, bishop of Jerusalem. The earlier persecution referred to by the Apostle was that under Agrippa, when James the brother of John was slain with the sword,^d and the persecution referred to as having recently prevailed was that under the high-priest Ananus, the son of Annas, when James the Just and others with him were brought before the Sanhedrim and stoned, as related by Josephus.^e In what year, then, are we to place the persecution so pointedly alluded to in the Epistle to the Hebrews?

It was certainly not later than A.D. 62, for, according to Josephus, the tragedy was enacted when Albinus was in Egypt, on his way from Rome to Jerusalem as the successor of Festus^f; and it is clear, beyond question, that Albinus had actually

^a Heb. xiii. 7

^b Heb. xiii. 3

^c Heb. x. 32

^d Acts xxi. 1

^e Jos. Ant., xx. 9. 1

^f Jos. Ant., xx. 2. 1

arrived, and was present at Jerusalem at the feast of Tabernacles, A.D. 62⁵. Neither, on the other hand, could the persecution (as it was after the death of Festus) have been earlier than Midsummer, A.D. 60, for it was about that time that Festus came to Judæa as successor to Felix.^h

We have an account of the same martyrdom by Hegesippus, a writer of the second century, who tells us that the martyrdom of James the Just was at a *Passover*. That it took place at *some* feast may be assumed as matter of course, as all the popular ebullitions of Jewish patriotism or prejudice arose from the multitudes assembled at the public festivals, and though the details furnished by Hegesippus are mixed up with much that is fabulous, we have no reason to doubt that the martyrdom of James was perpetrated, as he asserts, at a *Passover*. If we follow up this clue, it will give us the year we are in search of. As the martyrdom of James the Just occurred after the death of Festus, who succeeded Felix at Midsummer A.D. 60, the Passover when James was stoned could not have been any Passover earlier than that of A.D. 61, and as the martyrdom preceded the arrival of Albinus, which was before the Tabernacles of A.D. 62, the Passover when James was stoned, could not have been any Passover later than that of A.D. 62[?] The only question then is, whether it was the Passover of A.D. 61, or of A.D. 62[?] and which of the two it can be elicited from the facts in connection with it recorded by Josephus. No sooner had the outrage been committed at Jerusalem, than the temperate part of the community forwarded a despatch to Albinus in Egypt, and implored his interference. Albinus wrote a sharp and threatening letter to Ananias the highpriest, and on it, reaching Jerusalem Agrippa deposed Ananias from the highpriesthood. If, therefore, the death of the proto-martyr occurred at a Passover, the displacement of Ananias from the pontificate must have been about May of the same year, and as he held office for three months,ⁱ he must have been appointed in the previous February. But Ananias was the successor of Joseph, and the tenure of the latter was very brief, say a month, which would place his appointment in January. Joseph, again, was the successor of Ishmael, under the following circumstances. A dispute arose between Agrippa and the Jews about the erection of an upper apartment of his palace, which was intended to command a view of the proceedings in the temple, and the highpriest Ishmael was despatched upon an embassy to Rome upon the subject. The voyage itself could not have occupied less than two months. On the arrival of Ishmael at Rome, the matter in dispute was brought in a regular way before the tribunal of the emperor, when both parties were heard, and the emperor's decision given. For this proceeding we cannot allow less than another month. When the dispute had been settled, Poppæa, the paramour of Nero, and a Jewish proselyte, chose to detain Ishmael about the court; and on intelligence to that effect being transmitted to Jerusalem, which, as it was *winter*, would require three months more, Agrippa appointed Joseph to the pontificate. Thus, from the mission of Ishmael to Rome to the substitution of Joseph in January, we have a period of two months, one month, and three months, making in all six months. That is, Ishmael must have started from Judæa for Rome in July of the year which preceded the appointment of Joseph, that is, which preceded the martyrdom of James. Now the embassy of Ishmael was in the time of the Procurator Festus, who succeeded Felix at Midsummer A.D. 60. As the mission of Ishmael, then was in some July, we ask whether this July could be the July of A.D. 60[?] The answer must be decisively in the negative, for

^a See A.D. 62, No. 1933

^b See A.D. 60, No. 1893

ⁱ Jos. Ant., ix. 9, 1

between the arrival of Festus, at Midsummer A.D. 60, and the embassy of Ishmael occurred so many and important events, that they could not with any probability be compressed into so short an interval as from Midsummer to July of the same year. Thus the first business upon which Festus was engaged was to clear the country of bandits: he then put down a religious impostor. After that, Agrippa proceeded (which was a work of some time) to raise the height of his palace. Then the Jews set about building a counter-wall on the eastern side of the Temple, to shut out the view from Agrippa's palace, which was resented both by Agrippa and Festus, and the Jews were ordered to demolish the wall. Thereupon negotiations took place between the Jews and Agrippa and Festus, and the Jews obtained leave, not without difficulty, to send an embassy to Rome under Ishmael. Now, then, could all this series of events have occurred in the short space of one month, between Festus's arrival at Midsummer A.D. 60 and the mission of Ishmael in July A.D. 60? Such are the anomalous consequences which flow from the assumption that the Passover at which James the Just suffered was the Passover of A.D. 61. If, on the other hand, we assume the martyrdom to have been enacted (as no doubt it was) at the Passover of A.D. 62, then the interval from the arrival of Festus at Midsummer A.D. 60 to the Passover A.D. 62, is just such as may be reasonably assigned to the succession of the several events interposed by the historian between these two extremes.

It may be thought an objection to this date of Ishmael's mission, that Josephus, in his relation of it, speaks of Poppæa at the hearing before the emperor at Rome, as *τῇ γυναίκί*, Ant. xix. 8, 11. If he meant that Poppæa was then the wife of Nero, the transaction must have taken place as late as *May*, A.D. 62, when Nero divorced Octavia and married Poppæa. But the events related by Josephus himself show that this was impossible, for, after the hearing of the mission the news of Ishmael's detention was transmitted to Judea, which would require two or three months, and then Agrippa appointed Joseph, who held the office for some little time, say a month, and afterwards removed him, and nominated in his stead Annas, who was in office three months before Albinus's arrival, and yet Albinus was at Jerusalem at the feast of Tabernacles, which in A.D. 62 was on the 7th of October, Jos. Bell. vi. 5, 3, and the interval between May A.D. 62 and the 7th of October A.D. 62 is clearly insufficient for these occurrences.

Josephus, then, cannot mean that Poppæa, at the period of which he is speaking, was actually married to Nero, but only that she was 'that woman' his paramour. It is remarkable that in the only other parts where Josephus speaks of Poppæa, and on both occasions subsequently to her marriage, he introduces her expressly as *the wife of Nero*, *φίλην οὖσαν τῆς Ιεροππηίας τῆς Νέρωνος γυναίκος*, Ant. xx. 11, 1, *Ιεροππηία τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος γυναίκί γνωσθεῖς*, Vit. Jos. 3, whereas, at the time of Ishmael's mission, the expression is *τῇ γυναίκί Ιεροππηία* (*θεοσεβῆς γὰρ ἦν*) *χαρίζομενος*, Ant. xx. 8, 11. Poppæa, as is well known, had been wedded to two husbands before, so that *τῇ γυναίκί* was an appropriate designation of her, and on comparing the three passages together, the fair inference would be, that Josephus, so far from calling her the wife of Nero at the time of Ishmael's embassy, expressly guards himself against being so understood.

Our conclusion then is, that James the Just was put to death, not at the Passover of A.D. 61, but at the Passover of A.D. 62; and if so, the liberation of Paul cannot with reason be assigned to the same year, for as Paul reached Rome as a prisoner early in the spring of the year, and he remained in confinement just two whole years, he

must also have regained his liberty early in the spring of some year. But as the martyrdom of James the Just must be referred to a Pas-over, and that the Pasover of A. D. 62, the news of the catastrophe could scarcely have reached Paul before he left Italy, had he been liberated in the spring of the very year in which the martyrdom occurred. Paul, therefore, must have been set at liberty, not in the spring of A. D. 62, but (as results from the other independent arguments before adverted to) in the spring of A. D. 61.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

B.C. 70. commencing from 1 January of this year

U.C. 684. commencing from 21 April of this year

Olymp 177, 2. commencing from 1 July of this year

CN POMPEIUS MAGNUS I } consuls from 1 Jan
M LUCIUS CASSIUS } of this year

1. The *Judicia* at Rome, which had been vested in the *Equites* by the law of C Gracchus **B.C. 123**, and then transferred to the *Senate* by Sylla **B.C. 80**, are now, **B.C. 70**, restored to the *Equites*. *M Cossus et Cn Pompeius consules*. *Judicia quoque per Aurelium Cottam Privilegium ad Equites Romanos translata sunt*. Liv Epit 97 (see Fustel de Jolien **loc. cit.** 70)

2. Lucullus, having reduced Mithridates, king of Pontus, to submission, is occupied at Ephesus in composing the affairs of Asia, which Mithridates, before his defeat, had overrun. Λουκιλλος δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν πολλῆς μὲν εὐνομίας πολλῆς δ' εἰρήνης ἐμπεπληώς, οὐδὲ τῶν πρὸς ἑαυτὴν καὶ χάριν ἡμελησεῖ, ἄλλα πομπαῖς καὶ πανηγύρεσιν ἐπικολοῖ, καὶ ἀγῶσιν ἄθλητῶν, καὶ μονομάχων ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καθήμενος ἐδημιγῶνεται πόλεις. Plut Luc 23 Appian Mith 83

3. Lucullus, having settled the affairs of Asia, proceeds to Pontus and takes Sinope. Plut Luc 23

4. Tigranes, king of Armenia (to which he had also added Syria and Mesopotamia), is engaged, when Appian the ambassador from Lucullus arrives at Antioch, in reducing some cities of Phœnicia. Ἀππὴν γὰρ ἐνταῦθα τῶν ἐν Φοινίκῃ πόλεων ἀναστρέφμενος. Plut Luc 21 He had reigned at this time twenty-five years. Δαὶ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἐτῶν, τοσαῦτα γὰρ ἐβασίλευσεν, μάλλον δὲ ὕρσιον. Plut Luc 21

5. While Tigranes is besieging Acœ, Alex-

andria, queen of Judæa, apprehending an invasion, sends an embassy to him to make terms. Πελιοῦρκοῦντι τὴν Ἡερολεμίδα Jos Ant xiii 16, 1 Ἡεροσαλὲξ ἔρχεται πρὸς Τηγεμένηδα Bell i 5, 3

6. Appian, while at Antioch waiting the arrival of Tigranes, wins over to the Roman interest Zariabenus, king of Gordyene. Τηγράνην αὐτοῦ (Antioch) κελυσθεὶς περιμένει, πολλοὺς μὲν φλειώσατο τῶν ἐπὶ οὐλῶς κερουμένων τοῦ Ἀρμενίου δυναστῶν, ὧν εἷς ἦν καὶ Ζαριβονός, ὁ τῆς Γορδυνῆς βασιλεὺς. Plut Luc 21 But this is discovered by Tigranes soon after, and Zariabenus is put to death. Μηνυθεὶς δ' (Zaribenus) ἀπεσφάγη, καὶ παῖδες αὐτοῦ καὶ γυνὴ πυνανώλονται πρὶ ἡ Ῥωμαίων, εἰς Ἀρμενίαν ἐμβαλεῖν. Plut Luc 29 (see **no 66**, **no 35**)

7. Tigranes has an interview with Appian and is offended by his republican freedom, and refuses to deliver up Mithridates, and, on the contrary, pledges himself to Mithridates to support him. Tigranes had not previously admitted Mithridates, who had fled into his dominions, to a personal interview. Ἠρότερον μὲν αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν ἤβουλεν, οὐδὲ προσεπειντότε δὲ (after the interview with Appian) σιγῇ καὶ φιλοφροσύνῃ μετετρέψατο αὐτὸν (Mithridatem), &c. Plut Luc 22 Meimon, xi. 53, Muller's *Flag Græc* iii 555 It was twenty months since Mithridates's arrival in Armenia before Tigranes thus noticed him. Μιθριδάτης δὲ εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ μῆνας οὐκ ἑν τοῦ μέναι τῆς Ἀρμενίας διατρίβων, οὕτω εἰς αὐτὸν κατεστῆ τοῦ Τηγράνου Meimon, ubi supra Appian states that Tigranes now sent for Mithridates, but still did not admit him to a

personal interview (Appian, Mith 52), and that Tigranes did not see Mithridates till just before the battle between Lucullus and Tigranes in October of the following year. Τότε πρώτοι ες ὅσον ἐλθών Appian, Mith 55.

8. In the third year of the 177th Olympiad (B C 70-69), Sanatruces, king of Parthia, dies, and is succeeded by his son Phraates III. οἱ Phraates Thoms. Ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀνεγνώσθη μυχροὶ τῆς πόλ' (177) 'Ολυμπιάδος καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πλεῖστα ἐν ταύτῃ ἐκινεῖσθαι τῇ 'Ολυμπιάδι, καὶ Ῥωμαίων τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει αὐτῆς ἀπεριμύθησεν μυριάδες ἑκατὸν καὶ μία (males and females) καὶ Σαυατρούκην τὸν Πάρθων βασιλεὺς τελευτήσασιν διεξέειπε Φραάτης ὁ ἐπιληθείς Θεός Phlegon apud Phot., Muller's Frag. Græc. iii 606. This date agrees with the notices in other writers. Thus Phraates was certainly king in B C 66 (Dion, xxvii 28, Plut. Pomp 38), and even before that, in B C 68, when Lucullus and Tigranes sent embassies to him (see B C 68, no 20). Sanatruces had reigned seven years. Σαυατρούκης δὲ ὁ Παρθαίων βασιλεὺς ἐβασίλευσεν ἑτη ἑπτὰ. Lucian. Macrob. 15. How long Phraates reigned does not appear, but he was murdered by his sons, and was succeeded by Mithridates III., who was again expelled by his brother Otodes who was certainly on the throne in B C 53 (see B C 53, no 125), (Justin, xlii 1, Dion, xxviii 56, Appian, Syr 51), and Otodes reigned till B C 37 (see B C 37, no 516). There are coins extant both of Sanatruces and Phraates Thoms. See Eckhel, iii 528.

9. A census of Roman citizens by Cn. Lentulus and L. Gellius. *Cn. Lentulus et L. Gellius censores asperant censuum egerant, capituli et sc. capitula senatus motis, a quibus, iustitia condito, censa sunt civium (males) capita quatuorcentia quingenta milia*. Liv. Epist. xxviii. This was in the third year of the 177th Olympiad. Phleg., Muller's Frag. Græc. iii 606. And the census was in the consulship of Pompey, for τότε δὴ προεβύθητο μὲν οἱ τιμηταὶ Γέλλιος καὶ Λέντιος ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ, καὶ ἀρόδος ἦν τῶν ἱππέων ἐξετιολόμενων. "Ἐφθῇ δὲ Πομπήιος ἀνῶθεν ἐπ' ἄγορην κατερχόμενος τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παρόισμιν τῆς ἀρχῆς, (the consulship mentioned a little before) ἔχων, αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ χειρὸς ἴσων τοῖς ἵπποις. Plut. Pomp 22 (see B C 28, no 658).

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle of seven years (see B C 37, no 525).

Passover, March 22

Pentecost, May 12

Tabernacles, September 16

N B. In some few instances where the precise times of the Jewish Feasts are of more than usual importance, particular calculations of them will be given, but in general where not otherwise specified the days of the Jewish Feasts appended to each year are taken from Gieswell's Ptoleomemena, who, however, calculates the Feasts, not by the actual full moons, but by the mean full moons, so that the times assigned by him are to be regarded as approximations only. As to the days of the week on which the days of the month are full, Professor De Moignon's Book of Almanacs, which is known to be very accurate, and agrees with the computation of German writers, has been invariably followed.

B C. 69. V.C. 685. Olymp 177, 4.

QUINT. HORATIUS
QUINT. CORDILIUS METTIVS

10. Hyrcanus, on the death of Alexander, succeeds as king of Judæa, at about the age of forty (see B C 63, no 81). Ἰρὴ τρίτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἐβδόμης καὶ ἐβδόμηκοστῆς πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατόν 'Ολυμπιάδος ὑπατεύοντος Ῥωμαίων Κυνίου 'Ορρησίου καὶ Κυνίου Μεγέλλου, ὃς δὲ καὶ Κρητιδὸς ἑταυλείου etc. Jos. Ant. xiv 1, 2. The first half only of the year belonged to the third year of the 177th Olympiad, but the usage of Josephus is to regulate his years either by the Roman consular year which began on January 1, or by the Jewish year which began on Nisan 1, and accordingly here, as elsewhere, Josephus designates the whole year by the year of the Olympiad with which the consular year or Jewish year began (see A B 63, no 78, B C 10, no 168, B C 37, no 523, B C 31, no 600). Alexander had reigned nine years, and was seventy-three years of age. Βασιλεύσας ἑτη εννία, ταὶ δὲ συμπαντα βιώσας ἑτη καὶ ἐβδόμηκοντα. Ant. xiv 16, 6. Hyrcanus had been appointed *Highpriest* at the beginning of his reign. Εὐθὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ βασιλευσσης αὐτοῦ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀλεξίου δρας Ἀρχιερεὺς κατασταί, ἔθιςτος, ἔπειτα ἐστὶν αὐτὴν τιμὴν καταχεῖ. Jos. Ant. xv 6, 4, xx 10, 4. Ant. xiv 16, 2, Bell. i 5, 1.

11. Aristobulus, the brother of Hyrcanus, makes war upon him forthwith, and defeats him

at Jericho Πόλεμον εὐθὺς ἐκφέρει πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀριστόβουλος Jos Ant xiv 1, 2, Bell i 6, 1 And after a reign of three months Πυγμαλῖος assigns the kingdom in favour of Aristobulus Παράκλητον δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν, ἀποθανύσσης τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταύτην κατασχὼν τρεῖς μῆνας, ἐκίπτει μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀριστοβόλου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ant xv 6, 4, and see Ant xx 10, 1 The shortness of the interval between the accession of Πυγμαλῖος and his expulsion by Aristobulus appears also from this, viz Alexandria reigned nine years, and had at the commencement of her reign appointed Hircanus highpriest, and yet Hircanus, when deprived of the highpriesthood by Aristobulus, is said also to have held the office for nine years II δὲ (Alexandria) τὴν μὲν Ἀρχιερωσύνην Ἰρκαίῳ δίδωσι, αὐτὴ δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐννεὰ ἔτη κατασχούσα τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον τὸν ἔσον δὲ χρόνον τὴν Ἀρχιερωσύνην ὁμοίως αὐτῆς Ἰρκανὸς ἔσχεν μετα γὰρ τὸν θάνατον αὐτῆς πολέμησας πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ νικῶν ἀφαίρειται μὲν ἐκείνου τὴν ἀρχήν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκισθίκεται καὶ ἐράττειται τῇ Θεῷ Ant xx 10, xv 6, 1

12. The war against Ciete is committed to the consul Q. Cicellus Κληρουμένων ἐν τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ Ὀργήσας τὸν πρὸς Κρήτας ἔλαχε πόλεμον. Ἄλλ' ἐκείσιν μιν . τῷ συνάρχοντι τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐβελοντῆς ἔεσθι, καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτὰ χώραν ἔρειεν Ὅ δὲ δὴ Μιτέλλος ἐστειλατό τε εἰς Κρήτην καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἄσπασαι ἰχειρώσασθαι μετὰ τοῦτο Διον, Frag 178 Τῷ δὲ τετάρτῳ ἔτει (Olymp 177, 4) Μιτέλλος ἐπὶ Κρητικῶν πόλεμον ὁμήσας τρία τάγματα ἔχων ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν νῆσον Philogon apud Phot., Muller's Frag Græc iii 606 (see L.C. 68, no 10)

13. Lucullus, dissatisfied with the result of Appian's mission (see B.C. 70, no 4), declares war against Tigranes Plut Luc 24

14. Tigranes, when the news of Lucullus's invasion reached him, had just taken Acie Ἄρι δὲ ὅτε Πτολεμαῖδος ἐλαλῶντας, ἀγγέλλεται Γερμανὴν Λεύκαλον διώκοντα Μιθριδάτην, ἐκείνους μὲν διαμαρτεῖν εἰς τοῦς Ἰβήρας ἀποφυγόντας, τὴν δὲ Ἀρμενίαν πυρθέσθαι πολικεῖν Ἱγρήνη δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ νῆσοις ἀνιχνεύει τὴν ἐπ' οὐκον Jos Ant xiii 10, 4, Bell i 5, 3

15. Lucullus, early in the spring, passes the Eurphates Δοκὸλλος δὲ συντόνως ἀδύσσει ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰφρίτην, καὶ αἰσίου τα πολὺν καὶ βολερὸν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐβρὺν ἥσχαλλει, Plut Luc 24, and advances through Sophene Προῖγε εἰς τῆς Σωφηνῆς Plut Luc 24, and crosses

the Tigris and enters Armenia Συνετίας δὲ τὴν πορείαν καὶ τὸν Ἱγρην διαβάς ἐβίβαλεν εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν Plut Luc 24, and see Appian Mith 84, Memnon, Muller's Frag Græc iii 606

16. Lucullus defeats Tigranes at the head of the Armenians, Gordyeni, Medes, Adiabeni, Albanians, and Iberians Plut Luc 26 Appian, Mith 84 Memnon, ubi supra This was the day before the nones (i.e. on 6th) of October *13, 78 ἡ πρὸ μιᾶς τῶναι Ὀκτωβρίων Plut Luc 27

17. Lucullus takes Tigranocerta, the capital of Armenia Plut Luc 29 Dion, xxv 2 Eumop vi 9 Appian, Mith 84 Liv Epit xiv This was in the fourth year of the 177th Olympiad Τῷ δὲ τετάρτῳ ἔτει (of Olymp 177) Ἱγρήνης καὶ Μεθριδάτης . ἐπολέμησαν Λευκόλλῳ καὶ νικᾷ Λεύκαλλος Philogon apud Phot., Muller's Frag Græc iii 606

18. Lucullus now attacks Tigranes of Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, Galatia, and Sophene Ἰὼν μὲν ἄλλω ἔφησε (Pompey) δεῖν αἰτιάσθαι Λεύκαλλος, ὅπ' ἐκείνου γὰρ ιφρηθῆσαι Συρίαν, Φοινίκην, Κιλικίαν, Γαλατίαν, καὶ Σωφηνήν Plut Pom 33, and see Plut Luc 33 (see B.C. 68, no 33)

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle
Pascoa, April 10
Pentecost, May 31
Tabernacles, October 5

B.C. 68. U.C. 686. Olymp. 178, 1.

L. CAECILIUS METELLUS (Mortuus est antequam vivit in ejus locum factus est qui in vivis mort est)

Q. MARCIUS REX

19. Metellus in Ciete besieges Cydonia Q. Metellus, proconsul (the date not in B.C. 69 when he was consul), bello sibi adversus Cretenses mandatum, Cydoniam in ven obsedit Liv Epit 98 (see B.C. 69, no 12; B.C. 67, no 28)

20. Lucullus and Tigranes both send embassies to Pharnates, king of Parthia (see B.C. 70, no 8), who wavers Memnon, Muller's Frag Græc iii 556

21. Lucullus meditates an expedition against him, but from the mutiny of his soldiers is obliged to desist, and follows after Tigranes in midwinter Θέρους ἐκμάζοντος Plut Luc 31 Μεσοπύρρος ἤδη τοῦ θέρους Dion, xxv 1

Appian, Mith 87 Memnon, Mullen's Bag
Græc in 556 Liv Ept xeviii

22. Lucullus again routs the enemy and continues the pursuit, at the autumnal equinox (Sept 24), ὥρα δ' ἰσημερίας φθιστωριῆς, Plut Luc 32, but is compelled by the mutiny of his soldiers to return, when he besieges Nisibis, or Antioch in Mygdonia, which he takes Funtop vi 9, Oros vi 3 in the winter, ὥς δ' αὖτε χειμὸν ἐκίστη, Dion, xxv 7, and makes Nisibis his winter quarters, καὶ ἐκεῖ διακείμασι, Dion, xxxv 7

23. Mithridates meanwhile, taking advantage of the mutinous state of Lucullus's army, repossesses himself of a great part of his kingdom, and defeats M Fabius, the Roman general and besieges him in Cabira, but Triarius, who was on his way from Asia to Lucullus raises the siege and both sides retire for the winter ἡδὴ γὰρ χειμῶν ἦν Dion xxxv 10 The army of Lucullus had refused to march against Mithridates, and pleaded the winter in excuse πρόσφατον δὲ τὸν χειμῶνα τοιοῦτοι Plut Luc 34 Mithridates at this time was, according to Dion, upwards of seventy years of age ὑπὲρ ταῖς ἑβδομήκοντα ἐτη γεγονώς ἐμάχετο Dion, xxvi 9 (but see B C 68 no 74)

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle

Passover, March 30

Pentecost, May 20

Tabernacles, September 24

B C. 67. U C 687 Olymp. 178, 2

C CALPURNIUS PISO
MANTUS ACILIUS GLABRIO

24. Mithridates defeats Triarius Lucullus's lieutenant, at Dadasa 1ῃ δὲ ἐπικυγιμένῃ ἔκει ἐπὶ τῇ Μαρίων Ἀκίλιον καὶ ἐπὶ Γαίον Πεισωνος ἱππέων, etc Dion, xxv 12, Appian, Mith 89

25. Lucullus comes up and offers battle to Mithridates, which he declines as wishing first to form a junction with Tigranes who was advancing Lucullus, to prevent this, marches against Tigranes, but his soldiers desert him by the way Μιθριδάτης μὴ βέλους μάχεσθαι ἀλλὰ ἰγυράην περιμονοῖς ἔγνω (Lucullus) πρὶν ἀρροτέρους συνελθεῖν πάλιν ἀνταρῆσαι καὶ διαγωνίσασθαι πρὸς τὸν ἰγυράην Ποσειομένῃ δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὁδὸν οἱ Φιμβριανοὶ σπασσάσαντες ἀπέλκυσαν τὰς τάξεις, Plut Luc 35 This was in the summer for the troops

at last agreed with Lucullus to remain with him for the rest of the summer and then to be free συνέθεντο παρμειναι τὸ θέρος, Plut Luc 35, and when the summer was οἰαί, they abandoned Lucullus accordingly τοῦ θέρος λήγοντος ἀπεχώρησαν ἐκ τοῦ χήρακος, ἐπιμαρτυράμενοι πεπληρώσθαι τὸν χρόνον, ὃν ὡμολόγησαν τῷ Δουκὶλλον παραμειναι Plut Luc 35

26. Glabrio, the consul, is sent as successor to Lucullus τοὶ ἔτατοι αὐτῷ, τὸν αὐτ' ἐκένον τὸν χρόνον ὄντα, εὐάδοχον ἐπεμψαι, Dion, xxv. 2, and this increases the disaffection in the army of Lucullus ἐπειδὴ τὸν Ἀκίλιον τὸν ἔτατον (ὃς τῷ Δουκὶλλῳ διάδοχος, δὲ ἄτερ εἶπον, ἐξετεμνῆν), πλητίζοιτα ἡδὴ ἐπίθοντο Dion, xxv 14

27. Glabrio, hearing of Mithridates's successes and Lucullus's disasters makes no haste to the scene of action, but lingers in Bithynia ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ ἐχρονίσει, Dion, xxv 17 Plut Pomp 30 The result was that Mithridates recovered almost the whole of his own kingdom, and severely pressed upon Cappadocia Πισάν τε ὀλίγου τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἀνεκτήσατο, καὶ τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ἐλυμνῆναι Dion, xxv 17

28. Metellus accomplishes the subjugation of Crete in the third year current of the war Intra triennium omnem provinciam cepit Duetrop vi 11 (Crete,) ducibus Panare et Luthane, per triennium Romanos ex exercitu fatigaverat Vell Pat ii 84 Two years were complete Cretam insulam per biennium Metellus evasit Oros vi 4 Metellus began the war at the close of B C 69, and concluded it at the close of B C 67 (see B C 68, no 19)

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle

Passover, April 17

Pentecost, June 7

Tabernacles, October 12

B. C. 66 U. C. 688 Olymp 178, 3

M EMILI LEPIDUS
L VOICATIUS TELLIES

29. The war against Mithridates is committed to Pompey Λοβικός τε Τούλλιος καὶ Αἰμίλιος Λεπίδος ὑπατεύειν ἤρξαντο, etc Dion, xxvi 25. Plut Pomp 30, Luc 35 Appian, Mith 91 Liv Ept 100

30. Pompey and Lucullus have a meeting in Galatia, Dion, xxvi 29, Plut Luc 36, Pomp 31, at Danala Δάιαλα ἔπον τὸν σὺλ-

λαγον ἐποίησαντο Πομπήϊος τε καὶ Λούκιλλος Strabo, xii. 5

31. Pompey besieges Mithridates for forty-five days in Armenia ὁ δὲ (Mithridates) περὶ τὴν καὶ τεσσαράκοιτι πολιορκηθεὶς ἡμέρας, Plut. Pomp. 32, but Mithridates escapes towards the Euphrates, whither Pompey follows him and defeats him Dion, xxvii. 32 Appian, Mith. 100 Plut. Pomp. 32

32. Mithridates flies to Sinorega and passes the Euphrates on the fourth day τὸν μὲν Εὐφράτην ὑπερῆλθεν ἡμέρα μάλιστα τετάρτη Appian, Mith. 101, and three days after enters Armenia Chotens τρισιδε ἄλλας ἡμέρας καθιστάμενος καὶ ὀκλίζων τοὺς συνόντας ἢ προσιόντας, ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν Σωτηρίην ἐπέβλεπεν, ἰδ., and winters at Dioscuri in Colchis Μιθριδάτης δ' ἐν Διοσκουρίοις χειμαζών, etc. ἰδ. δια τῆς Κολχίδος ἔφηνε Plut. Pomp. 32; and see Dion, xxviii. 33.

33. Pompey receives the submission of Tigranes near Artaxata, and leaves him in possession of Armenia, but mulcts him of great part of his dominions *Adempta est ei Syria, Phœnice Sophène* Eutrop. vi. 13 Liv. Epit. 101 Τὰ γὰρ προστεθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (ἦν δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας τῆς τε Συρίας μερὴ, ἥτε Φοινίκη καὶ ἡ Σωφάνη καὶ χώρα τοῖς Ἀρμενίαις πρόσσος) οὐ σμικρὰ παρείλετο αὐτοῦ Dion, xxviii. 36 But according to Plutarch (Pomp. 33, cited v. c. 69, no 18), Lucullus had stripped him before of Syria, Phœnicia, Galatia, and Sophene, and Pompey did not deprive him of any further territory

34. Tigranes was succeeded by his son Antasades on the throne of the Greater Armenia Διαδοξάμενος δ' Ἀρτασιόδης ἐκείνου (Tigranem) τεινὸς μὲν εὐτυχὲς φίλος ὢν Ῥωμαίοις Ἀντίσιον δὲ προέδους Παρθυαίῳ ἦν τῷ πρὸς αὐτοὺς πολὺμ' εὐλας ἔτισεν Strabo, xi. 14 (see v. c. 50, no 239)

35. Tigranes, another son of Tigranes the elder, was made king of Sophene and Gordyene (see v. c. 70, no 6, v. c. 69 no 18) Καὶ γαίηται τὸν μὲν νῦν ἀρχεῖν τῆς Σωφηνῆς καὶ Γορδωνίης, αἱ ἰὺν ἄρα εἰσὶν Ἀρμενία βραχυτέρα Appian, Mith. 105 Ὑψησε (Pompey) Σωφηνῆς δὲ βασιλεύουσιν τὸν νῦν Plut. Pomp. 33 But the son afterwards gave offence and was led in triumph by Pompey, and Sophene and Gordyene were given to Antiochianus whom Pompey had made king of Cappadocia Appian, Mith. 105 Plut. Pomp. 33 (see v. c. 65, no 57)

36. Pompey, while in Armenia, and carrying on the war against Tigranes, had sent Scaurus to Syria, who arrives at Damascus, then just taken by Lollius and Metellus Ἐν τούτῳ περὶ καὶ Σκαῦρον εἰς Συρίαν Πομπήϊος, αὐτὸς ὢν ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ καὶ πολεμῶν ἐπὶ Τυγράνῃ Ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Δαμασκὸν, Δώλλιον μὲν καὶ Μέτελλον νειωσὶ τὴν πόλιν προήστας εὐρών αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἡπειρογο Jos. Ant. xiv. 2, 3, Bell. i. 6, 3

37. It would appear that Gabinus had been sent to Syria or Judæa before Scaurus Ὃς δὲ (Nicodemus) καὶ κατηγορεῖ τῶν λαβόντων χρήματα, Γαβίνιον μὲν πρότερον, Σκαῦρον δὲ ὕστερον Jos. Ant. xiv. 3, 2

38. Pompey leaves Afranius in command of Armenia, and pursues Mithridates through Albania and Iberia The Albanians attack him at the time of the Saturnalia (17 Dec.) τῆς ἡρονικῆς ἑορτῆς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καθηκούσῃ Plut. Pomp. 31

39. Pompey winters on the banks of the Cyrenus Προς τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Κρόνῳ τριχὴν ἰεῖμαι τὸν στράτων τυχερήμισσε παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ Κρόνῳ Dion, xxxiii. 36 and 37

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle
Passover, April 6
Pentecost, May 27
Tabernacles, October 1

B.C. 65. U.C. 689. Olymp. 178, 2.

P. CORNELIUS SUTTA } Hi antequam inirent
P. ALFONIUS PAPIUS } damnati sunt

In eorum locum facti sunt

L. AURELIUS COTTA

L. MARCIUS TORQUATUS

40. Hyrcanus and Antipater, the father of Herod, who had fled together from Jerusalem to Aictas, king of Petra, march with the Arabians under Aretas against Aristobulus Jos. Ant. xiv. 2, 1, Bell. i. 6, 2

41. Scaurus, after no long stay at Damascus, hears of the siege of Jerusalem and hastens to Judæa with all speed Καὶ τοῦτους (Metellus and Lollius) μεταστήσας, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπύθετο, καθόπερ ἐφ' ὅραμα ἤτειχθη. Jos. Bell. i. 6, 2, Ant. xiv. 2, 8

42. In Judæa Scaurus hears ambassadors from Aristobulus and Hyrcanus Παραγεγόμενος δὲ, κρίσειζει ἰσχυρίαι, αὐτοῦ τε Ἀριστοβούλου, πρὸς αὐτοῖς, καὶ Ὑρκανοῦ, συμμαχεῖν

ἰξιοῦντων ἑκατέρω, etc Jos Ant xiv 2, 3, Bell 1 6, 3.

43. Hyrcanus and Aretas, king of Petra, his ally, were at this time besieging Aristobulus in Jerusalem, and during the siege occurred the Passover (March 26) Τούτων δὲ γενομένων κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῇ τῶν Ἀζύμων ἑορτῇ, ἣν Φάσκα λέγομεν, οἱ δοκιμάτατοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκλιπόντες τὴν χώραν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἔφθγον Jos Ant xiv 2, 1 Πολιορκουμένων τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου, συνεβη τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐπιστήναι τὴν καλουμένην Φάσκα, καθ' ἣν ἔθος ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πολλὰ θύειν τῷ Θεῷ Ant xiv 2, 2. Thus, therefore, could not have been the Passover of the preceding year, as Scaurus could not have been sent by Pompey from Armenia into Syria before midsummer, B.C 66 and probably Scaurus was dispatched much later.

44. Scaurus favours Aristobulus, and obliges Hyrcanus and Aretas to raise the siege of Jerusalem, and Scaurus then retires to Damascus, and Aristobulus, in his absence, attacks and defeats the Arabians (Scaurus) κατέσας ἀναχωρεῖν τὸν Ἀρέταν ἢ πολέμιον αὐτὸν Ῥωμαῖον ἀποδείχθησθαι Καὶ Σκαῦρος μὲν εἰς Δαμασκὸν πάλιν ἀνεχώρησεν, Ἀριστοβούλους δὲ μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμει ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρέταν καὶ Ὑρκανὸν ἐστράτευσεν, καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν καλούμενον Παπυρούα νυκτὶ τῇ μάχῃ, etc Jos Ant xiv 2, 3, Bell 1 6, 3

45. Mithridates having passed from Colchis to Bosphorus, drives out Mithares, the partisan of the Romans, and possesses himself of the country Dion, xxkvi, 33

46. Pompey carries on the war against Oresces, king of the Albanians, and Artoces, king of the Iberians Τῷ δ' ἐπιγεγονομένῳ ἔπει τοῦ τε Κόττου τοῦ Λουκίου καὶ τοῦ Ὑρκανάτου ὑπαγευόντων, ἐπολέμησε μὲν καὶ τοῖς Ἀλβανοῖς ἐπολέμησε δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἰβήροις Dion, xxkvi, 1, Appian, Mith 108, Plut Pomp 85, Florus, iii 5 (see B.C 36, no 335) Pompey was thus engaged during the summer and autumn Καὶ τὸν τε Κύρνον, ἢ πορείσιμος ὑπὸ τοῦ θέρους ἐγεγόνει, τελεῖ διήλθιν . ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τοῦ καύματος ἐταλιπυώρησεν Dion, xxkvi 3 And indeed up to the Saturnalia (December 17) Ὡκροῖα! Κρόνια! πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν σφῶν τὴν τότε γενομένην ἐπιλέγοντες Dion, xxkvi 1

47. Pompey enters Colchis and proceeds as far as to the mouth of the Phasis, where he meets his admiral Servilius Plut Pomp 34 Dion, xxkvi 8 He then crosses the Cyprian

and defeats the Albanians at the river Abas Plut Pomp 35 Pompey returns to the Lesser Armenia Εἰς δὲ τὴν μικρὰν Ἀρμενίαν ἀνεχώρησε Plut Pomp 86

48. Gabinius is sent across the Euphrates and penetrates to the Tigris "Ο, τε Γαβνίου καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ευφράτην μέχρι τοῦ Ἰγρίδος προειχώρησε Dion, xxkvi 5

49. Antiochus, king of Commagene (see infra, no 54), and Darius, king of Media, are subdued Ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος, καὶ τὸν Ταῖρον ὑπερ-ελθὼν, ἐπολέμησεν Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ κομμαγενῶ, ὥς ἐς φίλιαν ο' Ἀντίοχος αὐτῷ συνήλθεν Ἐπολέμησε δὲ καὶ Δαρείῳ τῷ Μηδῶ, μέχρις ἔφθγεν Ἀρριαν, Mith 106

50. The Parthians send an embassy to Pompey, who demands the cessation of Gordyene, and dispatches Afranius to take possession of it Afranius drives the Parthians out of Gordyene (see B.C 66, no 35), and marches to Syria, and suffers from the frost by the way Καὶ πολλὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς σπένειας τῶν τροφῶν ἐκαυόθη Dion, xxkvi 5 Plut Pomp 36

51. Pompey is at Amisus in Pontus, where he takes a levy of kings and other potentates, and makes a settlement of the conquered provinces Plut Pomp 38

52. Pompey deposes Antiochus Asiaticus, the last of the kings of Syria Πομπήιος δὲ Τυγράνῃ μὲν Ἀρμενίαν συνεχώρησεν ἀρχεῖν, Ἀντιόχον δὲ (Asiaticum) ἐξέβαλε τῆς Συρίας ἀρχῆς Ἀρριαν, Syri 49 Καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἔκειον τὸν ἐκ τῆς Σελήνης αὐτῷ γεόμενον, ἐν Ἀσίᾳ τε τραφεῖτα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Ἀσιατικὸν ἐπὶ λητ, Πομπήιος ἀφείλετο τὴν Σύρον ἀρχὴν Ἀρριαν, Syri 70 Antiochus had reigned one year which was during the time that Pompey was incessantly occupied against Mithridates Βασιλεύσαντα δ' ἐν ταῖς ἀσχολίαις ταῖς Πομπηίου ἐπὶ ἓν μῶσι εἰς Ἀρριαν, Syri 70 Pompey had taken the field in B.C 66, and the year of Antiochus Asiaticus would therefore expire in B.C 65

53. Dejotarus, tetrach of the Tolstobou in Galatia (Suaab, xi 3), is made tetrach of Galatia Καθ' ἡμῶς δὲ εἰς τρεῖς, εἴς εἰς δύο ἡγεμονας, εἴτα εἰς ἓνα ἦεν ἡ δυναστεία, εἰς Δημόταρον Σταβό, xi 3, Appian, Mith 114, see ib 75 with the part of Pontus between Amisene and Colchis, and the title of king Μεγα δὲ τὴν ἐμβολὴν τοῦ Ἄλλοις ἢ 1 αἰδωνῆτις μέχρι τῆς Σαραμενῆς Ταῦτες δὲ τῆς χώρας

τὴν μὲν ἔχουσιν Ἀρμενῆοι, τὴν δ' ἔδωκε Διοτάρῳ Πομπήιος, καθότι καὶ τα περὶ τὴν Φαρνυκίαν καὶ τὴν Γραπεζουσίαν μέχρι Κολχίδος καὶ τῆς Μικρῆς Ἀρμενίας, καὶ τοῦτω ἀπέδειξε ἀπὸν βασιλέα. Strabo, xi 3 Eutropius assigns to Deiotarus Armenia Minor also. Eutrop. vi 14 (see infra no 58, p c 50, no 239).

54. Seleucia and other parts of Mesopotamia are annexed to Commagene, the kingdom of Antiochus Appian, Mith 114 (see p c 65, no 49; p c 50, no 239)

55. Phumaces, son of Mithridates, is made king of Bosphorus Dion, xxvii 14, Appian, Mith 113 (see p c 47, no 304), and Attalus is made king of Paphlagonia (see p c 41, no 435), and Aristarchus is made king of Colchis Appian, Mith 114, Eutrop. vi 14 (see p c 36, no 545)

56. Archelaus is appointed priest of Comana in Pontus and the territory of it is extended one hundred and twenty stades, or fifteen miles round Παράλαιβον δὲ Πομπήιος τὴν ἐχούσαν, Ἀρχέλαον ἐπέστησεν Ἰερῶν (τῶν Κομάνων), καὶ προσάψει αὐτῷ χώρων ἐσχοῖνων κύβω, τῶν τοῦ ἑσόντος ἐξήκοιτα σταδίων, πρὸς τῇ ἱερᾷ Strabo, xi 3, Appian, Mith 114 On his death (see p c 55, no 180) he was succeeded by his son Archelaus, the father of the king of Cappadocia γιὸς δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἱερῶσίνην παρέλαθεν Strabo, xi 3 Πάππος δὲ (Archelaus) τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Καππαδοκῶν ἑσάτου καθ' ἡμέας, Ἰερνὲς δὲ τῶν ἐν Πόντῳ Κομάνων Strabo vii 1 (see p c 17, no 305)

57. Ariobarzanes I (who had been expelled by Tigranes from Cappadocia) is restored to that kingdom with the addition of Sophene (see p c 66, no 35, p c 55, no 1823) and Goidyene (see p c 66, no 35), both forfeited by the son of Tigranes Ὁ δὲ Πομπήιος.

Ἀριοβαρζάνη ἀπέλειπον βασιλεύειν Καππαδοκίας καὶ προσέδωκε Σαφρηνὴν καὶ Γορδηνήν, ἃ τῷ παιδὶ μερίστω Τιγράνους Appian, Mith 105 Ariobarzanes I afterwards resigned the kingdom in favour of his son Ariobarzanes II Ἀριοβαρζάνης μὲν οὖν τὴν βασιλείαν ὅλην τῷ παιδὶ περὶ ὧν ἐνεχείρισε Appian, Mith 105 Val Max. v 7 (see p c 66, no 35, p c 50, no 239)

58. The arrangements made by Pompey are thus described by Appian τῶν δὲ εἰλημμένων ἐθιῶν, τὰ μὲν αὐτόνομα ἦσαν σιμμαχίας οὐκ ἔσθ, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις εὐθὺς ἐγίνετο, τὰ δ' εἰς βασιλείαν διετίθεντο, Τιγράνῳ μὲν Ἀρμενίας, καὶ

Φαρνάῳ Βασταρῶν καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνῃ Καππαδοκίαν καὶ ὅσα προέπον ἕτερα Ἀντιοχῷ δὲ τῇ Κομμαγενῇ Σελεύκειον ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ ὅσα τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἄλλα κατέδραμι Ἔτοιαι δὲ καὶ Γετράρχαι, ἡ ἀλλογαρχικὸν μὲν, οἳ οὖν εἰσι ἡλιάται. Καππαδοκίας ὕμνοι, Διηγοῦνται, καὶ ἑτέροις Παφλαγοῖας δὲ Ἀτταλῶν καὶ Κολχῶν Ἀρίσταρχος, δουλοῖται. Ἀπεφῆκε δὲ τῆς ἐν Κομάνοις θεᾶς Ἀρχέλαον Ἰερῶν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ δυναστεία βυσσικὴ καὶ τὸν Φαναγορίας Κίστορα, Ῥωμαίων φίλον. Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἑτέροις χώροις τε καὶ χρήματα ἔδωκε Appian, Mith 114, see p c 113 The account of Eutropius is this *Armeniam minorē Deiotaro Galatias regi donavit, quia socius belli Mithridatis fuerat Attalo et Pylamēni Paphlagoniam reddidit Aristarchum Colchis regem imposuit* Eutrop. vi 14

The Sabbatic year. NB As to the Sabbatic years and the time or season at which they commenced, see p c 37, no 525, p c 23, no 707

Passover March 26

Pentecost May 26

Tavernacles, September 20

B C 64. U.C. 690 Olymp 179, 1.

L JULIUS CESAR

C MARCUS TULLIUS

59. Pompey, by Afranius, his lieutenant, subdues the Ains about Mount Amanus, and then enters Syria. *Κερωσάμνος δὲ δι' Ἀφρανίου τοῦς περὶ Ἀμανὸν Ἀράβας, καὶ καταβὰς αὐτὸς εἰς Συρίαν* Plut Pomp 39

60. Damascus, which had belonged to Tigranes (see Eckhel, iii 248), was about this time annexed to Syria. See Jos Ant xiv 3, 4, xiv. 11 7, Bell i 12, 1 (see p c. 66 no 36, p c 16, no 322)

61. Pompey proceeds to Damascus, where he receives envoys from Egypt, Syria and Judaea. *Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ Πομπηίου εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἀφωσμένου καὶ Κόλην Συρίαν ἐπιόντος, ἦσαν παρ' αὐτὸν πρέσβεις ἐξ ὅλης Συρίας καὶ Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας* Jos Ant xiv 3, 1, Bell i 6, 4 Florus, iii 5

62. In the spring of this consulship, Phraates, king of Parthia (see p c 70, no 8, p c 55, no 125), marches against Tigranes, and at first is worsted but afterwards is victor, when Tigranes sends for assistance to Pompey,

who at this time was in Syria. Φιδύς (Phratos) ἐπὶ τὸν Τυγρίην μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὃ τὴν Ουγατέρα ἰδεῖν δέουκα ἰσχυράτεσαι· ἐπὶ τῷ ἤρῃ ἐν τῷ Δουκιῷ τε Καῖσαρ καὶ Γάιος Φίγουλός ὑπάτανον, καὶ κληθεὶ μάχη, ἔπειθ' ὕστερον ἀντεκράνησε τῷ τε Τυγρίου τὸν Πομπήιον ἐν Συρία· οὕτω ἐπικαλεσαμένου, πρὶς αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέστειλε, etc., Dion, xxviii 6.

63. Pompey sends mediators, when Phraates and Tigranes are reconciled (His cross) Dion, xxxvii 7.

64. Pompey makes a long stay in Syria, of which Mithridates taking advantage meditates new schemes against the Romans. Ἰταυδὴ ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ διέτριβε Dion, xxxviii 11.

65. Anupater an ambassador from Hyrcanus, and Nicodemus an ambassador from Aristobulus, come on a mission to Pompey, who adjourns the hearing till the following spring. Κελεύσας δὲ (Pompey) ἤκειν τοὺς διαμφισβητοῦντας ἐπιστῆμειν τοῦ ἔαρος Jos. Ant. xiv 3, 2, Bell i 6, 1.

66. Pompey winters at Aspis. Πομπήιος δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀστιάδι καὶ τότε ἐχειμασε Dion, xxxviii 7. It was in this year, for it follows immediately on the reconciliation of Phraates and Tigranes.

67. Birth of Nicolaus of Damascus. For in the year of Herod's death (B.C. 4) he was of the age of sixty. Καὶ γὰρ ἦν περὶ ἑξήκοντα ἔτη Nicolaus Damasc., Muller's Frag. Græc. iii 353.

First year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 15

Pentecost, June 4

Tabernacles, October 9

BC 63. U.C. 691. Olymp. 179, 2.

M. I. CAESAR

C. ALFONIUS

68. Pompey in the spring moves towards Damascus. Ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῶν χειμαδίων ὤρμησεν ἐς τὴν Δαμασκήν Jos. Ant. xiv 3, 2. And on his way takes the towns of Aramea, and takes a tribute from Ptolemy Mennæi, king of Chalcis. Ant. xiv 3, 2 (see B.C. 40, no 439). The kingdom of Ptolemy Mennæi comprised the campaign or valley between Libanus and Antilibanus called Mai-syas, of which the capital was Chalcis and the

mountain region of Antilibanus called Iteuras, which comprised Abyleus (see B.C. 36, no 587). Χαλκίς ἡ ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Μενναίου τῷ τὸν Μαρσαν κατεχορτὴ καὶ τῶν Ἰτυραίων ορεῖν. Strabo, xvi 2. The ruins of Chalcis have been identified by Robinson. They are situated upon the slope of the watershed or saddleback which lies between Libanus and Antilibanus, a little to the north of the road from Damascus to Beirut. The place is called Agha and is about as far from Abylia as Abyla is from Damascus, and in the same straight line. The principal remains are the walls of the fortified city, nearly a square, with eight or nine towers on each side, and measuring on the north (the shorter side) 385 yards, or somewhat less than one fifth of a mile, and on the longer side a quarter of a mile. Robinson, Bible Researches, 1852, p. 496.

69. Pompey flees Byblos from the tyranny of Cinyrias, whom he decapitates. Ἢ μὲν οὖν Βυβλοῖ, τὸ τοῦ Κινύριου βασιλεῖον, ἱερὰ ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀζωϊοῦ, ἣν τυραννομένην ἠλευθέρουσε Πομπήιος πελεισας ἐκείον. Strabo, xvi 2.

70. Pompey passes through Chalcis to Damascus. Διελθὼν δὲ τὰς πόλεις τὴν τε Ἠλιόπολιν καὶ τὴν Χαλκίδα καὶ τὸ διέργον ὄρος ὑπερβαλὼν τὴν κοίλην προσαγορευμένην Συρίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάς εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἦεν Jos. Ant. xiv 3, 2.

71. At Damascus Pompey hears the embassies of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, and improves the violence of Aristobulus, but defers his decision till he should arrive in Judæa. Πομπήιος δὲ τούτων ἀκούσας καὶ καταγνοὺς Ἀριστοβούλου βίαν, τότε μὲν αὐτοῦς ἀπέπεμψε διαλεχθεὶς πρῶτος, ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἔλεγε διαταεῖν ἔλαστα ἐπειδὴν τὰ τῶν Ναβαταίων πρῶτον ἰδοί Jos. Ant. xiv 3, 3.

72. Aristobulus assumes a wallike attitude, and retires to Delnum, and thence to Alexandrium, a fortress in Judæa. Jos. Ant. xiv 3 and 4, Bell i 6, 5.

73. Pompey marches through Pella and Scythopolis to Coele, the border town of Judæa, against Aristobulus, and the latter, at the command of Pompey, surrenders Alexandrium, and withdraws to Jerusalem, but, on Pompey's marching against Aretas king of Petra, Aristobulus again prepares for war. Ἀνεχώρησεν (Aristobulus) εἰς Ἰερουσόλημ καὶ ἐν παρασκευῇ τοῦ πολέμου ἐγένετο Jos. Ant. xiv 3, 4, Bell i, 6, 5.

74. The death of Mithridates at Pantapraon, in Bosphorus, occurs in this consulship. Τοῦ γὰρ δὴ Κυρίως τοῦ Μάρκου μετὰ Γαίου Ἀντωνίου ὑπατεύσαντος ὁ, ὡς Μιθριδάτης αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐαφθίκεν. Dion, xxviii 10. Anno ab U C DCCLXXI, M. Tullio Cicero et C. Antonio coss., Pompeius, occisi Mithridatis nuntio accersito, etc. Oros vi 6. At the age of 68 or 69. Ἐμὼ δ' οὐτὼς ἦ ἑστία ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔξοκται ἐτεσι. Appian, Mith 112 (but, as to his age see B C 68, no 23, Oros vi 6, Dion, xxviii 9).

75. Pompey, who was on his way against Arietas, king of Petra, on being informed of Aristobulus's preparations, postpones his operations against Arietas, and marches, without loss of time, against Aristobulus, and hears by the way, at Jericho, of the death of Mithridates. Ὅδ' οὐ γὰρ εἰδὼν χρόνον ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, εὐθὺς αἰεταί, καὶ προσετέρυνσε τὴν ὁρμὴν οὐ Μιθριδάτην θάνατος ἀγγελθείς αὐτῷ περὶ Ἱερικίου. Jos Bell i 6, 6. Ant xiv 3, 4. Plutarch relates to the same effect that Pompey heard of the news on his way to Petra, and when not far from it. Οὐκετι γὰρ αὐτοῦ (Pompey) τῆς Περσὺς πολλὴν ὕδον ἀπεχούσας χρομμηνήφοροι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ Πόντου κομίζοντες ἐπαγγέλλει. Plut Pompey 41, and see Oros vi 6.

76. Aristobulus surrenders at discretion, and Pompey sends Gabinius to take possession of Jerusalem but he is shut out by Aristobulus's partisans. Aristobulus is put in bonds, and Pompey, about midsummer, marches to Jerusalem. Jos Ant xiv 4, 1.

77. The city, exclusive of the temple, is delivered up to Pompey, and confided to Pso, and Pompey assails the temple, which was still occupied by Aristobulus's party, on the month. Jos Ant xiv 1, 2, Bell i 7, 2.

78. The temple is taken after a three months' siege. Hierosolyma caput gentis tertio mense cepit. Cn. Pompeius Judæos subegit. Fasti eorum in Hierosolymā, aucto latum ad id tempus cepit. Liv Epit 102. Id (templum) non solum intactū, sed loci, ierum, itium ingente numero fossaque intactū manebat. . . et tertio mense expugnatum. Oros vi 6. On the Great Feast, or day of atonement, Tishri 10, or September 22. Περί τριτον μῆνα, τῇ τῆς νηστείας ἡμέρᾳ, κατὰ τὴν ἐγγάτην καὶ ἐξδομητοσθὴν καὶ ἑκατοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα, ὑπαγενοστω Γαίου Ἀντωνίου καὶ Μάρκου Κικέρωνος. Jos Ant xiv 4, 3. Τριτὴ μὲν τῆς πολιαρ-

κίας Bell i 7, 4. Τριτὴ γοῦν μὲν πολιαρκοῦντος ἑαυτοῦ παρεῖσαν. Bell v 9, 1. By the 179th Olympiad Josephus means the first year of it, i.e., though the first six months only of B C 63 belong to the first year of this Olympiad, the usage of Josephus is to designate the whole consular year by the year of the Olympiad with which the consular year commenced (see B C 69, no 10).

79. Dion mentions that the capture was on a Sabbath, or Saturday. Ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου ἡμέρᾳ. Dion xxviii 16. If the Feast of Tabernacles, or the day of the full moon, which was always Tishri 15, fell on September 28 then, according to De Morgan's 'Book of Almanacks' 10 Tishri, the day of the Feast, September 28, fell in the middle of the week, and not on a Saturday. As, however, the city was taken on a Sabbath (viz. on the Fast, which was always observed as a Sabbath), this probably led Dion into the mistake of confounding an extraordinary with an ordinary Sabbath. It is observable also, that, according to Josephus, Pompey carried on his works every Sabbath-day, as the Jews, though they could defend their lives, could take no offensive measures on a Sabbath, and thus also may have contributed to the mistake. Τωμαῖται καὶ ἑλκίνας τὰς ἡμέρας ὅς δὲ σάββατον καλοῦμεν. Jos Ant xiv 4, 3. As the Romans are said to have carried on their works on a Saturday, this negatives the statement that they delayed the assault on that day. Besides, had they done so, Josephus would no doubt have mentioned it.

80. Pompey enters the Holy of Holies, but spares the sacred treasures. Jos Ant xiv 1, 4, Bell i 7, 6, Flor iv 5, Liv Epit 102.

81. Hyrcanus is confirmed by Pompey in the highpriesthood, and his reign of twenty-four years is dated from this period (see B C 40, no 454), but Jerusalem and Judæa are made tributary. Τὰ μὲν ἱεροσολύμα ὑποτέλλει φόρον Ῥωμαίοις ἐποίησε. Jos Ant xiv 4, 4. Τῇ τε χώρα καὶ τοῖς ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπείσθητε φόρον. Bell i 7, 6. And Judæa is confined within its proper limits, Gazy, Joppa, Straton's Tower (afterwards Cesarea), and other cities, being set free, and annexed to Syria. Jos Ant xiv 4, 1, Bell i 7, 7. Judæa was tributary to the Romans from this period, and apparently con-

tinued so even during the reign of Herod (see n c 42, no 423)

82. Aristobulus, and his sons Alexander and Antigonos, are sent to Rome, but Alexander escapes by the way, and returns to Judaea Jos Ant xiv 4, 5

83. Aristobulus is said to have reigned at this time three years and three months "Ερεί δὲ τρίτῃ τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ πρὸς μῆσι τοῖς ἰσίοις Πομπήσιος ἐθώλῃ, etc Jos Ant xx 10, 4 I know not how this is to be reconciled with the fact that Aristobulus began to reign in A D 69 (see that year, no 11) In another place in the 'Antiquities,' Aristobulus is mentioned incidentally to have reigned three years and six months Βασιλεύσαι μὲν καὶ Ἀρχιερεῖσαι ἐτη τρεῖς καὶ μηνάς ἔξ Jos Ant vi 1 There is thus, in the same work, a direct contradiction as to the number of months, and hence a suspicion arises that the text is corrupt It is to be observed that in the former passage Josephus states the number of months to be the same as the number of the years, πρὸς μῆσι τοῖς ἰσίοις, and as in the second passage the months are expressly stated to be six, the whole reign, if the years were equal to the months, as asserted, would be six years and six months This agrees with the facts, for Pompey took Jerusalem on September 22, n c 63, and shortly after (say in October) Hyrcanus was made highpriest, and Aristobulus was sent to Rome, with which event Josephus seems to close his reign, and if we reckon back six years and six months from September 22, n c 63, it will take us to March, n c 69, as the commencement of the reign of Aristobulus, and if we allow three months for the reign of Hyrcanus, as stated by Josephus (see n c 69, no 11), we come to January, n c 69, as the time of Hyrcanus's accession, which may have been the case However, it is not unlikely that Josephus has confounded the reign of Aristobulus with that of his son Antigonos, who reigned just three years and three months (see n c 37, no 527) Curiously enough, Dion, *l. c. re. c.*, speaks of Antigonos by mistake for Aristobulus Dion, xlviii 26 (see n c 40, no 454)

84. Pompey, having subdued Judaea, now again turns his attention to the affairs of Petra, and Aretas is obliged to make his submission ἰδὲ δὲ Ἰουδαίαν κατεστρέψατο καὶ συνέλαβεν Ἀριστόβουλον τὸν βασιλέα . τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως τῶν περὶ τὴν Πέτραν Ἀράβων πρότερον

καὶ ἐν οὐδενὶ λογῇ τὰ Ῥωμαίων τιθεμένου . ὁ Πομπήσιος, ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Πέτραν. Plut Pomp 39 and 41 (see supra, no 75 n c 47, no 286) Dion and Appian, contrary to other authorities, place the expedition against Petra before the conquest of Jerusalem "Επ' οὖν τούτοις (Aretas) τοῦ τε πλησιοχώρου αὐτῷ ὁ Πομπήσιος ἐλάσας ἀκοιτὶ αὐτοῦ, προσηγάγετο καὶ φρουρῇ παρέδωκεν ἐκτεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Συρίαν τὴν Παλαιστίνην, ὡς καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην κυκλωσάμενος ὤρμησεν Dion, xxviii 15 Ἐπολιέμῃσι δὲ καὶ Ἀραβὶ τοῖς Ναβαταίοις, Ἀρέτα βασιλεύοντος αὐτῶν, καὶ Ἰουδαίῳ Ἀριστοβούλου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποστάντος, ὥς εἶπεν Ἱεροσόλυμα τὴν ἡγεωτάτην αὐτοῖς πόλιν Appian, Mith 106 The truth probably is that Pompey, on his way to Petra, heard of the designs of Aristobulus, and thought his immediate presence at Jerusalem of more consequence than the campaign against Petra, and altered his plans accordingly

85. Pompey appoints Scarus, who had been his quaestor, to the command of Syria, and proceeds to Cilicia Πομπήσιος δὲ τῇ Κοίλῃ Συρίαν ἕως Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ καὶ Διγύπτον Σικυρῶν παρὰ τοῦ καὶ δὴ τὰ γέγραμτα Ῥωμαίων, ἐπὶ Κιλικίαν ἔχρησεν ἐπιτάγματα εἰς Ῥώμην Jos Ant xiv 4, 5, Bell i 7, 7 Συρίαν δὲ εὐθὺς ὁ Πομπήσιος Σκαῦρον τὸν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις αὐτῷ γενόμενον ταμίαν ἐταξεν ἡγεῖσθαι Appian, Syr 51 (see n c 61, no. 101)

86. Pompey proceeds to Amisus, in Pontus καὶ ταχὺ τὰς ἐν μέσῳ διεξελθὼν ἐπαρχίας εἰς Ἀμισόν (Pompey) ἀφίκετο. Plut Pomp 42

87. The conspiracy of Cataline (see Fasti Hellenici) Dion, xxxvii 29

88. The birth of Augustus on 23 Sept *Natus est Augustus, M Tullio Cicerois et Antonii cos, 12 Kalend Oct Suet Octav 5 Mensena Septendebrensi quiescit patris Suet Octav, 31. Καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τῆς αὐτῆς γενομένη συμβέβηκεν, Κυκερωνὸς ἐκτακένοντος. Plut Cic 44 On the day of the debate on Cataline's conspiracy Quo natus est die quum de Cataline conjuratione ageretur in curia, et Octavus ob hoc die puerperum servus adfuisse. Suet Aug 94*

89. C J Caesar, on the death of Metellus Pius, is elected Pontifex Maximus Dion, xxxvii 37 Suet Cas 13 Plut Cas 7 Sallust Cat 49 He was succeeded by Lepidus (see n c 44, no 353)

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle

Passover, April 2

Pentecost, May 24

Tabernacles, Sept 28

B.C. 62. U.C. 692. Olymp 179, 3

DECIUS JUNIUS SILANUS
L. LICINIUS MULLINA

90. Cathane is slain at the very beginning of the year. Κατακτείνεται δὲ ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ ἐτους ἐν τῷ Ἰούλειοι τε Σίλαοι καὶ Λοκίουσι Λακτίοις ἤρξαν ἀποφθόρου Διον., xxxvii 39. Liv Epist. 103 Salust, 60

91. At this time Pompey was in Asia, but on his way to Rome. Ἐν γὰρ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἐστὶν ἦν Διον., xxxvii 43. We find him first at Mitylene Γενετὸν ἀφ' ἡμερῶν Plut. Pomp 42. Then at Ephesus Αὐτὸς δ' ἐς Ἐφεσον καταβὰς Appian, Mith 116. Plut. Cato Min 14. Then at Rhodes Ἐν δὲ Ρόδῳ γενόμενος Plut. Pomp 42. Then at Athens. Ἐν δ' Ἀθήναις τα μὲν πρὸς τοὺς φιλοσόφους ὁμοίᾳ τοῦ Πομπηίου Plut. Pomp. 42. For the course of Pompey from Judea to Italy, see also Dion., xxxvii 20.

92. Pompey reaches Italy in the autumn of this year, for he writes word of his approach, and requests the senate to postpone the comitia until his arrival. The comitia were usually held in the latter half of the year. Πομπήιος δὲ μέγας ἀπὸ τῆς στρατείας ἐπαύων . . . προὔπεμψεν ἀξίων τὰς ὑπαγεῖας ἀρχαιρεσίας ἀναβῆλθαι τὴν σύγκλητον, ὥς ἂν αὐτὸς παρὼν Πείσωμι συνἀρχαιρεσίῃ Plut. Cato Min xxx. Οὕτω πάντες τὸν Πομπήιον ἐδέδεσαν . . . ὥστε, ἐπειδὴ Μάρκον Πίσωνα ὑποστράτηγον πρὸς αἰτησὶν ὑπαγεῖας προὔπεμψε, τὰς τε ἀρχαιρεσίας, ὥστε ἀπαντήσῃ ἐς αὐτὸν, ἀναβῆλθαι, καὶ παρόντα αὐτὸν ἐνοθυμῶν ἀποδεῖξαι Dion., xxxvii 44.

93. Pompey appears to have been at Rome before the end of the year, for, on new-year's day, Cicero writes, *Pompeium nobis amicissimum constat esse*. Καὶ Ἰανουάριῳ, M. Messallā, M. Pisone coss. Cic. Ep. Att. i 12, and he was certainly in Rome before Feb 13, n.c. 61, for Cicero writes, *Prima comitia Pompei quibus fuisset scriptum ad te antea*. Idibus Februariis Cic. Ep. Att. i 14, and of course before the election of consuls in n.c. 61 for the year n.c. 60. Πομπήιος δὲ ἦλθε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐν τῇ χροίᾳ τούτῃ, καὶ τὸν τε Ἀφράκιον τὸν Λού-

κιον καὶ τὸν Μετέλλον τὸν Κελερίν, ὑπὸ τὸν ἀποδεχθῆναι ἐποίησεν Dion., xxxvii 49.

94. Triumph of Metellus Cretensis. *D. Junio Silano et L. Murend coss Metellus de Creta triumphavit* Eutrop. vi. 16 (see n.c. 67, no. 28).

95. Flaccus was proconsul of Asia this year. *Silano et Murena coss*. Cicero pro Flac. 13. He was succeeded by Quintus Cicero (see n.c. 59, no. 105). Attalus had bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans, who called it Asia, as then their only possession in that continent. Proconsular Asia comprised Ionia, Phrygia, Bithynia and Minor, Lydia, Mysia, Caria, and Pergamus. Notis Cenot. Pis. i. 290.

96. C. Jul. Caesar is full praetor in this consulship. Dion., xxxvii 39, 44, Plut. Cic. 23, and had therefore been praetor elect the year before. Cic. Ep. Att. xii 21.

97. Scaurus marches against Aretas, king of Petra, with whom Pompey had rather temporized, and obliges him to purchase peace. Σκαῦρον δὲ ἐπὶ Πέτραν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ στρατεύσαντος, καὶ δια τοῦ δυσεμβολωτάτην εἶναι τὰ ἐν ἰσχυρῶν ἐρῶντος αὐτῆς . . . Ἀντίπατρος . . . πεμψθεὶς πρὸς Ἀρέταν πρεσβευτὴς ὑπὸ Σκαῦρον διὰ τὴν ὑπόσταν ξενίαν, πείθει καὶ αὐτὸν ἀργύριον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ θρωπῆναι τὴν χώραν δοῦναι Jos. Ant. xiv 5, 1, Bell. i 8, 1.

98. Theophilus is archon at Athens. Euseb. Chron. lib. i c. 29. He was archon in the consulship of Piso and Messalla, i.e. n.c. 61, but his archonship probably commenced at midsummer n.c. 62. See Fasti Hellen. n.c. 61.

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 23

Pentecost, May 13

Tabernacles, September 17

B.C. 61. U.C. 693. Olymp 179, 4.

M. PULIUS PISO CALPURNIANUS
M. VALER MESSALLA

99. Triumph of Pompey on September 29 and 30 (the latter his birthday). *Tertio triumpho quem de Parvatis, Asia, Ponto, gentibusque et regibus* . . . M. Pisone, M. Messallā coss., pridie Kalend. Octob. die natalis sui egit Plin. N.H. xxxvii 6. The triumph lasted two days. Τοῦ δὲ θριάμβου . . . εἰς ἡμέρας δύο μερισθέντος Plut. Pomp. 45, and see Fasti Capitol. infra, no. 101 a.

100. Caesar is in Spain the year after his

praetorship (see p c 62, no 96) Τῆς τε Αυσου-
ταιίας μετα τὴν στρατηγίαν ἦρξε Dion, xxxvii
52 'Ο δὲ Καίσαρ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς στρατηγίας τῶν
ἐπαρχίων τὴν Ἰβηρίαν λαβὼν ἐξῆλθεν Plut
Cæs 11 Sueton Cæs. 18 Appian, B C ii 8
Liv Epitom 103

101. Philippus is appointed to the province
of Syria in the room of Scaurus, who had been
nominated by Pompey two years before, in
b c 63 Philippus also held office for two
years, and was succeeded in p c 59 by Mucel-
linus Καὶ ἡ βουλὴ Φιλίππου ἐπὶ Σαύρῳ τὸν
Μάριον, καὶ Μαρκελλίῳν Αἰτῶλον ἐπὶ τῷ Φι-
λιππῷ, ἡμῶν στρατηγικούς· αὐτ' ἀξίωσαν (ἐταξεῖ)
Ἄλλα τῶν δὲ μὲν ἐν ἀτέρῳ διετῆς ἐπὶ φίλῳ χρόνος
Appian, Syr 51 (see p c 63, no 85, p c 59,
no 103)

101 a Inscription

[Ca. Pompeius Sei. N. Magnus III.] Pro Cos
[et Asia Pontu Populi] Romae Cypariadicā [Ca-
licidā Syriā Aemac]iani Tetractis [Iberici Cretici
et Ierapoliensis Achaiae et Thraciae pro consulatu,
et pro] K. Oclo An D.C.XCII (Varro,
693) Fasti Capitol

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle
Passover, April 11
Pentecost June 1
Tabernacles, October 6

B.C. 60 U.C. 694. Olymp. 180, 1.

L. AFRANIUS

Q. CAECILIUS METELLUS CRETICUS

102. Ptolemy Auletes is king of Egypt, but
was not acknowledged by the Romans until the
following year 'Ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων δὲ τὴν χώραν
βασταλεῦσθαι φασὶν μέχρι τῆς ἀναπο-
στής καὶ ὀδυροσσοῦς Ὀλυμπιάδος, καθ' ἣν ἡμεῖς
μὲν παρεβύλομεν εἰς Αἰγύπτου Ἐρμῆς
δὲ Πτολεμαῖος, ὁ τοῦ Διόνυσου χρηματίζων
Diod i 41 Καθ' ὃν χρόνον Πτολεμαῖος μὲν
ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων οὕτως προσηγορεύετο
φίλος Diod i 83 (see p c 59, no. 101)

102 a Hierodes archon at Athens See Fasti
Hellen p c 60

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle
Passover, March 31
Pentecost, May 21
Tabernacles, September 25

B.C. 59. U.C. 695 Olymp. 180, 2.

C. T. CAESAR, I

M. CALPURNIUS PISO

103. Philippus is succeeded in the province
of Syria by Cn. Cornutus Lentulus Mucel-
linus Appian, Syr 51 (see p c 61, no 101
p c 57, no 114)

104. Ptolemy Auletes, in this consulship
by largesses to Caesar, procures himself to be
acknowledged king of Egypt by the Romans
*In primo consulatu societates ac regna
probo (Caesari) dedit, ut qui uni Ptolemaeo
prope sex millia talentorum suo Pompeiique
auxilio abstulerat* Suet Cæs 54 (see p c 60,
no 102, p c 58, no 110)

105. Quintus Cicero, the brother of M. T.
Cicero, enters upon his third year of the pro-
consulship of Asia (see p c 62 no 95, p c 46,
no 315) *Nunc vero tertius hic annus habeat
integritatem eandem quam superioris, antio-
reni etiam ac diligenioris* Cic Ep ad Quint
i 1, 4, and see ib i 1, 2, 14, 16 In
p c 51, Thermus was procurator of Asia, as
appears from Cicero's letters to him. See Cic
Ep Fam. viii 53 et seq (see p c 62, no 95,
p c 14, no 760)

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle
Passover, March 20
Pentecost May 10
Tabernacles, September 14

B.C. 58 U.C. 696 Olymp. 180, 3.

L. CALPURNIUS PISO CALPURNIUS

A. GABINIUS

106. Cicero is banished, and had left Rome
and was at Thurium some time before April 8
'Dat en Id April Thurum' Cic Ep Att
iii. 5 (see p c 57, no 119)

107. Cato soon after is sent to Cyprus to
eject Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, the brother of
Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt 'Ἐπεὶ γὰρ
ἔλκευδε (Clodius) Κικέρωνα, καὶ Κύπρῳ αὐτο-
ράσει στρατηγίας εἰς Κύπριον ἀπεστείλει, εἰς
Plut Pomp 48, Cato Min 31 Dion, xxxviii
30 Liv Epit 101

108. Cato proceeds to Rhodes on his way to
Cyprus, and remains there some time *Αὐτῷ
ῤὲ διέτριψεν Ῥόδῳ*. Plut Cato Min 35

109. Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, poisons him-
self and Cyprus now becomes a Roman pro-
vince 'Ο δὲ ἐν Κύπρῳ Πτολεμαῖος εὐτυχῶς τοῖς
ἐν Κύπρῳ ἑαυτοῦ, διαρπάξας ἀπέκτεινε Plut

Cato Min 36, and is annexed to Cilicia (see B C 51, no 191)

110. Ptolemy, king of Egypt, is ejected by his subjects (see B C 59, no 104), and Berenice is appointed in his place. Ptolemy, on his way to Rome, has an interview with Cato at Rhodes. *Εἰ δὲ τοῦτον Πτολεμαῖος ο Ἀιγύπτου βασιλεὺς, ὅτ' ἀργῆς τῆς καὶ διαφορῆς πρὸς τοῦς πολῖταις, ἀπολειποῦς μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν εἰς δὲ Ῥώμην πλέων, ὥς Πομπηίου καὶ Καίσαρος αὐτὸς μετὰ τῆς ἡμέρας καταΐκων, ἐντυχθεὶ τῇ Κατοῖ ἐβουλήθει, πρὸς τερπνὴν ἐλπίδων ἐκείαν ὥς αὐτὸν ἦξαι.* Plut Cato Min 35. This Berenice married, first Seleucus of Syria, who was soon after put to death, and then Archelaus, the priest of Comana in Pontus. Dion, XXXI 57. Strabo, xii 3 (see B C 65, no 56 B C 55, no 130)

111. Ptolemy is dissuaded from his purpose by Cato, but pursues his way to Rome. Plut Cato Min 35

112. Caesar is in Gaul, the province assigned to him at the expiration of his consulship. *Is dies* (when the Helvetians were to assemble on the banks of the Rhone) *erat a d v Kal April* (March 28), *L. Pisone, A. Gabinio coss.* *Caesar qui id nuntiavit esset natus ab ubi proficisci, et quam maxime sterneribus potest in Galliam ulteriorem contendit et ad Genavam pervenit.* Cass. B C 1 6, 7

The Sabbatic year

Passover, April 8

Pentecost, May 29

Tabernacles, October 3

B.C. 57. U.C. 697. Olymp. 180, 2.

P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS

Q. CECILIUS METELLUS NEPOS

113. Alexander, son of Aristobulus, and who, on his escape from Pompey, had taken up arms in Judæa, prevails against Hyrcanus, whom Pompey had left highpriest. Jos. Ant. xiv 5, 2, Bell. i 8, 2 (see B C 63, no 81)

114. Gabinus, at the expiration of his consulship and early in this year, arrives in Syria as successor to Marcellinus, and from this time forward Syria is a consular province, that is, governed by persons who had passed the consulship. *Ἐὰ τὸ ἐπεὶ ἐγένετο Σύριαν στρατηγὸς τῶν τα ἐπὶ νόμισμα ἀρχόντων ἐν αστεί καὶ τῶντος ἐκ τῶνδε ἐπεμψθη Γαβίνιος.* Appian, Syr. 51 (see B C 59, no 103, B C 54, no 151)

115. Gabinus defeats Alexander, who afterwards surrenders and is pardoned. Jos. Ant. xiv 5, 2-4, Bell. i 8, 3-5 (see *supra*, no 113)

116. Gabinus establishes an aristocracy in Judæa, and divides it into five Sanhedrims. *Πεντε δὲ συνεδρία καταστήσας, εἰς ἵσας μοίρας διένειμε τὸ ἔθνος, καὶ ἐ-ἀπο-λείποντο, οἱ μὲν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, οἱ δ' ἐν Ἰαδάρει, οἱ δ' ἐν Ἰμαδοῦντι, τετάρτοι δ' ἦσαν ἐν Ἱεριχὸντι, καὶ τὸ πεμπτον ἐν Σεπφόρει τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀτηλαγμένοι τῆς ζωιστείας ἐν ἀριστοκρατείᾳ διήγον.* Jos. Ant. xiv 5, 4, Bell. i 8, 5 (see B C 63, no 81; v 6, no 1013)

117. Gabinus commits to Hyrcanus the care only of the temple. *τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ παραδοὺς κηδεμονίαν αὐτῷ.* Jos. Bell. i 8, 5. *Συγγήσοι τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐπιμέλειαν.* Ant. xiv 5, 4

118. In May of the following year the question of a thanksgiving for Gabinus's successes was agitated at Rome. *Id.* *Maus senatus propterea divinus fuit in supplicatione.* *Gabinio deprecandū.* Cic. Ep. ad Quint. ii 8. The occurrences, therefore, in Judæa had probably taken place in the latter part of the preceding year.

119. Cicero is recalled from banishment, and arrives at Brundisium on August 5. *Brundisium venit.* *Novus Sextilibus.* Cic. Ep. Att. iv 1. After an exile of sixteen months. *Τῶν δὲ περὶ γένθλοι ὑπερεόντων, κατὰ μὲν δὲ κείρων ἐλαδεδιότων μὲν μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν.* Plut. Cic. 33 (see B C 58, no 106)

120. Ptolemy Auletes obtains at first a decree of the senate for his restoration to the throne of Egypt, but the Alexandrians, hearing of his intrigues at Rome, send an embassy, and the decree is suspended. *Καὶ ἐντυχεν* (Ptolemy) *ὥστε ὑπάγον Σινοίθῃρος, ᾧ ἡ Κίλικία ἐπερπάπετο, καταχθῆναι.* *Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα, Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἄνδρας ἐκατον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπεμφαν, etc.* Dion, xxxix 12 *et seq.* (see B C 58, no 110, B C 56, no 122)

1st year of the Sabbatic cycle

Passover, March 28

Pentecost, May 18

Tabernacles, September 22.

B.C. 56. U.C. 698. Olymp. 181, 1.

CN. CORNELIUS LENTULLUS MARCELLINUS

L. MARCUS PHILIPPUS

121. Ptolemy's suit for restoration to the throne of Egypt is still under discussion at

Rome in January and February Cic Ep Fam 1 1, 2, 4, 5 a, 5 b, 7

122. Ptolemy is unable to induce the Romans to restore him, and he returns from Rome to seek an asylum from his creditors in the sanctuary of Diana at Ephesus Ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τε Λουκίου Φιλίππου καὶ ἐπὶ Γαίον Μαρκελλίου ὑπᾶτων ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτὰ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος μαθὼν τὴν τε κἀνοδον ἀπέγινω, καὶ ἐς Ἐφεσον ἐλθὼν παρὰ τῇ θεῇ ἔστητο Dion, xxix 16 Ptolemy, however, could not have remained long at Ephesus, for early the next year Gabinius took up his cause, and marched into Egypt to restore him to the throne (see B.C. 57, no 120, B.C. 56, no 130)

123. Cato returns from Cyprus in this consulship Ὑπάτερι δὲ Φιλίππος Plut Cato Min 39

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle

Passover, April 16

Pentecost, June 6.

Tabernacles, October 11

B.C. 55. U.C. 699. Olymp 101, 2.

CN POMPEIUS MAGNUS, II

M LICINIUS CRASSUS

124 The Roman provinces are assigned for five years as follows Spain to Pompey, Gaul to Caesar, and Syria to Crassus *Idem* (Cato) *quum legem impederet, quia Provinciae Consulibus in quinquevnum, Pompeio Hispania, Crasso Syria et Parthicum bellum, Caesari Gallia et Germania dabantur, a Cato Trebonio tributo plebis, legis auctore, in vincula ductus est* Liv Epit 105 *Καίσαρι μὲν ἄλλην ἐπέθεσαν πεμπτημίαν τῆς ἀρχῆς, αὐτοῖς δὲ τῶν ἐπαρχίων ἐψηφίσαντο Συρίαν καὶ Ἰβηρίας συναφορτάς. Κληρονόμων δὲ Συρίαν ἐλαχε Κράσος, τὰ δ' Ἰβηρικὰ Πομπήιος* Plut Crass 15 and see Plut Pomp 53, Cæs 21, Appian, Bell Civ II 18, Suet Cæs 24, Dion, xxix 38

125. Gabinius, in the spring, while meditating a campaign against the Arabians of Petra, is pressed by Mithridates III., the brother of Orodes, who had expelled him from the throne of Parthia, to undertake an expedition against the Parthians Ἐπὶ τοῦς Ἀραβίους ὁρμῶντα Μιθριδάτην μὲν οὖ Παρθυαίων βασιλεὺς ἐκλεινόμενος τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ Ὀρόδου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μετήρην ἐξ Ἀράβων ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους Appian, Parth 1 Dion, xxxix 56 (see B.C. 70, no 8 B.C. 37, no 510)

126. Gabinius had passed the Euphrates τὸν Ἐυφράτην ἤδη πεπεραιωμένω. Jos Ant xiv 6, 2 Ὑποστρέψας ἀπ' Εὐφράτου Bell 1 8, 7 When he is bribed by Ptolemy Auletes, by 10,000 talents, to restore him to the kingdom of Egypt, which was now under the rule of Archelæus, who had married Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy (see B.C. 58, no 110) Μετὰ ταῦτα Γαβίνιον ἐπὶ μυρίοις ταλάντοις Πτολεμαίου πείθοντος εἰς Ἀίγυπτον ἀμα συνεμβάλλειν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀναλαβεῖν. Plut Ant 3 Πτολεμαῖος δ' αὐτὸν οὐ ἐνέειπτο, Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς, ἐκπεσὼν καὶ οὐδὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς, μετέπεισε χρήμασιν ἀπὸ Παρθυαίων ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρείας ὁρμήσαι Appian, Parth 1 Syl 51 Gabinius had also received letters from Pompey in favour of Ptolemy Ἐπεὶ μέντοι ὁ Πτολεμαῖος μετὰ τῶν τοῦ Πομπηίου γραμμάτων ἦλθε, &c. Dion, xxix 56 But, according to Strabo, Gabinius, when entering upon the Parthian war, was recalled by an interdict of the Senate Οὐκ ἐπετρεπούσης δὲ τῆς Συγκλήτου Strabo, vii 3.

127. Gabinius, on his way from the Euphrates to Egypt, sends Sisenus, with Antony and Scrivius, against Aristobulus and his son Antigonus who had escaped from Rome, and, during the absence of Gabinius on his march against Parthia, had seized on the fortresses of Herodium and Machærus Aristobulus and Antigonus are defeated and surrendered at discretion, and are brought before Gabinius and by him sent to Rome Aristobulus was kept a prisoner there, but Antigonus is set at liberty and returns to Judæa Jos Ant xiv 6, 1, Bell 1 8, 6 Plut Ant 8 Dion, xxxix 56 That the outbreak of Aristobulus and Antigonus occurred at this time appears from the narrative of Dion, for he relates first the attempt against Parthia, then the victory over Aristobulus, and then the invasion of Egypt. Ἰδὲ μὲν πρῶτον ἐνδοὶ καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὥς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς Παρθοῖς, τὸν τε πλοῦτον αὐτῶν στρατεύσαν . . . αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐς τὴν Παλαιστίνην ἐλθὼν τὸν τε Ἀριστόβουλον (διαδράς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Πάμης ὑπετάρατ' αὐτὸν) συνέλαβε . . . καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἐς τὴν Αἰγύπτου ἐνέβηκεν Dion, xxxix 56.

128. Hircanius and Antipater, his minister, supply the army of Gabinius, *en route* for Egypt with provisions, and induce the Jews settled about Pelusium to give a safe passage into that country. Jos Ant xiv 6, 2, Bell 1 8, 7

129. Gabinus meets with no opposition till he reaches Pelusium and then advances in two divisions and defeats the enemy in the field, and again both by land and water. *καὶ οὗτος ὡς μὲν τὸ Πηλούσιον ἀφίκετο, μηδενὸς ἐναντιωμένων, πρῶτον δὲ ἐντεῦθεν, διχα διρημένῳ τῷ στρατῷ, τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἀπαντήσας οἱ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐνίκησε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' αὖθις ἐν τῷ ποτάμῳ καὶ τῇ γῇ ἐπάρτησεν.* Dion xxix 58 And takes Alexandria. *Cepit Alexandriam.* Cic in Pisonein, 21

130. Archelaus is slain after a reign of six months. *Ἰβουλίσενον ἔξ μηνος.* Strabo, xii 3 (see r c. 58, no 116) Ptolemy is placed on the throne. Strabo, xii 3, xvii 1 Plut Ant 1 Dion, xxxix 58 Liv Epit 105 Cic in Pisonein, 21 (see v c 56, no 122) A rumour that Ptolemy had been placed on the throne was current in Italy on April 22, v c 55. *Putcolis magnus est rumor Ptolemeum esse in regno. Si quid habes certius velim scire.* Pomponius in Cninauium Paulibus (April 21) *venit. Misit ad me statim qui sulcitem munitur. Ad eum prostratis manibus valebat, quoniam haec scripta.* Cic Ep Att iv. 10 If this rumour was founded on the fact, Gabinus must have been in Egypt very early in the year. But the rumour may have been propagated when Gabinus first undertook the cause of Ptolemy, or may have arisen from the letters of Pompey in his favour (see ante, no 126), but before the results were known.

131. While Gabinus is in Egypt, Alexander, son of Antiochus, takes advantage of the absence of Gabinus, and again creates disturbances in Judaea. Τῆς δὲ ἄλλης Συρίας πρὸς τὸν Γαβρίου χωρισμὸν κινήσεως, καὶ Ἰουδαίων πολλῶν ἀπέστησεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου. Jos Bell i 8, 7, Ant iv 6, 2 Gabinus returns from Egypt and defeats Alexander at Mount Tabor, slaying ten thousand of the enemy. He then visits Jerusalem, and settles the constitution at the dictation of Antipater, the father of Herod. *καὶ συμβαλοντων περὶ τὸ Ἰερουσόλον, μύριοι μὲν ἀναιρούνται, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πληθεὺς ἐσκεύασθη φυγῇ. Καὶ Γαβριὺς ἐλθὼν εἰς Ἰερουσόλμια πρὸς τὸν Ἀντιπάτρου βούλημα κατεστήσατο τὴν πολιτείαν.* Bell i 8, 7 Ant xiv 6, 3

132. Gabinus marches against the Arabians of Petra and defeats them. *καταστῆμαί τις τῶν Γαβρίου τα κατὰ τὴν Ἰερουσόλυμῶν πόλιν, ὥς ἦν Ἀντιπάτρῳ θέλοντι, ἐπὶ Ναβυταίου*

ἐρχεται, καὶ κρατεῖ μὲν τούτων τῇ μάχῃ. Jos Ant xiv 6, 4, Bell i 8, 7 (see v c 63, no 81)

133. Cassius leaves Rome for Syria at the close of his consulship. *Κρίσσιος μὲν ἐξῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἀπαλλυγείς τῆς ὑπατείας.* Plut Pomp 52 *Οἱ somewhat earlier, for it was just after November 15. Nos in Tusculanum venisse a d xvi Kal Dec (Nov 15) viduo la scire. Cassium quidem nostram munio delegatam cauit profectum paludatum quum olim infulam esset, Imo Paulum, veteranum consulem.* Cic Ep Att iv 13 He passes through Bithynium in winter. *Ὅ δὲ Κρίσσιος εἰς Βρεταντίων ἦλθεν ἐπὶ δ' ἑσπέρτου οὐσης χειμῶνι τῆς θαλάσσης, οὐ περιμενεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀνέχθη καὶ συχνὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἀπέβαλε.* Plut Cass 17

134. Caesar, towards the close of summer, prepares for an expedition against Britain. *Erigitur parte astatis reliqua tamen in Britanniam proficisci contendit.* Cas B G iv 20 *Ὁ δὲν Καῖσαρ τὸν τε Ἰβρίον πρῶτος τῶν Ρωμαίων διεβή, καὶ εἰς Βρεταντίαν μετὰ ταῦτα, τοῦ τε Πομπηίου καὶ Κρίσσου ὑπατευόντων, ἐκραιώθη.* Dion, xxxix 50 Plut Cas 23 Liv Epit 105

135. He sends Volusenus in a ship of war to reconnoitre the island, who returns, without having landed in Britain on the fifth day after his setting out. *Quinto die ad Casarem revertitur.* Cas B G iv 21.

136. Caesar meanwhile marches into the country of the Morini, the people of Gaul, from whose coast was the shortest passage to Britain. *In Morinos proficiscitur, quod uide erat brevissimus in Britanniam tractus.* Cas B G iv 21 Morina, therefore, was the coast opposite Kent. According to Ptolemy the people of Gaul to the east of the Seine were first the Atrebates (Arras), then the Bellocaci, then the Ambiani, whose city was Samarobriva (Sommebidge, or Bridge over the Somme, viz. Amiens), and then the Morini, whose city was Gesoriacum (Boulogne). Thus the Morini occupied the coast eastward of the Somme. Ptol ii 9, 7 Their territory may be taken to have reached from the Cauchoe on the west to the Aa at Gravelines on the east.

137. Caesar collects his ships at Portus Itius or Ictus at least both expeditions appear to have sailed from the same port, and Portus Itius or Ictus was certainly the starting-place of the second expedition (see v c 61, no 159)

Portus Itius or Ictus was Boulogne, and took its name either from the adjoining promontory of Ictum, now Cape Grisnez, a few miles to the north of Boulogne (*Itior apud*, Ptol ii 9, 2), or from the village of Iques at Pont de Bique, a little above Boulogne and anciently the head of the estuary. From Portus Itius or Ictus to Britain the passage is said to have been about thirty Roman miles. *Quo ex parte commodissimum in Britanniam transiretum esse cognoscitur cunctis illis in praesentem r.e. a continentis* Cæs B G v 2. The exact distance from Boulogne to Folkstone is thirty miles and two thousand six hundred and twenty-two feet English, which would make about thirty-three miles Roman.

138. Eighteen ships which should have joined Cæsar at Boulogne are windbound eight miles to the north of Portus Itius or Ictus, when Cæsar sends his cavalry thither for embarkation. *Huc accedebant prius onerariæ naves quæ ex eo loco (Boulogne) milibus passuum octo vento tenebantur, quo minus in eadem portum pervenire possent* Cæs B G iv 23. The port to which the cavalry were sent must have been to the north of Boulogne as the wind, which was favourable for a descent upon Britain, prevented these vessels from reaching Boulogne. Accordingly, the port where they were windbound is described as *ulterior portus*, iv 23, *superior portus*, iv 27. The distance of eight miles is mentioned in explanation of the reason why the cavalry were sent thither and therefore has reference to the land route, and at the distance by road of twelve kilometres, or seven and a half miles English (being rather more than eight miles Roman), to the north of Boulogne is the port of Ambleteuse (N.B.—The old road to Ambleteuse passes through Wimille, but within the last few years a new direct road has been made by Napoleon III along the shore, and this is much less than eight miles Roman, viz five or six miles.)

139. Cæsar sails from Boulogne about the third watch, i.e. about midnight when the third watch commenced. *Nactus uloncam od navigantium tempestatem totâ fere vigiliâ solent* Cæs B G iv 23. This was on August 26 i.e. the fifth day (both inclusive) before the full moon, which was on the night of August 30–31, at 3 A.M. High tide at Boulogne at the full moon is at 11 h 20 m, and on the fifth day

before, on August 26, was about 8 1/2 M. The fleet, therefore, as the tide was running out, would drop down from the harbour and anchor outside till all were ready, and Cæsar then would set sail about midnight.

140. Cæsar reaches the coast of Britain next day, August 27, at the fourth hour, or 10 A.M. *Ipsæ hora cunctis quædam cum primis navibus Britanniam attingit* Cæs B G iv 23. The cause of the delay was partly from having waited in the offing for the eighteen ships to join him from Ambleteuse, which they never did, and partly from the deflection caused by the currents, and partly from the wind having shifted on this passage and become adverse.

141. The part of the coast which Cæsar first approached was hemmed in by mountains within a javelin's cast from the shore. *Cygnis loci huius erat natura adeo montibus angustis more continebatur, ut ex locis superioribus in latius illum aditus posset* Cæs B G iv 23. Cæsar's first arrival, therefore, was at some point between Sandgate and the South Foreland.

142. As the Britons swarmed upon the cliffs which commanded the shore, Cæsar made no attempt at landing then and there, but waited until all his ships arrived, which was not until the ninth hour, or 3 P.M. *Itur ad expediendum nequâquam idoneum arbitratibus locum, dum reliquæ naves eo convenirent, ad horam 12 in anchoris expectavit* Cæs B G iv 23. The interim was employed in giving instructions and explaining his plans to the officers. *Interim legatis tribunisque militum convocatis, etc.* B G iv 23.

143. At 3 P.M. Cæsar sets sail with wind and tide in his favour. *His dimissis, et centum et octum uno tempore naves remanent, dato signo et sublatis anchoris, cunctis multa pressum viâ ab eo loco progressus, aperto ac plano litore naves constituit* Cæs B G iv 23. The direction of Cæsar's course on weighing anchor must therefore be determined by the direction of the tide, which is said to have been in his favour. At full moon the tide off the coast between Sandgate and the South Foreland begins to run west at 3 h 10 m, and continues to run so for six hours and a half, when there is slack water for a quarter of an hour, and then the tide turns east. See the Tide Tables published by the Admiralty. On August 27, i.e. 55, therefore being the fourth

day before the full moon, the stream began to run west about three hours earlier or about noon, and would be in full flow westward at 3 P.M. Thus Cæsar, with the tide in his favour at 5 P.M., must have sailed to the west, and, as he would land at the first convenient place, he must have disembarked at or near Hythe, which would be eight miles from some point between Folkstone and Dover. Cæsar lands on the marsh (Romney). *Inde prosperitate oritur et tunc tardius ut videtur inchoat.* Dion, xxix. 51. At Hythe the cliffs retire inward and a flat open beach commences which, up to Dymchurch Will, is above high-water mark. This flat open beach is alluded to by Cæsar *aperit ac plano litore*, B G iv 23, *litore molli atque aperto*, v 9. The shore there also shelves gradually, so that coiffies can only unload at spring tides which agrees with the account. *Erat ob has causas summa difficultas, quod vixes propter magnitudinem mari in alto constituti non poterant.* B G iv 24.

144. The fourth day after Cæsar's arrival, and therefore on August 30, the eighteen vessels, freighted with the cavalry from Ambiateuse, attempt to cross, but encounter a storm when near Britain, and some put back, and others are cast away on the western parts of the island. *Post diea quantum quam est in Britanniam ventum, naves xxi ex superiore portu leni vento solentur, quæ quum appropinquarent Britanniæ et ex cæcis viderentur, tanta tempestas subito coorta est, ut nulla earum cuius tenebre posset, sed alia eodem unde erant profectæ referrentur, alia ad inferiorem partem insulæ, quæ est propius solis occasum, magno sui cum periculo deperissent.* B G iv 28. The wind, therefore, was from the NE and the words *eodem unde erant profectæ* mean, probably, not the very port from which they sailed, but the continent.

145. The same night was the full moon. *Eodem nocte accidit ut esset luna plena, quæ dies maritimos ætus maximos in oceano efficere consuevit.* B G iv 29. When Cæsar landed, the corn was still standing and the harvest month in this part of the coast is August, and the full moon that year was at 8 A.M. on August 31. *Armentum ex agris in castra quotidie (Cæsar) conferebat,* B G iv 31, *omni ex reliquis partibus diversis frumento, una pars erat reliqua,* iv 32. The fourth day before, therefore, on August 27, was the day of Cæsar's arrival.

146. The Britons concert a surprise upon the seventh legion while cutting the corn, and Cæsar with difficulty rescues it, iv 32. The Britons had hid themselves in a wood, *partem sylvis delituerant*, B G iv 32, and attacked the Romans in the adjacent cornfield, *in metendo occipitales subito adorti*, ib., and the dust from the conflict, but not the conflict itself, was seen from the camp. *At qui pro portis castrorum in statione erant Cæsari remittunt eunt, pulverem maiorem quam consuetudo fieri ed parte videtur quam in partem legio iter fecisset.* Ib. In the neighbourhood of Hythe, Romney Marsh is girt in by uplands, the summit of which is a broad platform of cornland interspersed with woods. The corn grows up to the very edge without any wall or hedge to intercept the view, so that from Cæsar's camp on the beach below the dust flying up from the cornfield would be easily visible, and there are still woods (as Parkwood and Foreknood) close at hand.

147. Both Romans and Britons remain stationary for some days after the attack upon the seventh legion, on account of the weather. *Secutæ sunt continuos dies complures tempestates, quæ et nostros in castris retinebant et hostem a pugna prohibebant.* B G iv 31. The Britons then advance against the camp of Cæsar to storm it, but Cæsar leads out his troops and defeats them. B G iv 35. In the field to the south and east of Hythe, wherever an excavation is made human bones are discovered which are evidently of those slain in battle, for the skeletons are of adult males, and buried confusedly two or three feet beneath the surface.

148. Cæsar returns to Gaul a little before the equinox, then reckoned to be September 24. *Proprinquè die æquinoctii, infamis navibus, huius navigationem subiciendam non existimabat.* B G iv 36. Thus Cæsar, in his first expedition, was not quite a month in Britain.

149. Two of Cæsar's ships drift to the south of Boulogne, and the 300 soldiers which they carried are put on shore but on their way to the camp are attacked by the Morini. *Onervariæ duæ eodem portus (Ambiateuse and Boulogne), quos reliquæ capere non poterunt, sed paulo infra delatæ sunt. Quibus ex navibus quum essent expositi milites ceteri cæsar, atque in castra contenderent, Morini, etc.* B G iv 36, 37. The Morini, therefore were to the south of Portus Itius, which negatives the theory advocated by some that the port from which

Cæsar sailed was the mouth of the Somme, for on the left bank of that river were the Ambiani, not the Morini. The two vessels carried 300 soldiers, or 150 men each. There had been originally eighty vessels in all, and two legions (B G iv 22), but twelve ships were lost in the storm (iv 31), which reduced the number to sixty-eight, and if we allow 150 men to each, the whole army would consist of 10,200 men, or 5,100 for each legion. However, the two ships were perhaps the most heavily freighted, and missed the port in consequence. As a legion usually consisted of about 5,000 men, we may assume the first expedition to have comprised about 10,000 men.

150. Timagenes, the sophist of Alexandria, comes to Rome this year. *Ἐπὶ Πομπηίου τοῦ μεγάλου αἰμαλωτὸς ἄχθει εἰς Ῥώμην ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαβρίου ἔσω ἤθη ἐπὶ Φούστου τοῦ υἱοῦ Σόλλου* Suidas, *Τιμαγένης*. If by this it be meant that Timagenes was now brought to Rome by Gabinus, the statement is clearly incorrect, for Gabinus was the whole of this year in the East, and during a great part of it in Egypt, whence, no doubt, on the capture of Alexandria, he sent Timagenes to Rome.

Third year of the Sabbath cycle

Pasover, April 5

Pentecost, May 26

Tabernacles, April 30

B.C. 54. U.C. 700. Olymp. 181, 3

L. DOMITIUS ÆNobarbus
AUF. CLAUDIUS Pulcher

151. This consulship is the 700th year *Urbis condita*. *Ἐν μὲν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τότε ἑκατοστή ἐτη ἀγοῦσθαι ἐγένετο . . . τοῦ Δομιτίου αὐ τοῦ Δουκίου καὶ τοῦ Κλαυδίου Ἀππιου ὑπάτων* Dion, xl 1.

152. Crassus sends his lieutenant to Syria to receive the province from Gabinus, but Gabinus refuses to deliver up the province except to Crassus himself. *Προπέμφθει τι τινὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κράσσου ὑποστρωτηγὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς διαδοχῇ οὐκ ἔδέξατο, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὑδάναντον τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ εὐλόγως κατεσχεν αὐτὴν* Dion, xlviii 6.

153. Crassus hastens on his road to Syria, and, passing through Galatia, has an interview with Deiotarus king of the country, and then in extreme old age Crassus at this time was upwards of sixty. *Ἡπειρώτο* (Crassus) *τελεῖ*

διὰ Γαλατίας, εὐρωι δὲ τὸν βασιλεῖα Δηϊόταρον ταιε μὲν οὐτα γηραιὸν ἦδη, δε *Ἦν δὲ ὁ Κράσσος ἑξήκοντα μὲν ἔτη παρῴλλων*. Plut Crass 17 (see B.C. 65, no 53).

154. Crassus assigns to Syria and Gabinus resigns the province to him. *Ἰος Αντ τιν 6, 4, Bell 1 8, 8* (see B.C. 57, no. 114, B.C. 53, no 185, 186).

155. Crassus crosses the Euphrates, and overpowers the satrap of the province at Ich-nise. *Των τε αὖν Εὐφράτην ἐπεραιώθη καὶ προ-ῆλθεν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας φέροντα αὐτὴν καὶ ταραθῶν* *ὅστε Γαλιμένους Εὐλαῆν ὁ τῆς τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης σατραπείων ἡγήθη τε περὶ Ἰχνησε, etc* Dion, xl 12. And plunders Zenodotia. Plut Crass 17. Dion, xl 10, but does nothing more, and, leaving garisons in friendly cities, returns to Syria for the winter, where he is joined by his son from Gaul. *Ἀε-χώρησεν αὐτὸς ἐν Συρίᾳ διαχειμάσων, καὶ δεξο-μενος αὐτόθι τὸν υἱὸν ἦλонта παρὰ Καίσαρος, ex Γαλατίας*. Plut Crass 17.

156. Crassus is engaged, during his stay in Syria, in looting money. *Ἐπειτα τὰς ἐν Συρίᾳ διατριβὰς πρὶόντα, χρηματικῶς πολλὸν οὕτως ἡ στρατηγικῇ*. Plut Crass 17. And plunders the temple of Jerusalem of its treasures—10,000 talents in gold and silver, and one huge ingot of gold besides. *Ἰος Αντ xiv 7, 1, Bell 1 8, 9*. Plut Crass 17. *Οἶος vi 13*.

157. Gabinus, apprehensive of danger awaiting him at Rome, takes by the way *ᾧσσε καὶ χρόιος ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἡμελεσθαι* Dion, xlviii 62. But at length arrives in the neighbourhood of Rome on September 20. *Ad urbem accessit ante diem vi Kal Oct*. Cic Ep Quinct Fratri in 1. And on September 28 enters the city at night. *Gabinus a d iv Kal Oct noctu in urbem introiuit* lb. And is soon after tried for maladministration of his province of Syria, and acquitted before October 24 on the first count. *Gabinus absolutus est*. *Πλεο σενίσι a d ex Kal Novemb*. Cic Ep Quinct Fratri in 4. But is condemned on the other counts, and banished. *ὅτε μὲν ἐφυγεν ἀλόους* *ὅσπερ* *δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος καθήχθη* Dion, xlviii 63.

158. Cæsar sets out from his winter quarters for Italy, and, when the assizes for Cisalpine Gaul (part of his province) are over, proceeds to Illyricum, and, having concluded the assizes there also, returns to Cisalpine Gaul. *Cæs B G v. 1*. He is here joined by Quintus Cicero, the brother of the orator, and Quintus

Cicero and Cæsar write to the orator from Laude (twenty-four miles from Placentia and sixteen from Milan), and Cicero is in receipt of their letters at Rome on June 3 *A d w Nonas Jun* (June 2) *quo die Romam veni, accepi tuas literas datas Placentiæ, deinde alteras postidie* (June 3) *datus Laude Nonas Mai* (May 7) *cum Cæsaris literis* Cic Ep Quint Fiat in 15 a If the reading *Nonis* be correct, Cæsar wrote from Laude on May 7, but if we reject the word *Nonis*, which appears questionable, and allow a week for the transmission of the letters from Laude to Rome, Cæsar was at Laude about May 27 Cæsar was then contemplating a second invasion of Britain for Cicero writes *Modo multa date Britanniam, quam pingui coloribus tuis penicillo meo* Ib

159. Cæsar visits the army in Gaul in their winter quarters, *circiter omnibus hybernis*, B G v 2, and orders them to assemble at Portus Itius (Boulogne), *atque omnes ad portum Itium convenire jubet*, Cæs B G v. 2.

160 Cæsar marches against the Treveri (Triers) on the Moselle, v 2 This was in summer, *ne æstatem in Treveris consumere cogeretur*, v 4

161. He returns to Portus Itius *Cæsar ad portum Itium cum legionibus pervenit*, v 5, where he is detained for twenty-five days by Corus (the NNW, and distinct from Caurus see Vitriv. 1 3) *Dies circiter xxv in eo loco commoratus, quod Corus ventus navigationem impediebat, qui magnam partem omnis temporis in his locis flare consuevit*, v 7

162. He leaves Labienus with three legions and two thousand cavalry to defend the ports (Boulogne and Ambleteuse), *ut portus tueretur*, v 8, and sets sail himself with five legions and two thousand horse, v 8, at sunset with a gentle breeze from the SW, *vel solis occosum solvit, et leni Africo proventus*, etc v 8

163. At midnight the wind drops, and he is drifted by the current up the channel, and at daylight descends Britain on his left hand He had therefore passed the Straits of Dover, or at least the South Foreland *Mediâ crux nocte, vento intermisso, cursum non tenuit, et longius delatus æstu, orâ luce, sub sinistrâ Britanniam relictam conspexit*, v 8

164. When the tide turns which was at daylight, he follows the current, and by dint of rowing reaches at noon his former landing-

place (Romney Marsh) *Tum rursus astis commutationem secutus remas contendit ut eam partem insula caperet quâ optimum esse egressum superare æstate cognoverat Accessum est ad Britanniam omnibus navibus meridiano fere tempore*, v 8 The time of the second invasion may be thus determined The fifteenth epistle of the fourth book of Cicero's letters to Atticus was written after July 15, for *factus ex triente Idibus Quint factum erat bestiibus* Cic Ep Att iv 15, 7, and on the eve of the common, which were held on July 28 *Hæc ego pridie scribebam quum comitia fore putabantur Sed ad te v Kal Sext* (July 28), *si facta erunt, et tubellius non est profectus, tota comitia personam* Ib The date of the letter, therefore, was on July 27, and at this time Cicero supposes (though he had not yet heard) that Quintus Cicero, and consequently Cæsar, must have arrived in Britain *Ea Quinti fratris literis suspicor jam eum esse in Britannia* Ib In Cicero's letter to Quintus, Ep Quint Fiat in 16, is the following passage—*O jucundas mihi tuas de Britannia litteras! Quam timebam Oceanum! Timebam litore insula!* This letter of Cicero was therefore written at Rome just after the receipt of Quintus's letter announcing his safe arrival in Britain, and Quintus's letter had reached Cicero at Rome in the month of August, for it was *anni tempore gravissimo et caloribus maximis* (ib), and it was after the acquittal of Drusus, *quo die hæc scripsi Drusus erat absolutus* (ib), and before the trial of Scaurus, *Scauri iudicium statim exercebatur* Ib But on July 27 (the eve of the comitia, when Cicero wrote Ep Att iv 15 see *supra*) both Drusus and Scaurus were only preparing for their trial, for on that day Cicero writes *Deinde ne erpedio vel Drusum, inde ad Scaurum* Ep Att. iv 15, 7 The letter, therefore, to Quintus could scarcely have been written earlier than in August. But Scaurus had been acquitted at least some days before the end of September, for on September 30 Cicero writes *Scaurus, qui erat paucis diebus illis absolutus obmirationibus per Scaurulum interpositis, singulis diebus usque ad pridie Kal Octob, quo hæc die scripsi, sublati, populo tribuni domi sui satisfecerat* Ep Att iv 16 The letter, therefore in which Cicero congratulates his brother on having arrived in Britain, must have been written some time in August or

September. But the date of his letter may be a little further traced as follows. Cicero tells us that on the day when he wrote he had attended in court to defend Vatinius, but that the trial had been adjourned to the month of September. *Ego eodem die post meridiem Vatinnum aderam defensurus. Ea res facilius est Conata in mensem Septembrem rejeta sunt.* Ep. Quint. Frat. ii. 16. The letter itself, therefore, was not written in September, and as we cannot suppose that the trial would stand over for more than a few days, we may conclude that it was adjourned at the latter end of August, and that the letter was written about that time. We may safely assume that it was written some time in August, and if so, the letter of Quintus from Britain, which would occupy about a month in the transmission, must have been despatched some time in July. The sunrise at this time would be about 4 A.M., and we have seen that at dawn on the day when Caesar reached Britain (*ortu luce*), say at 3½ A.M., he followed the tide back again, i.e. from east to west, from the Dover cliffs to Hythe. The turn of the tide at 3½ A.M. would be on the day after *full moon*, or on the day after *new moon*, and in this instance it must have been after *full moon*, for the same night Caesar made a long night march, which he could not have done at *new moon*, i.e. in the dark. Caesar, therefore, must have set sail the very day of the full moon, i.e. on July 18, and have disembarked in Britain on the day after the full moon, or July 19. This agrees with the dates of the subsequent letters written by Quintus to his brother.

165. After Quintus's letter announcing his arrival in Britain, Quintus wrote three other letters all about the same time, which reached Cicero while in Arpinum. *Venio nunc ad tuas literas quas pluribus epistolis accepi, dum sum in Arpinati, nonnulla vero d' re tres sunt additæ et quidem, ut videbantur, eodem abs te dato tempore.* Ep. Quint. Frat. iii. 1. And Cicero was in Arpinum from September 4 to September 10.

In Arpinati . . . me reperi Indolium dubius (the Ludi Romani, commencing September 4). *In Arpinno a d. ii. Idus Septembris.* Ep. Quint. Frat. iii. 1. The three letters therefore reached Cicero some time between September 4 and 10, and allowing a month for their transmission, they were written from Britain in the beginning of August. Quintus's

next letter from Britain was dated August 10, and was received September 13. *Quarta epistola mihi reddita est Id. Septemb., quam a d. ii. Id. Scat. l. ex Britannia dedecis.* Ep. Quint. Frat. iii. 1. This letter, therefore, was a little more than a month on the passage. Another letter from Quintus to his brother was without date. *Reddita est etiam mihi per vetus epistola, etc.* Ep. Quint. Frat. iii. 1. Another letter of Quintus from Britain was dated September 1 and received September 21. *Quum hanc jam epistolam compicacem, tabellariis a vobis venient, a d. xi. Kal. Oct. vicesimo die.* Ep. Quint. Frat. ii. 1. This letter therefore, was only about three weeks on the passage. The last letter of Quintus from Britain was dated September 26, and was received October 24. *Ab Quinto Fratre et a Caesare accepi a d. vi. Kal. Novemb. litteras datas a littoribus Britanniae pernoctas a d. vi. Kal. Octob.* Ep. Att. iv. 17.

166. Caesar, leaving his vessels under the charge of Q. Atrius, in littoribus molis atque aperto, B. G. v. 9, marches at twelve o'clock at night twelve miles inland in quest of the enemy, and discovers them strongly posted in a wood on the other side of a river. *De tentis vigilis ad hostes contendit.* *Ipsæ noctu progressus milia passuum cunctis in littoribus castris conspiciatus est.* B. G. v. 9.

167. The Britons send down their cavalry and war-cars, but Caesar's cavalry drives them back, and they retire within the tope. *Illi equitatu atque cæcis ad flumen progressi, ex loco superioris nostros prohibere et prælium committere ceperunt. Repulsi ab equitatu se in sylvas abdidit, locum nocte egrege et natura et opere munitionem quem, domestici belli, ut videbatur, causâ, jam ante præparaverant.* B. G. v. 9. The position of the Britons is thus described by Dion. Ἐς τὸ λασιώτατον καὶ ἐς τὸ λεχώδεσσοτατον τῶν ἑγγύς χωρίων πᾶσι τα ταχυτάτα συνεβόησαν καὶ ἄλλα ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ ποιησάμενοι (τὰ τε γὰρ ἔλλα τινὲς καὶ ἔτερα ἐν' αὐτοῖς στοιχηδόν εἰσιεν εἰς ἡμῶν ὥστε ἐν χαλεκώτατι πρόπον τινὰ εἶναι), ἔπειτα τοὺς προειμένους τὰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐλύτουν. Dion. xl. 2. There would thus be no entrenchments of which any remains would be found.

168. Caesar storms the outworks (*munitiones*), and drives them out of the woods (*ex sylvis*), and then fortifies a camp himself (*munitiones castrorum*). B. G. v. 9.

At Wye, distant twelve miles from Hythe, is the river Stour flowing to the east, and the height occupied by the Britons must have been the height covered with dense wood from Challock to Godmersham. The Stour here intersects the chalk hills of Kent, which run from north to south and form a defile, on the north side of which is Challock wood overlooking the pass below.

169. The next day early (*postidie eius diei mane*, v. 10) Cæsar prepares to pursue the enemy, when he receives intelligence that his ships had suffered from the violence of a storm. He returns to the seashore and causes his ships and camp (probably a new one) to be surrounded by the same rampart. *Omnes vires subdixi, et cum castris undè munitione conjungi*. B G v 11

170. After an interval of ten days he again marches northward to the place which he had left. *In his rebus ciuitates et dies consumit*, etc. B G v 11

171. Cassivelaunus, whose capital was Verulamium (i.e. St Alban's) or London, is now generalissimo of the Britons. *Cassivelauno cuius fines a maritimo ciuitatibus flumen dividit quod appellatur Tamesis a mari ciuitas milia passuum laxa*. B G v 11. Eighty miles Roman are about seventy-three miles English, and from Hythe to the Thames, in a northern direction, the distance is about that. Some suppose the eighty miles to indicate the distance of Cassivelaunus's dominions from the mouth of the Thames, but this meaning seems a forced one.

172. Cæsar, at Wye, has a sharp engagement with the Britons, when Q. Laberius Durus, a military tribune, is slain. B G v 15. The mound called Juhber's grave on the south of the Stour and opposite Chilham is thought to be so named from Juh Laberius, or Cæsar's tribune Laberius. Chilham also is said to be a corruption of Julham, or Julius's Town.

173. The next day (*postea die*) another and the last general engagement takes place, when Cæsar is victorious. B G v 17.

174. Cæsar pursues his route forward, and crosses the Thames into the dominions of Cassivelaunus, at the only ford, and that a difficult one, and defended by stakes both in the river and on the bank. *ad flumen Tamesin in fines Cassivelauni exiit citum dixit, quod flumen uno omnino loco pedibus, atque hoc agere, transiri potest*. B G v 18. The spot is supposed to be

Coway stokes, about one hundred yards on the west of Walton Bridge, and on St George's hill, a mile and a half to the south of the ford, is a Roman camp, containing about twelve acres, from the vallum of which Walton takes its name. All that can be inferred from Cæsar's narrative is, that as the Trinobantes are distinguished from the subjects proper of Cassivelaunus, and Cæsar crossed in *fines Cassivelauni*, the ford was to the west of the river Lee, which bounded the Trinobantes, and as the tide is not referred to by Cæsar, it was above Teddington, or Tide-end Town.

175. Cæsar marches to the Trinobantes and restores Imanuentius to that kingdom, whom Cassivelaunus, the year before, after having slain the father of Imanuentius, had driven into exile. B G v 21.

176. Cæsar next takes the capital of Cassivelaunus, i.e. Verulamium or London, which is described as *oppidum Cassivelauni sylvis paludibusque munitum*. *Oppidum autem Britanni vocant quoniam sylvas impeditus vallo atque fossâ muniverunt*. B G v 21.

177. While Cæsar is on the north of the Thames, the four kings of Kent are ordered by Cassivelaunus to make an assault (but which fails) upon the naval camp of Cæsar. B G v 22. The boundaries of Kent are thought to have been always the same, and if so, the camp of Cæsar must have been in Kent, which would be the case if at Hythe, but not if (as some conjecture) at Pevensey.

178. Cæsar accepts hostages from Cassivelaunus, and embarks from Britain, a little before the equinox, at 9 P.M., in calm weather (all the ships being *actuarie* or rowboats), and reaches Gaul at daybreak. *Cæsar quoniam statisset hiemem in continenti propter repentinum Galliarum motum agere, neque multum ætatis superesset ne anni tempore navigatione excluderet, quod equinoctium suberat summam tranquillitatem consecutus, secunda nocte quoniam solvisset vigiliâ, primâ luce terram attingit*. B G v 22, 23. The *prima lux* at this time of year would be about 5 A.M., so that the passage occupied about eight hours, and as Boulogne is thirty statute miles English from Hythe, the speed was three and a half miles an hour. The distance of the Somme from Pevensey is more than sixty statute miles, which would be too much for an eight hours' passage.

179 Cæsar, after arriving in Gaul, lays up his ships in ordinary, and holds a Gallic council at Samarobria or Amiens *Substructis navibus, concilioque Gallorum Samarobriva* (Somme Bridge or Amiens) *peracto*, etc B C v 24

180. The exact date of Cæsar's return from Britain is not stated, but it was just before the equinox (September 24), *quod æquinoctium suberat*, B C v 23, and probably about September 21. The army was transported in two divisions, and during the interval both Cæsar and Quintus Cicero wrote letters to Mark Tully Cicero, dated, according to the erroneous almanack then in use, September 26 *Ab Quinto fratre et a Cæsare accepit, a d ix Kal Novemb* (October 24), *litteras, confectis Britannid, obsidibus acceptis, nullâ providâ, impetratâ tamen precandâ, datas a littoibus Britannicæ proximæ vi Kalend Octob* (September 26) *Exercitum Britannid reportabant* Ep Att iv 17. In B C 52 the error in the calendar was about twenty-three days, but what it was in B C 54 is not known. The date of the letter, however, September 26, was no doubt more or less too late (see B C 46, no 316). As the letter was sent on September 26, and reached Rome on October 24, the despatch from Britain to Rome occupied about a month (see *ante*, no 164). The time spent by Cæsar in Britain in the second invasion was only about two months. Cæsar left no garrison in Britain, and his reason for abandoning the island appears, from the letters written by him and Quintus Cicero just before their departure, to have been the dangerous character of the coast and the poverty of the inhabitants. *Britannici belli exitus jam expectatus. Constat enim aditus insulae esse munitos munitis molibus*, etc Cic Ep Att iv 16. M T Cicero wrote this account to Atticus on the same day that Gabinus was acquitted on the first count, as is evident from the remarks contained in the previous part of the letter. But Gabinus was acquitted on October 24. *Gabinus absolutus est. Hæc scripsi a. d. ix Kalend Novemb* Ep Quint Frat iii 4. And the letters from Cæsar and Quintus Cicero, dated September 26, were also delivered to M T Cicero on October 21 (see *supra*, no 165). Cicero's letter to Atticus, therefore (Ep Att iv 16), above referred to, must have been written immediately on receipt of the letters from Cæsar and Q Cicero, viz on October 24.

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle

Pisces, March 25

Pentecost, May 15

Tabernacles, September 10

B.C. 53. U.C. 701 Olymp 131, 2.

CN DOMITIUS CALPURNIUS

M VALERIUS MESSALLA

181. Crassus is about taking the field, when an embassy arrives from Orodes, king of Parthia, and Crassus replies that he would return an answer in Seleucia. *"Ἢδη δὲ ταὶ δι' αὖτις ἐκ τῶν χειμαδίων συναθροίζονται αὐτοῦ (Crassus), τρεῖς βεῖς ἀφίονται παρ' Ἀρσάκου βριγύον τινα λόγον κομίζοντες* Plut Class 18 (see B C 53, no 154-156).

182. Crassus again crosses the Euphrates at the Zeugma. *Καὶ ἐπεὶ τὸ χεῖμὸν ἐν ᾧ ἤλθοις τε Κιλοῦσις καὶ Οὐαλέριος Μεσσαλαὶς ὑπᾶνται, etc* Τὴν δὲ δὴ Κράσῳ τον Εὐφράτην κατὰ τὸ Ζεῦγμα (οὗτω γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατείας τὸ χωρίον ἐκείνο, ὅτε ταῦτ' ἐπεραώθη κέληται) διαβαινόντι καὶ προφανῶς καὶ εὐσήμελῳ συνηχθῇ Dion, xl 17 Plut Class 19.

183. Crassus the son advances in the direction of Seleucia, and is invigiled into a pursuit of the enemy, who pretend flight, and is slain Dion, xl 21.

184. Crassus the father is defeated and slain with the greater part of his army, at Carræ, near Ichne. *Οὕτως ὃ, τε Κράσος καὶ ἄλλοι δοιοὶ ἤδυνθησαν ἐς τὰς Κάβρας ὥρμησαι, etc* Dion, xl 25 Plut Class 25 Jos Ant xiv 7, 3, Bell i 8, 8 Liv Epit 106. This disaster was at midsummer. *Τὸ τε καὶ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ ἴδιον (μεσοστέρως τε γὰρ τοῦ θεροῦ καὶ ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ ταῦτ' ἔγινετο), καὶ ὁ κοινωτόρς ἐκινῶς τοὺς λοιποὺς συνῆρε* Dion, xl 23. *Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοὺς Γαλατίας μάλιστα τὸ τε βάλλος καὶ τὸ δόλος* Plut Class 25. And on June 9

Tertius post Nonas remouit e Lycaona Phrybe Fentur, etc Ovid Fast vi v 235

Adspicit instantes mediis ser lucibus Idus, Illa dies quæ sunt vota soluta Deæ (Ment) Vesta fave—tibi nunc (v Id Jun) operatus resolvimus ora, etc v 217

Scilicet interdum muscetur tristia lotis, Ne populum toto pectore festa juvent Crassus ad Euphratem aquilas natumque suorumque Perdukt, et lecto est ultimus ipse datus, etc v 463

And it is said to have happened when the moon was at the full *Προθύβει δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης, πανσέληνον οὖσης, οὐκ ἔλαθε* Dion, xl 25 The moon was at the full on June 8, B C 58 (see De Morgan's 'Book of Almanacks') Assuming the defeat to have occurred at the actual full moon, which was on June 8, the Roman calendar at the time, which fixed it on June 9 was only one day in error.

185. Cassius, the quaestor of Crassus, makes his escape, and saves Syria Eutrop vi 18 Vell Pat ii 46 Dion, xl 25-28 Oros vi 13

186 Cassius remained in command of Syria till the month of August, B C 51, when he was superseded by Bibulus *Τότε δὲ καὶ ἀνέγχετο τῆς Συρίας ἐν τῇ ταραχῇ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα* (Cassius) *πρόστη* Dion, xl 25 (see B C 51, no 154, B C 51, no 190)

186 a Coin of Pharnaces, king of Pontus

Crowned head + *Ποταμιῶς Βασιλεὺς Μεγαλὸν Φαρνακὸν Ε Μ Σ* with the monogram Δ Eckhel makes the date answer to B C 701. Eckhel, ii, 390

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle

Passover, April 13

Pentecost, June 3

Tabernacles, October 8

B C 52 U C 702. Olymp. 182, 1

CN POMPEIUS VARELLA, II., consul

Q CAECILIUS METELLUS PIUS SCAPIO, ex Kal Sext

187. Pompey is sole consul except for the last five months, when Quint Caecilius Metellus was his colleague (see Fasti Hellemici)

187 a Coin of Pharnaces, king of Pontus

Crowned head + *Βασιλεὺς Βασιλέων Μεγαλὸν Φαρνακὸν Ε Μ Σ* with the monogram Δ Eckhel refers the date to B C 702

Eckhel, ii, 393

Inscription

D M S Mercurio magno D S Tri Sub Cl Preside Pio Trium P C T F Trib Mil Triumvirum Trii III Pi Q. C. et Ca. Pomp Cos i e Dco magno or Dns magnus Sacron Ma cno no mapro de suo tribuit sub Claudio praeside Triumvires Transpadanae, Publius Caecilius Trii Filius Publius Miltum, Lysimach Tri mae Tertius Patroia, Quinto Caecilio et Caeso Pompeio Consulibus Munatori, i 202

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle

Passover April 2

Pentecost May 23

Tabernacles Sept. 27

B C 51. U C 703. Olymp 182, 2

SPURIUS SULPICIUS RUFUS

M CLAUDIVS MARCELLVS

188. Death of Ptolemy Auletes soon after midsummer, for the news reached Cicero in Italy, on August 1 *Proterea nuntiatum nobis, et pro certo habetur, regem Alerandrium mortuum* *Kal Sextil Cic Ep Lam viii 4* (see B C 55, no 130) For the error in the calendar see B C 46 no 316 Ptolemy Auletes left two sons, both named Ptolemy, and two daughters, the famous Cleopatra and Arsinoe Ptolemy and Cleopatra, the two elder children, reigned jointly till the fourth year current (see B C 48, no 268). *Τελευτῶς ο νεὸς Διόρυσος, ἐπὶ παισὶ τέττασι Πτολεμαῖος ἑσσι καὶ Κλεοπάτρῃ καὶ Ἀρσινόῃ, διέταξε τοῖς προγεγεσσομένοι, αὐτοῦ παισὶ Πτολεμαῖω καὶ Κλεοπάτρῃ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἢ συμβασιλεύοντων τετραετὴς διετέλετο* *χρὸς* Porphyr Tyr, Muller's Frag Græc. Hist iii 723 Strabo, xvii 1.

189. Cicero, in this consulship, is proconsul of Cilicia *Venerunt enim in provinciam Laodicam, Sulpicio et Marcello consulibus, pridie Kal. Sextil. Cic. Ep. Att. v 21* The provinces were usually allotted about March *Sed est intum quod Kal Mart. futurum est* *Vereor enim, ne, quum de provinciis agetur, si Cæsar resistet, nos retineamus.* *Lp Att v 20* *Tu scilm . quum Athenas veneris (jam enim sciemus de rebus urbium, de provinciis, que omnia in mensem Martium sunt collata), utique ad hæc tabellarios mittas* *Ep. Att. vi 1*

190. Bibulus is appointed to the province of Syria Cicero and Bibulus left Rome about the same time *Censabant enim omnes fore ut in Italia supplementum mens et Bibuli legionibus scriberetur Tantus consensus senatus fuit ut mature proficisceremur, parendum ut fuerit Itaque fecimus.* *Ep Fam iii 3* (see B C 53, no 186, B C 49, no 241)

191 The administration of the affairs of Cilicia throws great light upon the government of the subject provinces by the Romans, and will therefore be traced chronologically The province of Cilicia at this time comprised, besides Cilicia Proper, all Phrygia to

the east of Laodicea, being three counties of Asia (Ep Fam iii 5, 6, 7), Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, and Cyprus (see Ep Att v 21, vi 1, 2). Cicero had also the supervision of Cappadocia and Galatia, which were the kingdoms of Ariobarzanes and Dejotarus. See Ep Fam xv 4, xv. 2. Subsequently Cilicia was dismembered, for Antony gave Pisidia to Amyntas, see B.C. 39, no 480, Cilicia Aspera, with Cyprus, to Polemo, see B.C. 39 no 480, and Phrygia to the east of Laodicea was annexed to the province of Asia. Plin. N. H. v 25, 29, and Lycia was made free (see B.C. 42, no 420). Pamphylia, being thus isolated, was governed by its own proprietors (see B.C. 11, no 799), and Cilicia Campestris, which alone remained, was attached to the province of Syria (see B.C. 4, no 955), but was governed like Judaea by a subordinate proprietor of its own (see A.D. 15, no 1071, A.D. 57, no 1832). Besides the proprietors of Cilicia noticed in the Tables, one Haterianus is mentioned in an ancient inscription as legate of Cilicia in the time of Augustus. *Ley Aug. P. P. Provinc. Cilic.* See Notiz, Cenot. Pis. vol. i p. 310.

192. Cicero is at Tarentum, on his way to Cilicia, on May 18. *Tarentum veni, a d. vi. Kalend. Jun. Ep Att v 6*, and quits it on May 20. *Profuscebat Brundisium a d. vii. Kal. Junas. Ep Att v 7*, and is at Brundisium on May 22. *A d. xi. Kalendas Junas Brundisium quum venissem, etc. Ep Fam iii 3*.

193. Thence to Corcyra. *Ep Fam iii 6*, and arrives at Actium on June 15. *Actum venimus a d. xvi. Kalendas Quintil. Ep Att v 9*. Having had a rough passage from Brundisium, he had no wish to double Cape Leucata, and so travelled from Actium by land. *Acto multumvis itis fuisse pedibus, qui incommodissime navigassemus, et Leonatum fluctere molestum videbatur. Ep Att v 9*.

194. He reaches Athens on June 25. *Ut Athenas a d. vii. Kal. Quint. veneram. Ep Att v 10*. Where he passes ten days, and leaves it on July 6. *Ego has pridie Nonas Quint. proficiens Athenis deivi, quum ibi decem ipsois fuisset dies. Ep Att v 11, Ep Fam iii 8*.

195. On July 6 at Zoster, where the vessel is windbound, July 7, and on July 8 to Ceos, thence to Gyarus and Seyrus, and so to Delos, which he reaches the eighth day from the

departure from Athens. *Sexto die Delum Athenis venimus. Pridie Nonas Quint. a Pirro ad Zostera vento molesto qui nos ibidem Nonas tenuit. A d. vii. Idus ad Ceo jucunde. Inde Gyarum, sero venio non adverso, hanc Scyrum, inde Delum utroque citius quam vellemus cursum conferimus. Ep Att v 12*. Thence to Samos. *Ep Att v 13*.

196. At Ephesus on July 22. *Ephesum venimus a d. x. Kal. Sext. Ep Att v 13*, where he remains three days. *Euna (Scorvolum) ego Ephesi vidi, fatique maris somnurn inter inducum illud, quod ego Ephesi commoratus sum. Ep Fam iii 5*.

197. At Tralles on July 27. *Tralles veni a d. sextum Kal. Sext. Ep Fam iii 5*. His plans at this time were on arriving in his province, to devote the summer months to military matters, and the winter months to his judicial and civil functions. *Erat mihi in animo recta propensa ad exercitum, aestus menses reliquos rei militari dare, hibernos jurisdictioni. Ep. Att v 14*.

198. At Laodicea on July 31. This was his entrance into his province, and from this day his year of office commenced. *Laodiceam pridie Kal. Sext. Ex hoc die clavis annu morebis. Ep Att v 15*. *Venimus enim in provinciam Laodiceam, Sulpicio et Marcello consulibus pridie Kal. Sext. Inde nos oportet decedere a d. vi. Kal. Sext. Ep Att v 21*. *Ep Fam iv 2*.

199. He leaves Laodicea Aug. 3. *Iti Laodiceam fucebam a d. vi. Nonas Sextil. Ep Att v 15*.

200. Cicero now promulgates his code of laws for the government of the province, and bases it upon the code of his predecessors, and allows the Greeks to live under their own laws. *Multaque sum veritus Statorem, et ut illud, in quo sub libertatem visentem Græci datam, ut Græci inter se disceptent suis legibus. Breve autem edictum est propter hanc meam diuturnitatem, quod duobus generibus edicendum putavi. quorum unum est Provinciale, in quo est de rationibus civitatum, de are alieno, de usura, de syngraphis, in eodem omnia de publicanis. Alterum quod sine edicto satis commodè transigi non potest, de hereditatum possessionibus, de bonis possidendis (ingestis furiendis) vendendis, quæ ex cuncto et postulari et fieri solent. Tertium de reliquo jure dicendo ἀπαφρον ἰσχυρι. Ep Att v 1*.

201. From Laodicea Cicero proceeds to Apamea and Synnada. *Moratus triduum Laodiceae, biduum Apameae totidem Synnade* Ep Att v 16. Bibulus was at this time at Ephesus, and had not yet set out for his province of Syria, though the Parthians were said to have invaded it Ep Att v 16, Ep Fam xv 3.

202. From Synnada Cicero passes on to Philomelum. *Biduum Laodiceae sui, deinde Apameae quatuor iduum, biduum Synnadis, totidem dies Philomeli* Ep Fam xv 4. And thence to Iconium. *Ibi (Laodicea) moratus triduum Apameae quinque dies moratus, et Synnadis triduum, Philomeli quinque dies, Iconi decem finimus* Ep Att v 20. (It will be observed that the length of his stay in each place is stated to be more or less as the days of arrival and departure were included or excluded.)

203. He joins the army on August 26, and reviews it at Iconium on August 30. *In castris veni a d. vii. Kal. Sept. a d. iii. exercitum illustravi apud Iconiam* Ep Att v 20. The same day he receives intelligence through Antiochus, king of Commagene, that the Parthians had crossed into Syria. *III. Kal. Sept. legati a rege Commageno ad me pertumultuose (neque tamen non vere) Ptochos in Syriam transisse nuntiauerunt* Ep Fam xv 4, xv 8.

204. Bibulus had sailed from Ephesus on August 12, and was expected to have arrived by this time in Syria. *Ex itinere ab Al. Bibulum proconsulem, qui irrititer Idus Sextil. ab Epheso in Syriam navibus profectus erat, jam in Provinciam suam pervenisse* Ep Fam xv 3. But he did not actually arrive till some time after (see infra, no 210, and see Dion, xl 30 Appian, Syr. 51).

205. Cicero leaves Iconium on August 31. *Castra movi ab Iconio pridie Kal. Sept.* Ep Fam iii 6, and, expecting the Parthians to invade Cappadocia, marches to Cybistra, where he remains five days waiting for further intelligence. *Quam autem ad Cybistria propter rationem belli quinque dies esset moratus* Ep Fam xv 4, Ep Att v 20.

206. Cicero, on September 19, receives despatches from Taurcondimetus, king of Cilicia. Amantius of the parts about Mount Amanus (see B.C. 59, no 239), and Jamblichus, king of Emesa and Arethusa in Coele-Syria (see B.C. 50, no 239), that Pacorus, the son of Orodes (see B.C. 55, no 126), had crossed the Euphrates,

and was encamped at Tyba, upon which he marches through the Cilician gates towards the eastern frontier of Cilicia. *A d. vii. Kal. Octob. quam exercitum in Ciliciam ducerem, in finibus Lycaoniarum et Cappadociae mihi literae redidit sunt a Taurcondimeto, etc.* Ep Fam xv 1.

207. On September 21 he receives a letter from Rome which had been forty-seven days on the road, from which we may collect the usual speed with which a despatch was transmitted. *Subito Appia tribellianus a d. vii. Kal. Octob. septuaginta quibus aegrimo die Romam celeriter (huc tam longe) mihi tuae literae redidit* Ep Att v 10.

208. He hears that the Parthians had advanced to Antioch, when he hastens by forced marches through Cilicia towards Mount Amanus, the ridge that separated Cilicia from Syria towards the coast. Ep Fam xv 4.

209. He reaches Tarsus on October 5, and leaves it on the 7th, and on the 8th is at Mopsuestia. *Tarsum veni a d. iii. Nonis Octob. Ep Att v 20. Tarsus Nonis Octob. Amanum versus profecti sumus. Haec scriptae postea diebus diebus, quam castra ludebant in agro Mopsuestiae* Ep Fam iii 8.

210. At Amanus he receives intelligence that the Parthians had abandoned the siege of Antioch, and were on their retreat, and that Bibulus had now arrived at Antioch. *Quo (Amanus) ut veni, hostem ab Antiochia recessisse, Bibulum Antiochum esse cognovi* Ep Fam xv 4. The first rumour of this appears to have reached him at Mopsuestia. See Ep Fam iii 8.

211. We learn from Dion that the Parthians made an attempt this year not only on Antioch but also on Antigonía and that, not having succeeded, they retired towards the Euphrates, and that Cassius had an ambush for them by the way, and inflicted on them a heavy loss, and that Osaces, the general under Pacorus, was slain Dion, xl 28. Cicero makes no allusion to Antigonía, but refers to the exploit of Cassius Ep Att v 20, Ep Fam iii 10. We collect from Cicero that this retreat of the Parthians was at the beginning of October, B.C. 51, and before the arrival of Bibulus in the province. *Recesserunt illi (Parthi) quidem ab Antiochia ante Bibuli adventum* Ep Att v 21. And with this agrees Dion, for he writes "ἅμα δὲ οὗτος (Pacorus) ἀνακταρχοῖται, καὶ ὁ Βιβουλοῖ ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας ἀφίκετο" Dion, xl 30.

212. This retreat of the Parthians is considered by Dion as the close of the Parthian war, for he places it in this consulship, in the fourth year current from the commencement *Τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει ὑφ' οὗ ἤρξατο, ἐπὶ τε Μάρκῳ Μαρκελλῷ καὶ ἐπὶ Σουλπίκιῳ 'Ρούφῳ ὑπάρχον, ἐπαύσατο* Dion, xl 30 But peace with the Parthians was not actually concluded until the year following (see *BC* 50, no 240). The news of the retreat of the Parthians had not reached Rome until after the commencement of the next year, for *ελογοποίησεν* (Pompey) *ὡς -οὐ Βηζόβλου στρατιωτῶν πρὸς τοὺς Πάρθους ἐκείνῳ* Dion, xl 65 *ταῦτα οὖν τα σπουδέ- τερα παρεσκευάσθη μὲν, ὥς ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους περιβησόμεναι ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν τούτῳ ἐδεῖσεν (οὐ δὲ γὰρ χρεία σφῶν ἦν), etc* Dion, xl 66

213. CICERO, having expelled the Parthians from Syria, passes through Tyre to Judea, and takes Tarches, which had favoured the Parthians, and enslaves thirty thousand Jews, the partisans of Aristobulus and his family *Περσικοῦσμέως δ' αὐτὴν (Syria) ἐπὶ Ιουδαίαν ἡγήγετο, καὶ Ταρχαίας μὲν Ἰλῶν εἰς τραπεζοῦς Ιουδαίων ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι* Jos Bell i 8, 9, Aut xiv 7, 3

214. CICERO, on the retreat of the Parthians, proceeds to elat Mount Amanus of the freebooters, and, pretending to withdraw from Amanus, ietires a day's march to Epiphania and on October 12, at night he returns with his troops, and the next day (October 13) takes six castles, and is saluted as Imperator He then pitches his camp at Ant Alexandri at Idus, where he remains four or five days and then marches against Pindemissus, to which he lays siege on November 1 and takes it, after forty-seven days' resistance, on December 17 The army is then dismissed to its winter quarters *Quum abessent ab Amanio ite- rius dies, et castra a apud Epiphannum fecissem, a d id Idus Octob quum adesperasset et er- pelito exercitu, ita noctu ite feci, ut a d id Idus Octobices, quum lucesceret, in Amanum ad- scenderem etc* His rebus ita gestis, castra in vadibus Amanii habuimus apud Aras Alex- andri quatuordecim etc *Ab his* (the Tiberani), *Pindemisso capto, obsides cecepti, exercitum in hiberna dimisi* Ep Fam xv 4 *Hic* (at Amanus), *a d id Idus Octob magnum numerum hostium occidimus* *Imperatores appel- lati sumus* *Castro parcos dies habuimus ea ipsa qua contra Damum habuerat apud Issum*

Alexandri, imperator haud paullo melior quam aut tu aut ego. Ibi dies quinque morati, disrepto et vastato Amanu, inde discescimus *Saturnaliibus* (Dec 17) *mane se mihi Pindemissae dediderunt septimo et quadiagesimo die postquam oppugnare eos coepimus* *Hinc exercitum in hiberna agri male pacati deducendum* *Quinto fratri dabam* Ep Att v 20, v 21 *Vitio id iusti imperator appellatus apud Issum* (quo in loco cepit, ut *er te audui, Clitorchus tibi nuntiavit* *Damum ab Alexandro esse superatum*) Ep Fam ii 10

215. Bibulus attempts to clear the Syrian side of Amanus from freebooters but suffers a loss Ep Att v 20

216. CICERO ietires from Amanus to Tarsus, where he remains for the rest of the year Ep Att v 21

217. At this time it was the law at Rome that no consul or praetor should be governor of a province until the fifth year (i.e. after an interval of four years) from the expiration of his consulship or praetorship *'Εψηφισμένου μηδένα, μήτε στρατηγόν, μήθ' ἐκπαιδὸν μήτε εὐθὺς μήτε πρὸ πέμπτου ἔτους ἐς τὰς ἑξω ἡγεμονίας ἐκίνασι* Dion, xl 30 (see *BC* 27, no 666)

217 a Coin of Pharnaces, king of Pontus

Οὐρανὸν ἡνὸν a Βασίλευς Βασίλειον Μεγάλον *Φαρνακῶν* *Β Μ Σ* with the monogram Δ Eckhel refers the date to v c 703 Eckhel, ii 303

The Sabbatic year

PASSOVER, March 22

PENTECOST, May 12.

TABERNACLES, September 16

B C. 50. U.C 704 Olymp 182, 3

L. AMILIUS PAULUS

C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS

218 CICERO, on January 5, sets out from Tarsus to Laodicea *Ipse in Asiam profectus sum* *Tarso Noms Iannari* Ep Att v 21 The proconsuls had power to billet soldiers and public servants upon any cities they chose, and were in the habit of receiving bribes from the wealthy to refrain from the exercise of this privilege CICERO tells us that during the six months he had been in office he had never once demeaned himself to this practice *Mirifica exprobatio Asia nostrorum discessum, quae sex mensibus imperii mei nullas meas acceperat*

litteras, nunquam hospitem uiderat. *Illud autem tempus* (from August to February) *quotannis ante nos fuerat in hoc quaestu*. Civitates locupletes, ne in hiberna milites acciperent, magnas pecunias dabant. *Ep Att v 21*

219. Cicero is at Laodicea on February 11. *Eas Laodiceas denique, quum eo venissem in Id. Sextil., Larnus mihi reddidit datus a d. x. Kal. Octob.* *Ep Att v 21*, and begins to hold the assizes for Cibra and Apamea at Laodicea, on February 13, and, on March 15, he holds at the same place the assizes for Synnada, Pamphylia, and Isaurica. *Idibus Februariis foreum institueram agere Laodiceas Cibraticum et Apameense, ex Idibus Martius ibidem Synnadense, Pamphylicum, Isauricum, ex Idibus Maius in Cilicium, ut ibi Junius consummatum* *Ep Att v 21*

220. He had held the assizes for all the province, except Cilicia, by May 1. *Levari te nostra moderatone et continentia uideo. Tum id magis facies, si adesses atque hoc foro quod ego ex Idibus Februariis Laodiceas ad Kalendas Maias omnium diocesium prater Ciliciam* *Ep Att vi 2*. He had intended to be in Cilicia about May 1. *Ego in Ciliciam proficisci cogito ex illo Kal. Mai.* *Ep Fam xii 57*. He then deferred it till May 7, and proposed to spend the whole month of June in holding the assizes for Cilicia, and to quit the province in July. *Nonis Maius in Cilicium cogitabam ibi quum Junium mensem consumpserim . . . Quintilem in relictis ponere* *Ep Att vi 2*. *Mihi erat in animo proficisci in Ciliciam Nonis Maius* *Ep Fam ii 18*. But he did not arrive at Tarsus till June 5. *Tarsum venimus Nonis Junius* *Ep Att vi 4*

221. He appears to have concluded the assizes at Tarsus by June 22, for he was then with the army. *Accepi autem a te missas litteras in Ciliciam quum essem in castris, a d. x. Kal. Quintiles* *Ep Fam ii 19*. And this was according to his previously expressed intention. *Mihi erat in animo quum prima aestiva attigissem militum etque rem collocassem, decedere* (from his province) *ex Senatûs consulto* *Ep Fam ii 18*. But he was again at Tarsus on July 17. *Dinas litteras a te mihi statim tuas reddidit Tarsi a d. xii. Kal. Sextiles* *Ep Fam ii 17*. At this time peace had been concluded with the Parthians, for he writes *Quin. ant. diem* (July 30) *decedam, nulla causa est, proseritum sublato metu Par-*

thico. *Parthis transierunt necne, propter te, uideo dubitari nonanem. Itaque omnia praeterdum quae magna et firma peraraveram, commotus hominum non dubio sermone, diuina* *Ep Fam ii 17*

222. On August 3 Cicero set out for Sidam to embark for Rome. *Decedenti mihi, jam impeto annuo terminato, ante diem in Nonas Sextiles, quum ad Sidam navi accederem, et mecum Q. Servilius esset, litterae a meis sunt redditae* *Ep Fam iii 12*. No success having arrived, he appoints Caelius, his questor, to command in his absence. *Ego de provincia decedens quaestorem Caelium propositi provinciae* *Ep Fam ii 15, Ep Att vi 6*

223. The Etesian winds being adverse, he has a tardy voyage to Ephesus. *Nos Etesiae vehementissime tardarunt* *Ep Att vi 8*

224. He sets sail from Ephesus on October 1. *Kal. Octob. Epheso conscendentes hanc epistolam dedimus* *Ep Att vi 8*

225. He arrives at the Piræus on October 14. *In Piræa quum eassem prid. Idus Octob.* *Ep Att vi 9, vii 1, Ep Fam xiv 6*, and was still at Athens on October 18. *Athenis a d. xv. Kal. Novemb.* *Ep Fam xiv 5*

226. He sails from Patrae on November 2. *Nos a te* (at Patrae see *Ep Fam xvi 5*), *ut scis, discessimus a d. iv. Nonas Novemb.* *Ep Fam xvi 9*, and reaches Alyzia on November 4. *Tertio die abs te ad Alyziam accesseramus* *Nonas Novemb. Alyzia* *Ep Fam xvi 2*

227. He sails from Alyzia on the morning of November 6. *Nos apud Alyziam unum diem commorati sumus. Is dies fuit Nonae Novemb.* *Inde ante lucem proficiscentes ante diem vii. Idus Novemb. has litteras dedimus* *Ep Fam xvi 3*

228. He arrives at Leucas the same November 6. *Leucadem venimus a d. vii. Idus Novemb.* *Ep Fam xvi 9*

229. He sails again on November 7. *Leucade proficiscentes vii. Idus Novemb.* *Ep Fam xvi 5*, and reaches Actium the same evening. *Vii. Idus Novemb. Actio vespere* *Ep Fam xvi 6*

230. At Actium they are detained by bad weather all the next day, and sail on November 9 to Coreyra. *A d. vi. Actium. Ibi propter tempestatem a d. vi. Idus morati sumus. Inde a d. x. Idus Coreyram bellissime navigavimus* *Ep Fam xvi 9*

231. At Coreya they are detained by contrary winds till November 16 (inclusive) *Septimum jam diem Coreyræ tenebamur xi Kal Decemb Coreyra* Ep Fam xvi 7 *Coreyræ fumus usque a d xvi Kal Decemb tempestatibus retenti* Ep Fam xvi 9 They sail from Coreya on November 17 to Cassiope, fifteen miles further *A d xv Kal Decemb in portum Coreyraeorum ad Cassiopem stadiorum processimus* *Ibi retenti ventis fumus usque a d vii Kal* Ep Fam xvi 9

232. In the evening of November 23 they sail from Cassiope, and the next day reach Hydrus in Italy *Nos eo die (ix Kal) cæpati solimus* *Inde Austro lenissimo, caelo sereno, nocte illa et die postea in Italiam ad Hydruntem ludibundi pervenimus* Ep Fam xvi 9

233. The next day, November 25, they arrive at Brundisium *Eodemque vento postidie (id erat a d vii Kal Decemb) horâ quartâ Brundisium invenimus* Ep Fam xvi 9 Ep Att vii 2

234. On December 6 he reaches Herculaneum *A d vii Idus Decemb Herculaneum veni* Ep Att vii 8

235. On December 9 he is in Trochulum *Dat v Id Decemb a Pontio ex Trochulano* Ep Att vii 8 And has an interview with Pompey on December 10, and expects to be at Rome by January 3 *Pompeium vidi a Id Decembres* *Ut nunc est, a d vi Nonas Januas ad urbem cogito* Ep Att vii 4

236. He is at Formis on December 28 *Vult Lentulum consulom Formis x Kal* Ep Att vii 12

237. He arrives at Rome on January 4, B.C. 49 *Ego ad urbem accessi pridie Nonas Januas* *Obviam mihi sic est proditum, ut nihil potuerit prius ornatus* Ep Fam xvi 11

238. Cicero had then spent three months and three weeks, viz from August 3 to November 25, in passing from Tarsus to Brundisium, and five months, viz from August 3 to January 4, in travelling from Tarsus to Rome.

239. During Cicero's year of office in Cilicia Antiochus II was king of Cappadocia Ep Fam xv 2 (see B.C. 65, no 57, B.C. 42, no 425) Dejotarus of Galatia and Pontus Ep Fam xi 2 (see B.C. 65, no 53, B.C. 45, no 269) Tarcondimotus of Cilicia Amaniensis, or the parts about Mount Amanus. Ep Fam xv 1 (= B.C. 51, no 206 B.C. 43, no 269)

Orodes of Parthia Ep Att v 21, vi 51, Fam xv 1 (see B.C. 55, no 125, B.C. 37, no 516) Artavasdes of Armenia Ep Fam xv 2 Ep Att v 20 (see B.C. 66, no 34, B.C. 34, no 568) Antiochus of Commagene Ep Fam xv. 1, 3, 4 (see B.C. 65, no 54, B.C. 38 no 500) And Jamblichus of Emesa and Aethusa Ep Fam xv 1 (see B.C. 51, no 206, B.C. 47, no 286)

240. As to the war with Parthia, the enemy, so late as February 19 B.C. 50, were still encamped in Syria. *Hodie vero hiemant (Parthi) in Celsosyriâ, maximeque bellum impendit, non et Orodi regis Parthianum filius in nostrâ provinciâ est, nec dubitat Dejotarus quin cum omnibus cœnis ipsegrinâ astate Euphratem transurus sit* *Idibus Februarius, quo die hos litteras dedi, etc* Ep Att v 21 And in another letter, written some time between February 19 and March 15, B.C. 50, the war is spoken of as still not concluded *Accepi tuas litteras a d i Terminatus* (which were on February 28) *Hiemant in nostrâ provinciâ Parthi* *Expectamus ipse Orodes* *Tu velam, dum ero Laodicea, id est, ad Idus Mai, quam sepiissime mecum per litteras colloquar* Ep Att vi 1 Indeed, the war was not over on June 28, for *Etsi unum tempus prope jam emeritum habebamus (dies enim vii evierant et reliqui), sollicitudine provinciæ tamen vel maxime urgebamur* *Quum enim adiret Syria bello, et Bibulus, etc* Ep Att vi 5 The year of office ended on July 30 This letter therefore, was written about June 28 But the Parthians had retired beyond the Euphrates, and the war was considered as over before the end of July *Nos provinciæ præfecimus Carian, etc* *Dum impendere Parthi videbantur, statuerant fructum relinquere, aut etiam, Republica causâ, contra Senatus consultum, ipse emineret qui posteaquam in eis edibili felicitate discesserunt, sublata dubitatio est* Ep Att vi 6 It may appear singular that Cicero should have dismissed his army into winter quarters so late as after December 17, B.C. 51 (see that year, no 214), and that the Parthians should be described by him as still in their winter quarters in May or June, B.C. 50 but it will be remembered that these dates were written before the reformation of the calendar in B.C. 46 (see no 316), so that the actual times were much earlier than the nominal dates.

First year of the Sabbatic cycle
Paschoei, April 10
Pentecost, May 31
Tabernacles, October 5

B C 49. U.C. 705. Olymp. 182, 4

C CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS
L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS
C. J. CÆSAR Dictator, 1

241. The province of Syria is assigned to Scipio *Scipioni obvenit Syria* Cæs B C 1 6 (see B C 51, no 190, B C 17, no 302)

242. Cæsar is at Ravenna on January 7 (Roman old style see B C 16, no 316) *Hæc S C perscribuntur a d in Id Jan Cæs B C 1 5*

243. Cæsar passes the Rubicon, and marches to Ariminum while it is yet winter *Ariminum cum ad legione proficiscetur. Legiones ex hiemis evocat* Cæs B C 1 8 Pompey flies from the city about the same time *On Pompeius, pridie ejus dies* (the arrival of the news at Rome that Cæsar was at Ariminum) *et in die profectus, uti ad legiones habebat quas in Apulia liberi eorum causâ disposuerat* Cæs B C 1 14

244. Cæsar pursues Pompey to Brundisium Dion, xli. 11 Cæs B C 1 25-27

245. Pompey had left Rome, according to Plutarch, at the Dionysia (March 17) *Ταύτην τὴν μάχην ἐπέλασε (Cæsar) τῇ τῶν Διονυσίων ἑορτῇ, κατ' ἣν λέγεται καὶ Πομπήιος Μάγνος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐξελθεῖν* Plut Cæs 56 But it must have been much earlier, for Cæsar arrived at Brundisium on March 9, when Pompey was already there *A. d. in Mart Brundisium veni (Cæsar) Ad murum castra posui Pompeius est Brundisii* Cic. Ep Att 15 13 And on March 15 Pompey embarked from Brundisium for Macedonia *Litteræ mihi ante lucem a Lepid Capuâ reddidit sunt Idibus Martiis Pompeium a Brundisio conscendisse, ei Casarem a d in Kal April Cypriæ fore* Cic Ep Att 15 14

246. On the flight of Pompey, Cæsar returns to Rome, after a campaign in Italy of sixty days. *Εἰς δὲ τὴν Πάμην ἀνίστρεφε, γεγονὼς ἐν ἡμέραις ἑξήκοντι πένσσι διαιμωρὶ τῇ Ἰταλίας κύριος* Plut. Cæs 35 Diod xli 15

247. He liberates Aristobulus (see B C 55, no 127), and gives him two legions for Syria,

to counteract Pompey's party there *Τὸν τε Ἀριστόβουλον οὐαδεῖ ἐς τὴν Παλαιστίνην, ἥπως τῷ Πομπήῳ τε ἀντιπρίηται, ἔστειλε* Dion, xli 18 But before he sets sail he is poisoned by the partisans of Pompey, and his body is embalmed and sent to Judæa to be interred in the royal sepulchres *Jos Bell 1 9, 1, Ant. xiv 7, 1* and see Appian, Mith 19

248. Cæsar hastens to Spain, and reduces to submission Pompey's generals, Afranius and Petreius Cæs B C 1 41 Dion, xli. 20-23 Plut Pomp 65, Cæs 36 The army of Afranius surrenders on August 2 (Roman old style see B C 46, no 317), *in Non Aug Fer, quod eo die C Cæsar, C f in Hispan ceter viciat* Old calendar, cited First Hellen *IIII N* (August) *Dius Julius Hisp vic* Old calendar, Mutator, 1 304 *IIII N* (August) *Feris, quod hoc die Imp Cæsar Hispaniam ceterorum viciat* Old calendar, Ginter, p 134

249. Cæsar returns from Spain, and hears by the way, at Marseilles, that he had been created dictator *Massiliam perveni Idi legem de dictatore latam seque dictatorem dictum, a M Lepulo pratore cognoscat* Cæs B C 1 21 Dion, xli 21, xli 38 Appian, B C 1 48 Plut Cæs 37 (see B C 44, no 350)

250. Cæsar, on arriving at Rome, holds the comitia eleven days, and then hastens to Brundisium *His rebus et feris Latinus comitibusque omnibus perficiendis undecim dies trahit, dictatū quoque se obducit, et ab urbe proficiscitur, Brundisiumque pervenit.* Cæs B C 1 2

251. Cæsar arrives at Brundisium in December (Roman old style) *Περὶ τὰς χειμερίους τροπὰς, περίεπεμπε τὸν στρατὸν ἀπαντᾶν εἰς τὸ Βρεντίσιον αὐτὸς τε ἐξῆλθε Δεκεμβρίῳ μηνί, ὧραιαίσις ὄντοι.* Appian, B C 1 48 *Εἰς Βρεντίσιον ἦκεν ἐν τροπῇς ἡδὴ τοῦ χειμῶνος ὄντος* Plut Pomp 65 December (old style) answered, in B C 49, to October actually, and accordingly Cæsar tells us that he arrived in the autumn *Græcis autumnus in Apulia circumaque Brundisium omnem exercitum castris tentaverat* Cæs B C 1 2 By the winter sol-tice referred to by Appian and Plutarch, must be meant, not the solstice astronomically, but Dec 25, according to the eroneous calendar

252. Cæsar embarks for Illyricum on Jan 4, B C 48 (old style), which would be early in November, B C 49 (see B C 46, no 317)

Cæsar . . . *pudie Nonas Januarias naves sol-
vit* Cæs B C iii 6 Χειμῶνος ἐν τροπαῖς οἷτος
ἱσταμένοι 'Ιαιοναρίον μηδὲς (οὗτος δ' ἂν εἴη
Ποσειδεὺς 'Αθηναῖος), ἀφῆκεν εἰς το πελαγος
Plut Cæs 37 'Απο Βρετιτίον Πομπήϊο διώ-
κων ἀπηχθὴ πρό μιας ἡμέρας ἰονίων 'Ιανου-
αρίων χειμῶνος ἐν τροπαῖς, οἷτος Plut Fortun
Rom p 810 n And after he had crossed,
winter set in *Longo interposito spatio
hiems appropinquabat* Cæs B C iii 9 *Pom-
pæius iterque ex Macedonia in hiberna,
Apolloniæm Dynachiumque, habebat* Ib iii 11
Sub pellibus (Cæsar) hiemare constituit Ib iii
13 *Multi jam menses transierant, et hiems jam
prospicebat* Ib iii 25

253 The freedom of Rome is conferred on
Cisalpine Gaul Dion, xli, 36

254. Pompey winters at Thessalonica Πομ-
πίος μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ Θεσσαλονικῇ ἐχειμαζε-
ται, Dion, xli 44

255. Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, is
put to death at Antioch by Scipio, at the in-
stance of Pompey Jos Ant xiv 7, 4, and xiv
8, 4, Bell i 9, 2 The rest of Aristobulus's
family, viz Antigonus and his sisters, are pro-
tected by Ptolemy Monneia, king of Chalcis,
who marries Alexandria, the daughter of Aris-
tobulus Ant xiv 7, 1, Bell i 9, 2 (see B C
55, nos 127, 131)

256. In July of this year (Κοιντολή, Quin-
tilis, Λευκίφ Λείτλφ Γαῖφ Μαρκελλῶ ὑπῆτοcs)
Lentulus, the consul, issues an edict in favour
of the Jews at Ephesus 'Ο Λέντλος δόγμα
ἐξήνεγκε, πόλιτας 'Ρωμαίων 'Ιουδαίους, οἵτινες
ἱέρα 'Ιουδαϊὰ εἰκόθασιν ἐν 'Εφέσῳ, πρό τοῦ
βήματος δεισιδαιμονίας ἔνεκα ἀπελυσσά (viz
στρατιάς, from sailing in the army) Jos Ant
xiv 10, 19 And again on Sept. 19, τοῦτο
ἐγενετο πρό δεκατριῶν 'Οκτωβρίων, Ant xiv 10,
16, and Sept 20, πρό δεκατέσσ Καλανδῶν 'Οκτω-
βρίων Ant xiv 10, 13

257. The same indulgence is granted by
Flavius at Cos Jos Ant xiv 10, 17, see
xiv 10, 15

258. And a similar decree is made by the
Delians in May of the following year Θυργη-
λῶτες εἰσοσῇ Jos Ant xiv 10, 14

259. It has been seen that Pompey had em-
barked at Brundisium for Dyniachium before
the Ides of March and the two consuls, Len-
tulus and Marcellus, who were now his parti-
sans, had sailed for Macedonia before him
Appian, B C ii 10 And it appears from the

above decrees that in the months of July and
September Lentulus was at Ephesus, and con-
sulting the Jews by grants in their favour
This coincidence confirms the accuracy of the
Jewish historian

260. An eclipse of the sun is said to have
occurred not long before this year 'Ιούλιῳ -
τῷ ἔτει (B C 49), καὶ ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν ἑτέρῳ
ο τε ἥλιος σήματι ἐξέλιπε Dion, xli 14
The eclipse referred to as occurring a little
before this year, must therefore have been
that on August 21, B C 50 See Pingré's
Tables

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle

Passover, March 30

Pentecost, May 20

Tabernacles, September 24

B C 48. U C 706 Olymp. 183, 1.

C J CÆSAR, II

P SERVIL VAPHA ISABELOS

261. Cæsar wins Oricum and Apollonia
(His cors) Dion, xli 45 Plut Cæs 37 And
as M Antony did not follow him as expected
from Brundisium, Cæsar attempts to cross over
to Italy in an open boat, when the well-known
exclamation, 'You carry Cæsar and his fol-
lowers,' but he is obliged to put back Dion,
xli 46 Flor. iv 2, 37 Plut Cæs 38

262. Pompey reoccupies Dyniachium, and
retakes Oricum Appian, B C ii 56

263. Cæsar marches to the banks of the
Assus, the river between him and Pompey
Dion, xli 47 And afterwards, being joined by
the forces of Antony from Brundisium, shuts
up Pompey in Dyniachium Dion, xli 50
Appian, B C ii 61 Dyniachium was
at this time included in Macedonia Το δὲ
Δυνηάχιον ἐν τῇ γῇ τῷ πρότερον μὲν 'Ιλλυριῶν
τῶν Παρθινῶν, νῦν δὲ, καὶ τότε γε, ἦν Μκεδο-
νίας κοινότης κείται Dion, xli 49

264. Cæsar being stratened for provisions
(as Pompey commanded the sea) retires into
Thessaly in the hope that he should thus draw
away Pompey or overpower Scipio, if left un-
supported Appian, B C ii 64 Dion, xli 50
Plut Cæs 39, Pomp 66

265. Cæsar arrives in Thessaly before the
corn is cut, i e about May *Ille segetis no-
neum locum in agris nactus, quæ prope jam
matura erat* Cæs B C iii 81.

266. Cæsar is at Gomphi, and then at

Metropolis. Cms B C iii 80 Appian, B C ii 61

267. Pompey follows Caesar into Thessaly *Pompeius paucis post diebus in Thessaliam peruenit* Cms B C iii 82 Dion xli 52 It would appear from Suetonius that Caesar had shut up Pompey in Dyrrhachium for nearly four months. In Macedonia transgressus, Pompeium per quatuor pene menses maximis obsessum operibus, ad extremam Pharsalico praebio fudit Suet Jul 35

268. Ptolemy, after having reigned in Egypt with his sister Cleopatra jointly till the fourth year current (see c 51, no 188) ejects her from the throne, when Cleopatra having collected an army in Syria, threatens an invasion of Egypt, and Ptolemy marches his forces to Casium to meet her Porphy: Tyr, Muller's Frag Graec Hist iii 723 Strabo xiii 1 Appian, B C ii 84 This was a few months after the expulsion of Cleopatra *Quam (Cleopatram) praecis ante incasibus per suos propinquos atque amicos regno expulerat* Cms. B C iii 103

269. BATTLE OF PHARSALIA Dion xli 55 Cms B C iii 88 Plut Cms 44, Pomp 71 Vell Patenc. ii 52 Appian, B C ii 76 Oros vi 15 This was at the height of summer *Ἦν μὲν ἀκμή θερος καὶ καίμα πολλόν* Plut Brut 4 His coss, Cassiodor, and on August 9, according to Roman old style, but really at the beginning of June *V Eid Aug Soli Indigiti in colle Quirinali per q eo d C. Cms C f Pharsali deicid* Old calendar, cited Muratori, i 151 (August) *J V N. P Divus Jul Phars uicit* Old calendar, Muratori, i 304 (For the error in the calendar see c 46, no 316) Deiotarus (see c 65, no 53, c 41, no 135) and Ticondimitus (see c 50 no 239 c 31, no 600) are present at the battle, on the side of Pompey Appian, B C 71 Flor iv 2, and are spared by Caesar, and even continued in possession of their dominions, except that a small part of Deiotarus's dominions is given to Ariobarzanes II in exchange for part of Armenia, which had been occupied by Pharnaces (see c 65, no 55), and is now given to Deiotarus Dion, xli 63, and see Dion xli. 48 This Ariobarzanes II (called by Appian, by mistake, Ariarathes, Appian, B C ii 71) had also been amongst the allies of Pompey, but was pardoned by Caesar

270. Pompey makes his way to the seaside, and embarks on board a merchant-vessel at the mouth of the Peneus *In ostio Penei amnis onerarium navem nactus Oros vi 15, and sails first to Amphipolis, and thence to Lesbos Ipse ad anchoram una nocte constitit, et vocatis ad se Amphipoliis hospitibus et pecuniâ ad neivessarios sumptus coniogata, cognito Casaris adventu, ex eo loco discessit, et Mitylenas paucis diebus venit* Cms B C iii 102 At Lesbos he joins his wife and his son Sextus Dion xli 2

271. Pompey sails along the coast of Cilicia and lands at Attalia *Ὡς δὲ πάλιν εἰσῆλθε πρώτῃν Ἀτάλειαν τῆς Παμφυλίας οὐ μὴ ἄλλ' ἐν τῷ παρόντων κινεῖν τι καὶ πειστικὸν ἀναγκάζομενος ἐπὶ τὰς πολεὺς περιέπεμπε, τὰς δ' αὐτὸς περιτλῶν ἦτε χρήματα καὶ ναῦς ἐπλήρει* Plut, Pomp 76

272. But at Syedra he is driven on board again *Superstes dignitatis visus venit ut pulsus Syedris in deserto Cilicæ scopulo jugum in Parthos Africam, vel Aegyptum agiturus* Flor iv 2, 51 He had sailed thus far with the intention of throwing himself upon the Parthians, but disclosing his designs when on the coast of Cilicia he is dissuaded, and then sails to Cyprus *Biduum tempestate retentus, (at Mitylene) navibusque aliis additis actuanus, in Ciliciam atque inde Cyprium peruenit* Cms B C iii 102 Oros vi 15 And thence to Pelusium in Egypt. *Kai para tēn hēteiron mēchi Kiliakias kosmatheis, hekēide pros to Hēlodosioi ēteraiōthē* Dion, xli 3 Appian, B C ii 83 Flor iv 2 52 Vell Patenc ii 53 His arrival in Egypt was, according to Ican, about the time of the autumnal equinox (September 24) —

*Tempus erat cum Luna pares examinat lunas,
Non uno plus aequa die, noctique rependit
Lux minor hibernae verni solatia damna*

Lucan, Phars 167

Allowing for the error in the calendar the arrival was in July of this year (see c 46, no 316)

273. Pompey, on reaching Casium in Egypt, asks safety from Ptolemy, the young king, who happened to be then encamped there with his army to encounter the invasion of his sister Cleopatra (see ante, no 268) Pompey is induced to land and transfers himself on board an Egyptian vessel, in which was Septimius,

an old soldier of Pompey, and before reaching the shore Pompey by the order of Ptolemy, for the purpose of conciliating Caesar, is murdered in sight of his wife and friends Dion, xlii 4 Appian, B C ii 81 His cross, Cassiodori

274. This was the day before Pompey's birthday, when he would have been fifty-nine years old and therefore on September 29 *Duoletetagesimam annuam agentis, pridie natalum ipsius, vita fuit exitus* Vell Pat ii 53 'Από γὰρ τριῶν καὶ εἰκοσιν ἔτι οὐ διετίπεν ἐς οὐτὼ καὶ πεινηκοῖτα, τῇ μὲν ἰσχύϊ μοιραχῶς ὑναστυεῖν, εἰς Appian, B C ii 86 'Ἐτήθη παραλόγως, οὐκ ἄν τε καὶ πεινηκοῖ-όντη ὦν . . . ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐν ᾗ πότε (September 29, B C 61) τὰ τε τοῦ Μιθριδίου καὶ τα τῶν καταποντιστῶν ἐπικαταῖσται, ἐσφάγη Dion, xlii 5 (see B C 61, no 99) Plutarch states the death of Pompey to have occurred on the day after his birthday, and therefore makes his age fifty-nine years complete 'Ἐξήκοτα μὲν ἔνδε ἔσσοντος βεβαυ-νῶς ἔτη, μὴ δ' ὅστερον ἡμέρα τῆς γενέθλιου τελευτήσας τότε βίον Plut Pomp 79 In another place Plutarch refers the death of Pompey to the very day of his birth 'Ἀττα-λος δ' ὁ βυσιδεύς καὶ Πομπήιος Μάγας ἐν τοῖς ἐπιστάταις γειθλίας ἀπεθανοῖ Plut Camill 19. Allowing for the error in the calendar (see no 46 no 316), the death occurred really about July of this year

275. Caesar, after remaining two days on the field of Pharsala (*αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ δύο μὲν ἡμέρας ἐν Φαρσάλῃ ἐπέτριψε*, Appian, B C ii 88), proceeds to the Hellespont and crosses into Asia Suet Jul 63 Appian, B C ii 89 Dion, xlii 6 And frees the Cnicians, and remits one-third of their usual tribute to the Greeks of Asia Plut Cæs 48 Appian, B C ii 89

276. Caesar passes a few days in Asia, and in part at Ephesus, *παυὸς διεναι Ἀσιᾷ πορεύσας*, B C ii 106, and see 105, and then sails to Rhodes *Πυθόμενοι δὲ Πομπήιον ἐπ' Ἀγύπτου φέρεσθαι διέπλευσαν ἐς Ρόδον*, Appian, B C ii 89, and thence to Alexandria where he lands, after having stood off for three days at sea *καὶ ὁ μὲν τριῶν ἡμέραις πελάγιος ἄμφω τὴν Ἀλεξίᾳ δρεῖν ἦν* Appian, B C ii 89. Plutarch assigns seven days to the voyage of Caesar from Rhodes to Alexandria—

Αναμύγει ποτήντην

*Πρωεχέσθαι, πελαγοῦς Rhodon spumante τε-
λινγνι*

*Septimano, Zephyron nunquam laxante rudentes,
Ostendit Pharus Aegypti litto a flammis*

Phars 1c 1002-1005

Caesar's arrival at Alexandria was before the return of Ptolemy from Cassium *Καὶν τοῖ-φιν πυθόμενοι τον Πομπήιον τὰς τὴν Ἀγύπτου πλείοντα ἀφωρμήθη κατὰ τάχος . . . τῇ δ' Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ . . . πρὶν τὸν Προλεμαῖον ἐκ τοῦ Πηλουσίου ἐλθεῖν προσπλέσας, εἰς Δίου, xlii 7 'Ἐσδέχονται δ' αὐτοὶ οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιτροπῆντες, ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄμφω τὸ Κάσιον ὄντος Appian, B C ii 89 The arrival in Egypt was probably in July, for he was nine months current in Egypt, and he left it about the middle of March, B C 47 (see this year no 295) He had come to Egypt during the Etesian winds, which blow in July and August *Ipse enim necessario Etesias tenebatur, qui Alexandriā navigantibus sunt adversissimi venti* Cæs B C iii 107*

277. Cleopatra sails to Alexandria and lands in a small boat and introduces herself by a stratagem to Caesar Plut Cæs 49

278. Caesar remains for some time at Alexandria in quiet *Ἐν τῇ Ἀγύπτῳ ἐνεχράσιν ἀργυρολογῶν* Dion, xlii 9

279. The Egyptians at length begin disturbances, and Caesar entrenches himself in the palace This was before January 1 of the following year, according to the Roman old style, for Caesar was still consul It was probably in Oct. B C 48, according to the true calendar (see no 46, no 316) *Interim conturbatio erat, eorum ad populum Romanum et ad ea, quod esset consul, pertinere existimans* Cæs B C iii 107 It would seem from Dion that the disturbances continued after January 1, B C 47 (old style), i.e. after October, B C 48 (true time), for Caesar is made to speak of himself as dictator, which would not be the case till January 1, B C 47 *Πραξας δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπειπὼν ὅτι ἐαυτῷ Δικτάτορι εἶτι καὶ πᾶν τὸ τοῦ δήμου κράτος ἔχοιτε, τὴν τε ἐπιμέλειαν ὧν παῖδων ποιέσθαι καὶ τι δοξάντα τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῶν ἐπι-τελεῖν προσέειπε* Dion, xlii 35

280. Caesar commits to Mithridates Pergamensis the charge of bringing succours from Syria with all dispatch Dion, xlii 37 Cæs B C iii 107 Hist Bell Al I and 26 (see no 47, no 286) Caesar is obliged to swim to his ships with his Commentaries in his hand Appian, B C ii 90 Dion, xlii 40 Oros vi 15

281. Death of Gabinius (His cross) Dion, xli 11 Pint Bell Δ1 43

282. Calenus, the general of Caesar, takes Athens, and Caesar spares the living for the wife of the dead Dion, xli 14

283. The *consular* provinces are distributed by lot, but Caesar is deputed to appoint to the *praetorian* provinces. *Τὰς .ε. ἡγεμονίας τὰς ἐν τῷ ὑπὸ καὶ τοῖς μὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἔτι στρατηγούς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀνακλησάτω, τοῖς δὲ δὴ στρατηγούς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀνακλησάτω, δοῦναι ἐξουσίαν* Dion, xli 20 Suet Jul 41 (see B C 51, no 217 P C 47, no 308)

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle

Phiscon, April 17

Pentecost June 7

Tabernacles, October 12

B.C. 47. P C. 707 Olymp 163, 2

Q PUBLIUS CALPURNIUS

P VALERIUS

C J CESAR Dictator, II

284. Caesar is dictator II, with Antony for master of the house *Εἰς δὲ ἐνιαυτὸν ἥρμοσται τὸ δεύτερον, οὐδέποτε - ἥς ἀρχὴν ἐκείνης ἐναντίον γενομένης Plut Cas 51* This dictatorship is called by some the first, as it was the first for the whole year, the dictatorship of B C 49 having been for a part of the year only (see B C 49, no 219)

285. Tiberius Claudius, the father of Tiberius the emperor, brings succours by sea to Caesar in Egypt, and defeats the Egyptian fleet on the Nile. Dion, xli 40 Suet Tib 4

286. Mithridates Pergamenus, who had been employed to collect succours in Syria (see B C 48, no 280), assembles his forces at Ascalon, and is there joined by Antipater, the father of Herod (described as *ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπιμελητής*, Jos Ant xiv 8, 1), with 3,000 Jews, and, through the influence of Antipater, auxiliaries arrive also from Malchus, king of Petra Pint Bell. Δ1 1 (see P C 63, no 84, B C 40 no 452) Jamblichus, king of Emesa and Arelhusa, and Ptolemy his son (see B C 50, no 239, P C 91, no 606), and Tholomaeus, son of Sostratus, king of Ituraea Libani (see A D 33, no 1533), are also present *Περὶ δὲ Ἀσκάδωα διαταίβοιτο (Mithridates) ἦκεν Ἀντιπατρὸς ἀγὼν Ἰουδαίων ὀλίγους τρισχιλίους, ἐξ Ἀραβίας τε συμμαχίης ἰλθεῖν ἐπαραγγέλλεσθαι τοὺς ἐν ταύτῃ· καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν ἀκρίβεις ἐπεκονοροῖ, Ἰαμβλίχος τε ὁ ἐν Ἀ-*

στης καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ Οὐλομαῖος ὁ Σόλμου Λιβανίου ὄρος οὐκ ὄν, αἱ τε πόλεις σχεδὸν ἀπασαι Ant. xiv 8, 1

287 Mithridates attacks Pelusium by sea and land, and carries it by assault, Antipater being the first to enter the breach Dion, xli 41 Jos Ant xiv 8, 1, Bell i, 9, 3

288. Antipater prevails upon the Jews of Egypt (οἱ τῶν Ὀρίων λεγομένην χώραν κατοικοῦντες, Jos Ant xiv 8, 1) to take part with Mithridates, and Mithridates, marching round the apex of the Delta, defeats the enemy at a place called the Jews' Camp, where Antipater again distinguishes himself *Περὶ τὸ λεγόμενον Ἰουδαίων στρατοπέδον* Ant xiv 8, 1, Bell i, 9, 4

289. Caesar meanwhile releases king Ptolemy, the eldest of the four royal children (see B C 51, no 188) to the Egyptians, which gives them the more courage, but Caesar defeats them between Lake Moeris and the Nile, when Ptolemy is slain in the tumult *Καὶ τὴν ἐκείνῃ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ μετὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ἐφύρθησαν* Dion, xli 43

290. Ptolemy the elder being dead, and Arsinoe having joined the Egyptian faction, Caesar confers the kingdom on Cleopatra with the younger Ptolemy as a nominal colleague Dion, xli 44.

291 Caesar recovers possession of Alexandria on March 27 B C 47, Roman old style, but really in January P C 47 (see B C 46, no 316) VI. Kal Apr Hoc die Caesar Alexandria recepit Old calendar, cited Fasti Hellen

292. Caesar sails about Egypt upon the Nile with Cleopatra *Τὴν Νεῖλον ἐπὶ τετρασίων νέων τὴν χώραν θεώμενος περιεπλεῖ μετὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας Appian, B C ii 90* He would have gone up as far as Ethiopia, but his soldiers would not suffer it *Ποτὴν Αἰθιοπιά τινος Αἴγυπτον πενέτραν, καὶ ἐπεισὶς ἐξῆλθεν* Suet Jul 52

293. Caesar was nine months (captive) in Egypt *Καὶ ἐς ταῦτα διετριφθῆναι αὐτῷ μῆνες ἐννέα*. Appian, B C ii 90 And with this agrees Plutarch, who relates that Cleopatra gave birth to a child by him soon after his departure *Καταλιπὼν δὲ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν βιασαμένησαν Αἰγύπτου, καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐξ αὐτοῦ τεκοῦσαν υἱὸν δὲν Ἀλεξανδρείας Καισαριωνα ποσσηγόμενσαν, ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ Σορίας* Plut Cas 49

294. Caesar, leaving three legions in Alexandria under the command of Rufion (Suet

Jul 76), proceeds from Egypt to Syria by land. *Sic rebus omnibus confectis et collocatis, ipse itinere terrestri profectus est in Syriam.* Hirt Bell Alex 33 and see Plut Cæs 49. Appian, B.C. ii 91, Suet Jul 35. Josephus speaks incidentally of Cæsar's sailing from Egypt. *Εἰς Συρίαν ἀποπλεύσαι.* Ant xiv 8, 9.

295. Cicero, at Brundisium had not heard of Cæsar's departure from Alexandria on June 14 (old style). *Illum ubi Alexandriā discessisse nemo nuntiat.* *ἀνα Καλὸν Quant.* Cic Ep Att xi 17. Not on June 20 (old style). *De illius Alexandriā discessu nihil adhuc rumoris.* *αὖ Καλ Quant Lp Att xi 18.* But Cicero had heard of Cæsar's departure on July 8 (old style). *Ilum discessisse Alexandriā rumor est non finis.* *αὖ Non Quant Lp Att xi 25.* As a voyage from Seleucia to Brundisium occupied at this time, with fair weather, little more than a month (*Septimo decimo Kal Sept veniatis die xxi.* Seleuciā Πλειυ C Trebonius Ep Att xi 20), a voyage from Alexandria to Brundisium by this route would not require more than five or six weeks. Cæsar therefore, may have quitted Alexandria about the end of May (old style) or middle of March (true time). Quintus Cicero, the son, having heard of Cæsar's departure from Alexandria, sets out from Rhodes to meet him at Antioch on May 29 (old style, i.e. the middle of March). *Acusius quidam Rhodu venerat in Id Quant.* *Is nuntiabat Quintum filium ubi Cæsarem profectum in Kal Jun.* Ep Att xi 23. And, allowing a week for the news to travel direct from Alexandria to Rhodes, Cæsar must have quitted Alexandria the beginning of March, and Egypt itself in the course of the month.

296. Cæsar enters Antioch on the 23rd of the Syrianædonian month Artemisius, and therefore some time in April. *Καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ὁ αὐτὸς Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ, ὁ Δαρδάνωρ, ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῇ ιγ' τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου μηνός.* Malalas, lib 9.

297. Quintus Cicero had an interview with him some time before the beginning of May, for Trebonius arrived at Brundisium on Aug 16, and had been a month on his road from Seleucia, which he had therefore quitted about July 16 (old style, i.e. at the beginning of May), and brought intelligence of the interview. *Septimo decimo Kal Sept veniatis die xxi.* Suet Jul 35. Trebonius, is qu-

se Antiochie dicebat apud Cæsarem vidisse Quintum filium cum Hirtio. *Eos de Quinto quæ voluisset impetrâsse nullo quidem negotio.* Cic Ep Att xi 20.

298. Cæsar, at Antioch, hears an accusation of Antigonus (see B.C. 55, no 127) against Hyrcanus and Antipater and dismisses it, and confirms Hyrcanus as highpriest, and appoints Antipater procurator of Judæa. *Καῖσαρ Ὑρκανὸν μὲν ἀποδεικνύσκει Ἀρχιερεα, Ἀντιπάτρῳ δὲ δίδωσι δυναστείαν.* *Ἐπιτροπον αὐτὸν ἀποδεικνύει τῆς Ἰουδαίας.* Jos Ant xiv 8, 5, Bell i 10, 3. Cæsar had before conferred upon Antipater the freedom of Rome and immunity from taxes. *Ἀντιπάτρῳ πολιτεία ἐν Ῥώμῃ δόσε καὶ ἡτέλειαν πανταχοῦ.* Ant xiv 8, 3.

299. The edict appointing Hyrcanus highpriest is given by Josephus, and bears date in this dictatorship, and refers to the Alexandrian war as just over. *Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ ἀντοκράτωρ τὸ δεύτερον, καὶ Ἀρχιερεῖν, μετὰ Συμφουλίῳ γνῶμῃ ἐπέκρινε.* *Ἐπεὶ Ὑρκανὸς Ἀλεξάνδρον Ἰουδαίος ἐν τῷ ἔγγιστα ἐν Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ πολέμῳ μετὰ ῥαίων πεπαιστωμένων (αὐτοῖ) δὴντο.* Josephus 3,000 see infra) στρατιωτῶν ἦγε σὺν ἄρχος καὶ πρὸς Μηθηράτῃν ἀποστάντες ὑπ' ἐμῷ παί-αι διέβητε τοὺς ἐν τάξει ὑπερέβαλε, διατάσσας αὐτίκ' Ὑρκανὸν Ἀλεξάνδρον καὶ ταρεῖα αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ἄρχας Ἰουδαίων εἶναι βούλομαι, Ἀρχιερωσύνην τε Ἰουδαίων διαπαντός ἐχειν κατὰ πάτριν ῥῆθ, etc. Jos Ant xiv 10, 2. What is here ascribed to Hyrcanus was probably the work of Antipater, his representative, as it does not appear that Hyrcanus himself accompanied the expedition to Egypt. See Ant xiv 8, 3.

300. There is also a decree in Josephus of the same date, by which the Jews are exempted from tribute in the Sabbatic year, etc. *Ἰάσις Καῖσαρ, Ἀντοκράτωρ τὸ δεύτερον, ἐστρεψε κατ' ἐναντιὸν ὅπως τελώσιν, etc. χωρὶς τοῦ ἑβδομόμου ἔτους ὃν Σαββατικὸν προσαγορεύουσιν, ἐπειδὴ ἐι αὐτῷ μῆτε ἀπὸ δεινῶν καρπῶν λιμνήνουνσι, μῆτε σπέρουσιν.* Ant xiv 10, 6. An indisputable proof that the Sabbatic year was still observed. It is also said of the Sabbatic year that during it the Jews did not 'sow,' that is did not cultivate the ground, but that there was no prohibition against the gathering of the crops from the seed sown in the previous year (see B.C. 37, no 525, B.C. 29, no 707).

301. We read also in Josephus of another decree erroneously attributed by him to this year (Ant. xiv 8, 6), but which really

belongs to John Hyrcanus, and not to Hyrcanus Alexander. That there is some mistake is manifest from the inconsistency in the decree itself, for it is said by Josephus to have been issued in the ninth year of Hyrcanus. *Ἐν τῷ ἑνάτῳ ἔτει Ἰρκαίου ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων ἐννάτου* *Wheas* B C 17 was in the sixteenth year of Hyrcanus Alexander (see B C 63, no 81). And, again, the decree is dated, on the face of it, in the Ides of December. *Ἰδίοις Δεκεμβρίαις*. But Josephus adds that it was issued in the month of Panemus, i. e. July. *Ant* xiv 9, 5. Josephus may have directed his scribe to insert the decree appointing Hyrcanus high-priest, stated *Ant* xiv 10, 2, and the scribe misled by seeing the name of Hyrcanus, may have inserted by mistake a decree respecting the elder high-priest of that name.

302. Caesar, on quitting Syria, leaves there one legion, under the command of Caelius Bassus, and appoints, as governor of the province, a young relative of his own, his quaestor Julius Sextus Caesar (see B C 49, no 211, B C 46, no 326). *Ἦτοχι δὲ τῷ Συρίαν Σεξτος, τοῦτον γὰρ καὶ ταμίαν καὶ συγγενεῖ αὐτοῦ ὄντι οὐ Καίσαρ πάντα τὰ ῥήματα αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐλπί τον Φαριάκην ἑλάνει ἐπέστρεψε* *Dion*, xlvii 26. *Appian*, B C in 77, iv 58. *Jos Ant* xiv 9, 2, *Bell* i 10, 5.

303. Caesar, escorted by Antipater (*Jos Ant* xiv 9, 1, *Bell* i 10, 4), hastens from Antioch to Pontus against Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates the Great, and king of Bosphorus (see B C 63 no 55), who, taking advantage of Caesar's absence in Egypt, had attempted to recover the rest of his father's dominions. Caesar defeats him at the battle of Zela on the fifth day after his arrival, and in four hours after coming in sight of the enemy, and writes the celebrated despatch *Veni, vidi, vici* *Intra quingulum quam affuerat diem, quatuor quibus in conspectum venit hostis, una profugavit acie* *Suet Jul* 35. *Dion*, xlii 47, 48. *1101 iv* 2. *Phn* N II vi 4. *Plut* *Cas* 50. The battle of Zela was fought on August 2 Roman old style, but really in May (see P C 46, no 316). *IV Non Aug Fei, quod eo die C Cas C f in Ponto regem Pharnacem devicit* *Old calendar*, cited *Fust* *Hell* (see *infra*, no 304).

304. Caesar confers on Mithridates Pergamenus the title of king, with a tetrarchy in Galatia, and as Asander had slain Pharnaces (see B C 63, no. 55), and taken possession of

the kingdom of Bosphorus. Caesar gives leave to Mithridates Pergamenus, if he could, to eject Asander and appropriate the kingdom of Bosphorus to himself. *Ἐὰν Μιθριδάτῃ, τῷ Περγαιμῶνι, ἱεραρχίαν τε ἐν Γαλατίᾳ καὶ Βασιλείας ὁμοίαν ἔδωκε, πρὸς τῷ Ἀσανδρὸν πολεμῆσαι ἐπατρέψει, ὅπως καὶ τὸν Βόσπορον κρατήσῃ αὐτοῦ* *Appian*, xlii 48. *Appian*, *Mith* 121. Pharnaces had reigned fifteen years from the death of his father Mithridates in B C 63 (see that year, no 74). *Ἀφάρνας* (Pharnaces) *περνην-τούτης ὦν καὶ βασιλεὺς Βοσπόρου περτεινίδει ἐτεσι* *Appian*, *Mith* 120. However, Mithridates Pergamenus did not succeed in getting possession of Bosphorus, for *κατελύθη δ' (Μιθριδάτης) ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀσανδρὸν τοῦ καὶ Φαριάκην ἀνελόντος τὸν βασιλῆα, καὶ κατασχόντος τὸν Βόσπορον* *Strabo*, xlii 4. And Asander remained king until B C 16 (see that year, no 755). There are several coins extant of this Asander, some of them with the inscription *Ἀρχοῦ τοῦ Ἀσανδρὸν Βοσπορου*, and others with the inscription *Βασίλεως Ἀσανδρὸν*, and with various years of his reign, as Δ - Ζ II II Δ I 12 ΛΓ (see *Eckhel*, ii 367). Pharnaces left a son, Darius, who was appointed king of Pontus by Antony in B C 39. *Appian*, B C i 75 (see B C 50, no 289, B C 89, no 480).

305. Caesar deprives Archelaus II of the priesthood of Comana, and confers it on Lycomedes. *Πλὴν τῆς ἐν Κομμίσις Ἱερωσύνης ἦν ἐς Λυκομήδην μετέγενεν ἀπὸ Ἀρχελάου* *Appian*, *Mith* 121. *Hirtius*, *Bell Alex* c 66. The bounds of the hierarchy were on this occasion extended thirty miles further all round. *Εὐθ' ὕσμιον Λυκομήδης, ᾧ καὶ τετρίσχοινος ἄλλη προσέθηκε* *Strabo*, vii 8 (see B C 63, no 56, B C 31, no 618).

306. Caesar leaves Domitius in command of Asia, and proceeds by way of Bithynia and Greece to Italy. *Τὰ λοιπὰ τῷ Δομντίῳ καταστήσασθαι κελύσας, ἐκ τὴν Ἡσθιαν ἦλθε, ἀφ' οὐθεν ἔκ τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἐκ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπλυνσε* *Dion*, xli 49.

307. Caesar had not arrived at Brundisium on August 12 (old style), for Cicero then received a letter from him. *Reddita mihi litterae sunt a Cæsare litterae satis liberales. Id pridie Idus Sext* *Cic Ep. Fam* xiv 23. *Non* on September 1 (old style). *Qui (tabellarij) si perveniunt, fortasse erimus ceteriores* *Kalendis Septembris* *Ep Fam* xiv 22. But he had arrived before the end of September (old style),

for Cicero did not leave Brundisium before Caesar landed, and on October 1 (old style) Cicero writes *In Tusculanum nos venturos putamus aut Novis, aut postulis* *Kal Octob De Verris Ep Fam xii 20* (For the error in the calendar, see B C 16, no 316).

308. Caesar appoints ten praetors for the ensuing year *Στρατηγούς τε δέκα ἐς τὸ ἐπὶ τὸν ἔτος ἀπέδειξε* Dion, xlii 51 (see B C 48, no 288, B C 45, no 183).

309. Caesar crosses into Africa in midwinter 'Ἐς τὴν' Ἀφρικήν, καίτοι τοῦ χειμῶνος μεσοῦντος, ἐπεραιώθη Dion, xlii 56 *Περὶ τροπῆς χειμερίας διαβάς ἐς Συελίαν* *Plut Cæs 52* This was so according to the old Roman style, but really two or three months earlier *Quid ipse Caesar? quum a summo hiemurque noneretur, ne ante brumam transmitteret, nunc transiit?* Cicero, *Div ii 24*.

310. Antipater, on his return to Judæa from escorting Caesar, appoints his son Phasaelus captain of Judæa, and his son Herod captain of Galilee *Φασάηλον μὲν τὸν τριεξέτιτος υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ παῖδων ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τῶν περὶ στρατηγὸν ἀποικισίνοι, τῷ δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἡρώδην τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐπετρέψε ἰσὺ πάνταςιν οὖν, περὶ τετακτα δὲκα γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐγγράει μὲν ἔτη Jos Ant xiv 2, Bell i 10, 4* For *περὶ τετακτα* should clearly be read *περὶ τετακτασσι*, for in B C 1 Herod was about his seventieth year (see B C 4, no 925) so that at this time his age must have been, not fifteen but twenty-five years.

310 a

Com

C Cæsar Imp Cos iter + A Allenus Pro Cos
Lichfel, vi 6

Inscriptions

Πολεὺς αἰ ἐν τῇ Λαίῃ καὶ οὐ καὶ τὰ ἰθιη Γαίον
Ιούλιον Γαίον Υἱὸν Κτιστὰν τὸν Ἀρχιερέα καὶ
Αὐτοκράτορα καὶ τὸ δεύτερον στατὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ
Ἀρεῖος καὶ Ἀφροδίτης Θεῶν Ἐπιφάνη καὶ οὐκ αἰ
τοῦ Ἀφροδίτης Θεῶν Σωτήρη Cæsar was consul in B C 48, but the title would contain it until he was consul again (B C 16) and Munatius (vol i p 219) refers the inscription to B C 17.

C Julius C I C N Cæsar ii Dict
M Antonius M F M N May Ety
Q Fufius Q F C N Celsinus *Fasti Capitol*

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle

Pasover, April 6

Pentecost, May 27

Tabernacles October 1

B C 46 U C 708 Olymp. 123, 3.

C J CÆSAR, III

M ÆMIL LEPIDUS, I

C J CÆSAR Dictator, III

311. Caesar is dictator iii, with Lepidus as master of the horse *ἰδὲ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἔπει καὶ ἐκταταρυσεν ἡμα καὶ ὑπατεύσει, τρίτον ἑκατέρω, τὸν Λεπίδου οἱ ἀμφότεροι συνάξει τος* Dion, xlii 1 Caesar, in this and the following year, held the consulship for the first nine months only *Tertium et quantum consularum titulus tenuis gessit atque utroque anno binos consules substituit sibi in ter nos novissimos menses* *Suet Jul 76*

312. Caesar gains the battle of Thapsus, in Africa, on April 6 old style, but really in January see post VIII *End Livie q e d Cæsar U f in Africa regem (Jubam), etc* *Fasti Verriani* in mense April, cited *Fasti Illen Tertia lux, memini, bidis erat* (viz the third from the Megalesia on *Fasti Non*, April 1) *Itac ait, illu decu Sabyria qua Cæsar in oris* *Perfida magnanimiti contulit arma Juba*
Ovid, *Fasti*, iv 377

Plut Cato Min 58, Cæs- 59 *Liv Epit 114*

313. Caesar embarks at Utica for Sardis on June 13 (old style see B C 46, no 316) *His rebus gestis Idibus Junius Utica classem conscendit, et post diem tertium Carales in Sardiniam peruenit* *Hirt Bell Afric 98* He sets sail from Sardinia on June 29 (old style), and arrives in Rome just a month after *A d ui Kal Quintiles naves conscendit, et a Caralibus secundum terram protectus diadeti gessum die, eo quod tempestuibus in portibus cohibebatur, ad urbem Romanam venit* *Hirt Bell Afric 98* Dion xlii 14

314. Caesar is appointed dictator for ten years *Διτάτωρα ἐς δέκα ἐφέτης εἰλοντο* Dion, xlii 14

315. An edict that ex-prætors should hold their provinces for one year only, and ex-consuls for two years only *Κατέλειπε νομῆ τους μὲν στρατηγηκότας ἐπ' ἐαυτὸν, τοὺς δὲ ὑπατευκότας ἐπὶ δύο ἔτη κατὰ τὸ ἔξῃς ἄρχειν, καὶ μηδενὶ τοπαρχίαν ἐπὶ πλείον ἡγεμονίαν τινα ἔχειν ἐξείναι* Dion, xlii 23 (see B C 47, no 308, B C 45, no 333)

316. Caesar reforms the calendar, whence this year is called the year of confusion. The error to be rectified was this. The year of Numa, which had continued up to this time, consisted

of 12 lunar months, making together 354 days, being 11 days 6 hours short of the reality. In order to keep pace with the solar year of 365 d 6 h, it was the practice to intercalate every other year an additional month, first of 22 days, and then of 23 days, alternately. The duty of intercalation was committed to the priests who, in the course of time, abused their office, and intercalated sometimes too much and sometimes too little, as it suited their private ends. In B C 52, there had already fallen out of the calendar, for want of the necessary intercalation, 23 days, and from B C 52 (exclusive) to B C 46, there had been no intercalation at all, so that at the close of B C 46 there would be an arrear of 11 days and 6 hours for each of six consecutive years, i. e. 66 days and 36 hours, or, in round numbers, 67 days, which, added to the previous arrear of 23 days, made a total of 90 days. Cæsar, in this year, compensated for the previous loss of time by intercalating 23 days between February 23 and 24 and by inserting two additional months containing together 67 days (making in all 90 days) between the months of November and December and he guarded against the recurrence of the like irregularity by ordering that the civil year for the future should consist of 365 days, and that in every fourth year one day should be intercalated so as to bring up the loss of six hours in each intervening year. This is the system still in use amongst most civilised nations, with such further variation, however, as was found to be necessary from the fact of the year consisting not of 365 d 6 h, but 365 d 5 h 48 m 57 s.

317. It results from the foregoing statement that, for the few years preceding the reformation of the calendar, the dates mentioned in Roman writers are erroneous. Thus, in B C 47 a given day in a given month would be postdated or too late by from 79 to 68 days. In B C 48, from 68 to 57 days. In B C 49 (being leap year), from 57 to 45 days. In B C 50, from 45 to 34 days. In B C 51, from 34 to 23 days. Thus, in B C 47, the battle of Zela was, according to the Roman calendar, on August 2 (see no 303), but was really in May. In B C 48, the battle of Pharsalia was, according to the Roman calendar, on August 9 (see no 269), but was really at the beginning of June. In B C 49, the surrender of the army of Afranius in Spain was, according to the Roman calendar,

on August 2 (see no 248), but was really about the middle of June. In B C 50, the dates of Cicero's letters must be placed from 34 to 45 days earlier, and in B C 51 from 23 to 34 days earlier.

318. The reformations introduced by Cæsar are thus described by the principal historians. *Annumque ad cursum solis accommodavit, ut cœlestis dies unus esset, et, intercalatio mensis sublata, unus dies quavis quoque anno intercalaretur. Quo autem magis in posterum ex Kalendis Januariis nobis temporum ratio congreueret, inter Novembrem ac Decembrem mensem interiecit duos alios, quosque is annus, quo hæc constituerantur, et mensum annu intercalatio qui ex consuetudine in illum annum incidit.* Suet. Jul. 40. *Τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἔτων . . . κατεστήσατο ἐς τὸν νῦν πρῶτον ἑπτα καὶ ἑξήκοντα ἡμέρας ἐμμελῶν. Ἰὴν μάλιστα μίαν τῇ ἐκ τῶν τετραστομρίων περὶ ἀπορρομένην (the six hours or fourth part of a day lost in each year) ἐπέτερε καὶ αὐτῷ ἔτῳ ἐσῆγαγεν, ὥστε μῆδεν ἔτι τῆς ὥρας αὐτῷ πλεονεξίαν ἔλαττωσεν.* Dion., xliii. 26. *Ut C. Cæsar, Pontifex Maximus suo in et M. Emilio Lepido consulatu, quo ietio delictum corrigere et, duos menses intercalarios diebus sexaginta septem in mensem Novembrem et Decembrem interponeret, cum jam mense Februarii dies tres et viginti intercalasset, faceretque eum annuum diebus cxxix.* Censorinus, De Die Nat. c. 20. And see Plut. Cæs. 59.

319. Cleopatra is at Rome and resides in Cæsar's palace (Παλᾶς) Dion., xliii. 27. Suet. Jul. 52.

320. Cæsar is still at Rome on November 23. *Ego idem tamen quum u. d. i. Kal. intercalares priores (the first of the two intercalated months between November and December), rogatus statum thorum, venissem mense ad Cæsarem.* Ep. Fam. vi. 14.

321. Cæsar, with a small retinue, περὶ ὀλίγων, Dion., xliii. 32 (but see Appian, B C. ii. 108), passes into Spain against Cn. Pompey (Hispania) Dion., xliii. 32. He was less than a month upon the road. *Ab inde in Hispaniam ultorem ivit et ar. die periecit.* Suet. Jul. 56. *Ἦκε μὲν αὖτο Πόμπου ἔρτα καὶ εὐκταὶ ἡνίκα.* Appian, B C. ii. 103. *Septimo die mo, quum egressus ab inde fuerat, die, Saguntum periecit.* Oros. vi. 16 (see P. C. 45, no 329). And carries on the campaign during the winter, ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι, Dion., xliii. 33. Octavius, afterwards Augustus, is with him. *Συνεστρεφόμενος τε (Octavius) γὰρ*

αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ποιῶν τῶν τε λιδύων αὐτοῦ ἐλλόμφει ἐμελλεν Dion, xlv 41

322. Herod, early in the year, is summoned by Hyrcanus before the Sanhedrim, when he appears before them with a strong bodyguard, and the trial is adjourned, and Herod retires to Julius Sextus Caesari at Damascus, then an apprentice of Syria Jos Ant xiv 9, 3-5, Bell i 10, 6-8 (see p c 64, no 60)

323. Julius Sextus Caesari receives a message from Herod, and appoints him captain of Caesarea and Samaria Σεστόν δὲ ποιήσαντος Παύλῳ στρατηγῷ τῆς Συρίας, χρημίστω γὰρ αὐτῷ τοῦτο ἀπέδοτο, etc Jos Ant xiv 9, 5 Στρατηγὸς ἀπεδείχθη Κελεύ, Συρίας καὶ Σαμαρείας Bell i 10, 8

324. Herod, with the forces now under his command marches against Hyrcanus to revenge the affront of the trial, but is prevailed upon by Antipater and Phasaelus to return Jos Ant xiv 9 5, Bell i 9, 5

325. Cassius Bassus, who had been left in Syria by Caesari with one legion (see p c 47, no 302), enters upon the design of possessing himself of Syria This was in the course of the present year for it was while Caesar was in Africa, and the discouraging reports from that quarter stimulated Bassus to the attempt Περὶ τοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος πολλὰ καὶ δευὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἡγγέλλετο . καὶ οὕτω μετὰ ταῦτα γράμματά τινα συνέπλεον -ὄν τε Καίσαρα ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ ἡττησθαι, καὶ ἀποδωλεῖαι δι' ἡγέλλαι, καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Συρίας προστερεῖσθαι ἔλεγε Dion xlv 26 The battle of Thapsus was on April 8 (old style, i e in January, true time), and the insurrection of Bassus must therefore have been before the news of Caesar's victory had reached Syria

326. Bassus possesses himself of Tyre, and then engages in battle with Julius Sextus Caesari, and is defeated He then plots the death of Sextus, who is assassinated and Bassus is declared prefect of Syria Dion, xlv 26 Jos Ant xiv 11, 1 (see p c 47, no 302 p c 45, no 337) The death of Sextus was towards the winter of p c 46-45, for ἀποθανόντος δὲ Κελεύ (Sextus) τότε τε σπρίτωμα τῶν πλὴν ὀλέγων προσηταίραστο (τοὺς γὰρ ἐκ Ἀκαμείας χειρὸς μίσησαν ἐπέβλεψε μὲν ἐκ Κιλικίαν προσποχωρήσαντας, οὐ μὴν καὶ προσποχίσαντας), καὶ ἐκ τὴν Συρίαν ἐπανελθὼν στρατηγὸς τε ἀνοράσθη καὶ τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν ἐπαράνυστο Dion, xlv 27 Suabio xlv 2

326 a

Coins

C Caesari Cos Ter + A Helios P
Cos Tert Dict dci + August Pont Max
C Caesari Dc Ter + L Plane P r f Ubi
C Caesari Dc Ter + C Clovi P r e

Eckhel, vi 7

Inscriptions

C Julius C P C N Caesari m
M A (milia) M P Q N Lepidine

I'asta Capitol

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle

Pessonei March 26

Pentecost, May 16

Tabernacles, September 20

B C 45. U C 709 Olymp 183, 4.

C I CAESAR, n, solus and resigned

Es. Kal Oct

Qui Publius Maximus In mag mort est In
eius loc fact est C Caesari R hulus

C TIBERIUS

C d CAESAR Dictator n

327. Caesari dictator iv, with M. Aemilius Lepidus as master of the horse Ἐδυνάτωρεν δὲ δὴ τότε, καὶ ἔπατο, ὅφρ' ποτε καὶ ἐπ' ἐκδοῦ τοῦ ἔτους ἀπεδείχθη, τοῦ Λεπίδου ἐν τῇ Ἰππαρχίᾳ τὸν δῆμον ἐς τοῦτο συναγαγόντου. Dion, xlv 33

328. Caesari, in Spain, takes the town of Aeguna on February 19 A d at Kal Martii μηνῶς πεντήκτου. Hist Bell Hist 19

329. The battle of Munda on March 17, being the day of the Dionysia or Libetalia Ἰππας Λιβηταλῶν Hist Bell Hist 31. 17 τῶν Διονυσίων ἱερῆς Plat Cas 56 The news had reached Rome on April 20 Ἰα τε γὰρ Παρίλια (April 21) ὡς τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος νίκῃ, ὅτι ἡ ἀγγελία τῇ προτεραίᾳ πρὸς ἑσπيران ἀκούετο ἐπιμήθη Dion, xlv 42. The despatch, therefore, from Munda to Rome occupied about five weeks

330. Caesar returns to Rome in the month of October Novembris . plus quinquies mensium principis quies contigit, quippe quimus mense Octobri inibem revertisset, Idibus Martius interceptus est Vell Pat ii 56 Cic

Ep Att xlv 15
331. Triumph of Caesari at Rome C Caesari ex Hispania quintum triumphum egit Liv Epit 116 And of his lieutenant Q Fabius on October 13, and of his lieutenant Q Pedius on December 13 Q Fabius Q F Q N Maximus cos ex Hispania an decem (p c 70),

Varro) iii. *Idus Oct. Q. Pedius M. P. procos. ex Hispaniâ an. MCCVIII.* (i.e. 709, Varro) *Idib. Decemb. Fasti Capitol.* Dion, xliii. 62.

332. Cæsar is elected dictator for life, and consul for ten years. *Ἀντιρήθη δὲ καὶ Πατὴρ πραιμάρκας, καὶ Δικτάτωρ ἐπὶ τὸν ἐαυτοῦ ῥήθον, καὶ ὕπατος ἐς ἑξέκα ἔτη.* Appian, B. C. iii. 106. Dion, xlv. 8.

333. There are now fourteen prætors and forty questors, all of whom are elected by the people on the nomination of Cæsar. *Τῶν γὰρ ἀποδείξειν αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἐδέξατο, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπ' ἐκείνου κατέστησαν, καὶ ἐς γε τὰ ἔθνη ἀκλόγηται ἐξεπρόβησαν. Ἀριθμὸν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι βοοσπερ καὶ πρῶτον, στρατηγῶν δὲ τεσσαρσκακίδεκα, ταῖα τε τεσσαρόκοντα ἀπετέλεθσαν.* Dion, xliii. 47 (see B.C. 47, no. 308; B.C. 41, no. 341).

334. Cæsar resigns the sole consulship in favour of Q. Fabius and C. Trebonius. This resignation was about the end of September, for he held the consulship for nine months (see ante). Suet. Jul. 76. Fabius died on the last day of the year, when Cæsar appointed C. Cninius Rebilus in his place for the rest of the day. This resignation of Cæsar and substitution of another was an infraction of the rule that, once a consul, he must remain consul for the whole year. Dion, xliii. 46. Plut. Cæs. 58 (see B.C. 49, no. 474).

335. As C. Cninius Rebilus was consul for only one day, the consulship of Caius Rabillius, alluded to in the despatch of the Laodicæans, cannot refer to this year. *Λαοδικέων ἀρχόντες Γαῖον Ῥαβίλλιον Γαῖον υἱὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χεῖραι. Σώπατρος Ὑπάτου τοῦ Ἀρχιερέως προσβεντὴς ἐπέλεον ἡμῖν τὴν παρὰ σου ἐπιστολήν, etc.* Jos. Ant. xiv. 10, 20.

336. Cicero alludes to the disturbances in Syria, under Bassus, early in B.C. 45. *Ex Syria nobis tumultuosiora quædam nuntiata sunt, quæ, quia tibi sunt propiora quam nobis, tuâ me causâ augis movent quam meâ.* Ep. Fam. xii. 17. This was written in the spring of B.C. 45, for he alludes to the recent publication of the *Orator*, which was at this time. *Proxiâne scripsi de optivo genere dicendi.* Ibid. For the date of this work, see Farn. Hellen.

337. Quintus Cornificius, who was near at hand (perhaps præfect of Cilicia), is intrusted, *pro tempore*, with the charge of the province of Syria and the conduct of the war. *Dellum quod est in Syria Syriamque provinciam tibi*

(Cornificio) *tributum esse a Cæsare ex tuis literis cognovi.* . . . *De Parthici belli suspitione quod scribis, sane me commovet.* Cic. Ep. Fam. xii. 19 (see B.C. 46, no. 326; B.C. 44, nos. 356, 359, 362, 365). There is a rumour at this time at Rome that some legions would be sent to Syria.

Opto ne se illu gens (Parthi) movent hac tempore, dum ad te legiones ire perducantur quas audio duci. Ep. Fam. xii. 19. These were probably the three legions sent out either at the close of this year, or in the spring of the following year, under L. Statius Mureus, who was appointed to succeed Julius Sextus Cæsar as præfect of Syria. *Στάτιον Μούρκον οἶδε (the troops of Bassus) μετὰ τριῶν τελέων ἐκπεμφθεῖται σφίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐγκαταθῆς ἐμπέμποντο.* Appian, B. C. iii. 77.

338. Cocceius Bassus is besieged in Apamea by C. Antistius, the imperial general. They fight a battle without any decisive result, and then both sides collect further forces. Dion, xlvii. 27. The partisans of Cæsar rally round Antistius. Dion, xlvii. 27. And Antipater, the father of Herod, sends auxiliaries with his sons. This was late in the year B.C. 45. It was certainly before the arrival in Syria, in the following year, of the intelligence of Cæsar's death on the Ides of March, B.C. 44, and before the presence of L. Statius Mureus as governor of Syria; for οἱς (the generals of Cæsar) καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἀνηρημένον (Julius Sextus Cæsar) καὶ διὰ τὸν περικύοντα Καῖσαρον (i. e. C. Julius Cæsar) φίλους ὄντας ἀμφοτέρων ὁ Ἀντιστρίωνος διὰ τῶν παῶν ἐπεμψε συμμαχίαν. Μηνουμένην δὲ τοῦ πολέμου Μάρκος μὲν (lege Μούρκος) ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας Σέξτονι παραγίνεται διὰ τοῦχος. Jos. Bell. i. 10, 10; Ant. xiv. 11, 1.

339. Alelandrius, or Alchedamns, an Arabian chieftain, brings aid to Cocceius Bassus. *Τῶν δὲ συμμαχομένων τῷ Βάσσῳ ἦν καὶ Ἀλχαιδαρμας, ὁ τῶν Παρθιανῶν βασιλεὺς τῶν ἐν τῷ Εὐφράτῳ Νομάδων.* Strabo, xvi. 2. Dion, xlvii. 27; xxxv. 2. And subsequently Pacorus, at the head of a Parthian force, arrives. The latter event was just before winter; for the Parthians could not remain long with Bassus on that account. *Οἱ δὲ ἐν Πάρθοι ἦλθον μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ Βάσσῳ ἐπὶ κληροῦ, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα συγγενέοντο καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ ἐπράξαν τι ἀξιόλογον.* Dion, xlvii. 27. And with this agrees the date given by Cicero, who mentions that Antistius wrote a letter from Syria, dated December 31, B.C. 45,

in which he speaks of the eruption of the Parthians as a recent event *Dulcius hic est multumque mecum* . . . *ad quem a Vetere littera datus prid Kal Jan quum a se Caelius circumselevis, et jam tenebatur, venisse cum maximo copus Patrum Parthum in sibi esse eum ceptum, multis suis amissis in quod se accusat Volatium* Ep Alt xiv 9

339 a

Coins

Cupit Caesaris laureatum + L. Flaminius *vi*

Cæsar Imp vel Imper + M. Mellianus

Cæsar Dict Quint + M. Mettius

Cæsar Dic Quai + L. Plauv Prof Urb

Eckhel, vi 7

Inscriptions

Longinus Priore Calvo + Lavinio Pr P C + Cæcho Modella + Cons u victori + Exercitus victor + Hostibus fuisse + L. Porcio ob Prior opt admodum statum + Batetoni populi F C + Bellum Cæsaris et Potius ex magna parte confectum *Ez et Cu Magni Pompei Filus* *hui in agro Batetaniensi profugus* (In agro Batetiano hodie Madrigal)

(Crutet, 225, 2)

C Julius C F C V Cæsar in Dict

M Annulus M F Q N Lepidus Mag Id

Eodem anno

C Julius C F C N Cæsar u sine collegâ

Eodem anno

Q Fabius Q F Q N Maximus In mag (mortuus est In ejus locum factus est) C Camillus C F C N Rebilius

Q Julius Q F Q N Maximus Cos ex Hispania an MCXVIII (Varro, 700) in Idus Oct

Q Petrus M F Pro Cos ex Hispania an MCXVIII (Varro, 700) Idib Dec

Instit Capitol

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle

Passover, April 14

Pentecost, June 11.

Tabernacles October 9

BC 44. U.C. 710 Olymp. 182, 1

C J CÆSAR V In ejus loc fact est

P Cornelius Dolabella

M ANTONIUS, I

C J CÆSAR Dictator, I

340. Cæsar dictator v, with M. Æmilius Lepidus as master of the house Έξουσιώμενος τὸ πρυτανικὸν ἔταρον τὸν Αἰμίλιον προσλαβὼν, καὶ ὑπάγετε τὸ πρυτανικὸν ἀνιέρχεται τὸν Ἀντώνιον προσερχόμενοι Dion, xlii 49

341. There were sixteen plagues this year, and for many years subsequently Στρατηγὸι τε

ἐκκαίμενα ἦσαν αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἵτε πολλὰ ἐτη Dion xlii 49 (see BC 43, no 333, p 38, no 489)

342. The month Quintilis is called Julius in honour of C Julius Cæsar. *Quintilis Julius cognominatus est, C Co sare v et M Antonio coss, anno Juliano secundo* Consomius De Die Nat c 22 Appian, B C ii 106

343. It may have been about this time that Cæsar ordered a general survey of the Roman empire. The survey is said to have been completed—that of the east by Zenodorus, in 21 years 5 months, and 9 days, that of the north by Theodotus, in 29 years, 8 months, and 10 days, and that of the south by Polydorus, in 32 years, 1 month, and 10 days. *Itaque Julius Cæsar, benevolis rationibus intentis, divinis humanisque rebus singulorum instructus, cum consilatus sui fuses egeret, ex Senatus consulto censuit omnem orbem juxta Romani nominis adiacere per prudentissimos viros ex omni philosophiae munere decoratos* *Erigo a Julio Cæsare et M. Antonio coss orbis terrarum metiri cepit* *Id est, a consulari superscripto usque ad consulum Augusti in* (p 31) *et Cæsi, annis xxi mensibus v diebus 11, a Zenodoro natus Oriens densensus est, sicut infernis demonstratur* *A consulari item Julii Cæsaris et M. Antonii usque in consulatum Augusti 2* (p 21), *annis xxix mensibus vii diebus 11, a Theodoto Septentrionalis pars dimensu, ut eisdem ostenditur* *A consulari similiter Julii Cæsaris usque in consulatum Saturni et Cæsar, a Polydoro Meridiana pars dimensu est annis xxix mense i diebus 11, sicut depinta monstratur* *Ac sic omnis orbis terra, intra annos xxix a dimensionibus peragratu est et de omni ejus continentia perlatum est ad Senatum* *Æthicus Ister, Cosmograph ed Gronov p 26, cited Wieseler's Chronol Synop 81* The references to the consuls in which the different surveys were completed are involved in inextricable confusion (see BC 4, no 871)

344. Cæsar restores Carthage and Corinth in the hundred and second year from their destruction Καρχηδὼν καὶ Κορινθίαι τε καὶ ἀναγέσσαν αὐτὰς μετὰ ἐτη τῆς σκαφῆς ἑκατον καὶ δύο Appian, Punic 136 Dion, xlii 50 Pausan. ii 1, 3 Plut Cæs 37 Most of those sent to Corinth were freedmen Πολὺν τε χρόνον ἐρήμην μέινονσα ἡ Κορινθὸς ἀνιέρχεται πάλιν ὑπο Κυναρῶος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῇ εὐφροσύνῃ

πειλῶντος τοῖ ἀπειλευθεμικοῦ γένους πλεονεξοῦ. Strabo, viii. 6.

345. Caesar issues an edict allowing Hyrcanus to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem. Ἰάσιος Καίσαρ ὑπάτος τὸ πέμπτον, ἔγραψε ταύτους (the Jews) ἔχειν καὶ τεύχειαι τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τῶν πόλει, etc. Jos. Ant. xiv. 10, 5. Also another edict of alliance with the Jews. Ἰάσιος Καίσαρ Αὐτοκράτωρ Δικτάτωρ τὸ τέταρτον (viz. the fourth annual dictatorship, exclusive of that in B.C. 40, which was *pro tempore*), ὑπάτος τε τὸ πέμπτον, Δικτάτωρ ἀποδείκνυμένος διὰ βίου, etc. Ant. xiv. 10, 7.

346. Caesar proposes to drain the Pontine marshes and cut through the Isthmus of Corinth. Dion, xlv. 5.

347. Preparations are made for the Parthian war, the conduct of which is devolved to Caesar, and it is expected that it would last for at least three years, and it is therefore proposed to appoint pretors and questors for the next three years by anticipation. Διανοοῦντο μὲν καὶ ἐς τρία ἔτη αὐτοῦς (ἀρχοντας) προκαταστήσαι· τοιοῦτον γὰρ χρόνον πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν χρῆζαι ἐδόκουν. . . καὶ ἐς μὲν τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος ταμίαι τεσσαρίκοντα προχειρίσθησαν, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον. . . στρατηγοὶ δὲ ἀπεδείχθησαν μὲν ἑκαίδεκα. . . Ἐς δὲ τὸ δεύτερον, οἱ τε ὕπατοι καὶ οἱ ἐφημερχοὶ μόνον. Τοσοῦτον ἐξέησε καὶ ἐς τὸ τρίτον τινὰ ἀποστείχεσθαι. Dion, xlviii. 51.

348. Caesar resigns the consulship in favour of Dolabella. Ὑπατὸν τε ἀντὶ ἐαυτοῦ τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ἀντιετίστης. Dion, xlviii. 51.

349. Caesar is deified as a hero and as the Julian Jupiter, and the people swear by his name. Dion, xlv. 6.

350. Caesar is assassinated on the Ides of March (March 15). Dion, xlv. 19. Appian, B.C. ii. 117, 149. Plut. Cæs. 66, 63; Brut. 17, 14, 35; Cie. 42. Suet. Jul. 81, 82. Val. Max. viii. 11, 2. Vell. Pat. ii. 56. Cassiodor. In the fifty-sixth year of his age. Θνήσκει δὲ Καίσαρ τὰ μὲν πάντα γεγονώς ἔτη πενήκοντα καὶ ἕξ. Plut. Cæs. 69. Ἐτος ἄγων ἔκταν ἐπὶ πενήκοντα. Appian, B.C. ii. 149. *Periit sexto et quinquagesimo aetatis anno.* Suet. Jul. 83. He had held the supreme power, according to Cassiodorus, for four years and six months. *Imperavit autem (C. J. Caesar) annis quatuor mensibus sex,* Cassiod. sub Coss. L. Lentulo et M. Marcello. Cassiodorus, therefore, apparently dates the supremacy of Caesar from

his dictatorship in B.C. 49 (see that year, no. 219).

351. A comet is seen for seven nights after the death of Caesar, rising about 5 P.M. "Ο, τε μέγας κομήτης, ἐφάνη γύρ ἐπὶ τῷ-ταῖ ἑπτὰ μετὰ τὴν Καίσαρος σφαγὴν διαπριπῆς, εἰρ' ἠφανίσθη. Plut. Cæs. 69. *Stella viridis per septem dies continuos fulsit, exarsitens circa viderendum horam.* Suet. Jul. 83; and see Plin. N. H. ii. 23. Dion. xlv. 7.

352. On April 11 of this consulship, Antony and Dolabella, the consuls, move the senate that the edicts of Caesar in favour of the Jews be confirmed, which is carried, and the resolution is ordered to be enrolled in the *Quæstorium*. Τῇ πρὸς τριῶν εἰδὼν Ἀπριλλίων ἐν τῇ ῥαφί τῆς Ὀμονοίας γραφομένη, παρήσαν Δούκιος Καλπούριος, etc. Πόπλιος Δολαβέλλας, Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος ὑπάτοι λόγους ἐπαύσαντο. Περί ὧν λόγματι συγκαλλήτον Ἰάσιος Καίσαρ ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων ἔγραψε, καὶ ἐς τὸ Ταμίῳν οὐκ ἐβόασαν ἀνενεχθῆναι, περὶ τούτων ἀρέσκει ἡμῖν γινέσθαι, etc. ἀνενεγκεῖν τε ταῦτα εἰς ἔλτους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν ταμίας ὥτως φροντίσασαι καὶ αὐτὰ ἐν ἔλτους ἀποθεῖναι διττύχει. Ἐγένετο πρὸ εἰδῶν Φεβρουαρίων ἐν τῇ ῥαφί τῆς Ὀμονοίας. The latter words, *Ἐγένετο, etc.*, refer unambiguously to the date of the decree of the senate, which had been made on February 11, in the lifetime of Caesar, but had not been enrolled up to the time of his death. Jos. Ant. xiv. 10, 10.

353. Lepidus is chosen Pontifex Maximus in the place of Caesar. Τοιαῦτα καὶ τοῦτοι τεχνίζονται (Lepidum) οἱ μισθοπαῖ, φιλοτιμίην εἰδότες, ἐπώνον, καὶ ᾗονοντο ἐπὶ τὴν Καίσαρος Ἱερουσίην. Appian, B.C. ii. 132 (see B.C. 63, no. 89). Lepidus was succeeded by Augustus (see B.C. 12, no. 775).

354. Octavius, at the death of Caesar, was at Apollonia for his education, and had been there for six months preceding. Ἐκτον δ' ἔχοντι μῆνα ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ ἀγγέλλεται περὶ ἑκτίαν ὃ Καίσαρ ἀνηρημένος. Appian, B.C. iii. 9. Suet. Aug. 8. Dion, xlv. 3. His private tutor at Apollonia was Apollodorus of Pergamus. *Præcipue tamen in se converterunt studia Apollodorus Pergamensis, qui præceptor Apolloniæ Cæsaris Augusti fuit,* etc. Quintil. Instit. iii. 1. He was now eighteen years of age. Τὴν τε ἡλικίαν τὴν ἄρι ἐκ παιδῶν ἄγων (ὠκυσεκέτης γύρ ἦν). Dion, xlv. 4. *Octavianus aulæscens annos x. et vii. natus.* Eutrop. vii. 1. He would complete his nineteenth

year on September 28, B.C. 44 (see B.C. 63, no. 88).

355. He crosses to Brundisium and proceeds towards Rome. Dion, xlv. 8. He arrives at Naples on April 18. *Octavius Neapolim venit* *Kul* (Man). *Cic. Ep. Att. xiv. 10.* And is at Rome before May 18, for Cicero at that date alludes to his proceedings there. *Quinto decimo Kalend. (Jun.) a Suessano proficiscens.* *De Octavii concione idem sentio quod tu, ludovinusque ejus apparatus* (see Suet. Aug. 10), *et Mutus ac Postumus mihi procuratores non placet.* *Ep. Att. xv. 2.*

356. Caesar, just before his assassination, had appointed Brutus to the province of Macedonia, and Cassius to that of Syria, for the following year, B.C. 43, and until that time they would naturally, as they were now praetors, remain at Rome, but the populace would not suffer their presence, and they are obliged to leave the city, and the senate, to give them a pretext of absence, confides to them the corn supplies in Campania. *Κάσσιος δὲ καὶ Βρούτος ἐστρατήγουν μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἤρηντο δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ στρατηγίᾳ καὶ οἷδε ὑπὸ Γαίου Καίσαρος ἡγήσθαι Συρίας μὲν ὁ Κάσσιος, Μακεδονίας δὲ ὁ Βρούτος.* Οὗτε δὲ ἄρχειν πῶ τῶν ἐθνῶν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου δυνάμενοι, οὗτε τὸν ἐν αἰσὶ φόβον ὑπομένοντες, ἐξήσαν ἐπὶ στρατηγούντες, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκ ἐμπέκειαν ἡ βουλὴ σιτοὺς φορεῖσθαι προσέταξεν. Appian, B.C. iv. 57.

357. Brutus and Cassius leave Rome before the Ludi Apollinarios (July 6). *Ἰά τε Ἀπολλωνία οὐδὲπω (Cassius) διεώρτακεν.* Dion, xlvii. 20. And it would seem that they were in Campania as early as May, for they write apparently from Campania to Antony, then at Rome, before June 1. *Scribitur nobis magnam veteriniorum multitudinem convensisse jam, et ad Kal. Junias futuam multo majorem.* Letter of Brutus and Cass. *Cic. Ep. Fam. xi. 2.* They remained some time in Campania, watching the course of events. *Αὐτὸς δὲ (Cassius) οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπέπλευσε, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἡμπαλίᾳ μετὰ τοῦ Βρούτου χρονίσας ἐπετήρει τὰ γινόμενα.* Dion, xlvii. 20. And they write from Campania as late as August 4, for then letter is dated *Pruche Nonas Sext.* *Cic. Ep. Fam. xi. 3.*

358. They pass over to Greece, and are received with honours at Athens. Dion, xlvii. 20. Plut. Ant. 28, Brut. 24.

359. On the departure of Brutus and Cassius

from Rome for Campania, Macedonia is decreed for the year B.C. 43 to M. Antony, one of the consuls, and Syria is decreed for the year B.C. 43 to Dolabella, the other consul. *Οἰχυμένων δὲ αὐτῶν, Συρία μὲν καὶ Μακεδονία ἐς τοὺς ὑπάτους Ἀντωνίων τε καὶ Δολοβέλλαν μετεψηφίσθη.* Appian, B.C. iv. 57.

360. M. Antony procures the province of Macedonia, which had been decided to himself, to be assigned to his brother, C. Antonius, and Cisalpine Gaul, which had been assigned to Decimus Brutus, to be decreed to himself with the Macedonian forces. *Τὴν μὲν Μακεδονίαν τὴν τῇ Μάρκῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἰληρόν δεδομένην ὁ ἀδελφός αὐτοῦ Γάιος σφετερίσασθαι τῇ δὲ Γαλιταίᾳ τὴν ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν, ἢ ὁ Βρούτος ὁ Δεκίμος προσετέτατο αὐτὸς ἐκείνῳ (M. Antony) μετὰ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἐς τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν προπεμφθέντων ἀνταβθεῖν.* Ταῦτά τε οὖν ἐψηφίσθη. Dion, xlv. 9.

361. Antony and Octavius prepare for war against each other, and Antony, on October 9, proceeds to Brundisium to conciliate the four legions lately arrived from Macedonia. *Ad vii. Idus Octob. Brundisium (Antonius) erat profectus obviam legionibus Macedoniae quatuor.* *Cic. Ep. Fam. xii. 23.* Dion, xlv. 12. And Octavius levies forces in Campania. Dion, xlv. 12.

362. Towards the close of the year, and before the expiration of his consulship, Dolabella, the colleague of Antony in the consulship and his partner, proceeds to Syria to take possession of his province. *Ἦδη γὰρ ὅ, τε ἐνιωτοὶ ἐξήκει καὶ ὑπατὺς οὐδεὶς παρῆι (at Rome).* Ὁ γὰρ Δολοβέλλιος ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου προσεπέμπετο. Dion, xlv. 15. Appian, B.C. iii. 24.

Dolabella wends his way slowly through Macedonia and Thrace to Asia. *Οὗτος (Dolabella) γὰρ ἐτέτατο μὲν τῆς Συρίας αρχεῖν, καὶ τὴν ἔξωθεν ὑπατεύων ἐπισκοπεῖν, χρόνιος δὲ διὰ τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ τῆς Θράκης ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν τὸ ἔθνος κομίσθεις καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐνδιέτριψεν.* Dion, xlvii. 29.

363. Dolabella sends A. Alhenus to Egypt to bring up the legions left with Cleopatra by Caesar, and to meet him in Syria. Appian, B.C. iii. 78 (see B.C. 47, no. 294).

364. Antony returns from Brundisium to Rome, but at the end of November leaves Rome in haste, and passes to Cisalpine Gaul. *Exiit (Antony) ut culesset senatus frequens*

a. d. viii. Kal. Decemb. (Nov. 24). *Eo die ipse non celsit. . . In ante diem ix. Kal. Dec* (Nov. 28) *distulit. . . Cum de republicâ relaturus fuisset, ulato nuntio de legione quartâ, mente conceidit, effugere festinans, etc.* Cic. Phil. iii. 8 and 9. Appian, B. C. iii. 49. Dion, xiv. 13.

365. L. Statius Murcius, who, at the beginning of this year or at the close of the year before, had gone out to Syria as successor to J. Sextus Cæsar (see B.C. 46, no. 326; B.C. 41, no. 434), and had carried with him three legions from Rome, finding himself unable to cope with Cæcilius Bassus, calls in the aid of Q. Crispus Marcius, the prefect of Bithynia (see B.C. 48, no. 396). Ὁ Μούρκος ἐπεκαλεῖτο Μάρκιον Κρίστον, ἡγούμενον Βιθυνίας, καὶ ἄφικετο αὐτῷ βοηθῶν ὁ Κρίσπος τέλειεν ἄλλοις τρισίν. Appian, B. C. iii. 77. In Dion, xlvii. 27, the name of the prefect of Bithynia is Μάρκος Κρίσπος, and in Vell. Patere. (ii. 69) Crispus Marcius, and in the letter of Cassius to Cicero (Ep. Fam. xii. 11) Q. Crispus, and in the letter of D. Brutus (Cic. Ep. Brut. ii. 5) it is Marcius. The real name was Q. Crispus Marcius.

366. The united forces of Murcius and Marcius shut up Cæcilius Bassus in Apamea, and the siege continued until the arrival of Cassius at the beginning of the following year, B.C. 43. Ἀφαιεῖται Κάσσιος καὶ λύσας τὴν πολιορκίαν, etc. Jos. Ant. xiv. 11, 2; Bell. i. 11, 1. Dion, xlvii. 27. Strabo, xvi. 2. The Marcus mentioned by Josephus as successor of J. Sextus Cæsar in the province of Syria (Μάρκος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας Σέξτου παραγίνεσθαι διὰ τοῦτος. Bell. i. 10, 10; Ant. xiv. 11, 1) was not Q. Crispus Marcius, who came from Bithynia and not from Rome, but L. Statius Murcius, who had been sent out by Cæsar, ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐκπεμφθέντα. Appian, B. C. iv. 56. The historian wrote Μούρκος, and the transcriber substituted the more familiar name of Μάρκος (see B.C. 45, no. 348).

367. Death of Servilius Isauricus (his cons.), at a great age, ὑπεργήρας. Dion, xlv. 16.

367 a. Coins of C. J. Cæsar.

Cæsar Dic. Quar. + Cvs. Quing.
Cæsar Dict. Perpetuo + L. Buca.
Cæsar + L. Æmilius Buca iii. vir.
Cæsar Imp. P. M. + L. Æmilius Buca.
Cæsar Dict. Perpetuo, vel Dict. in perpetuum
+ C. Maridianus.

Cæsar Parens Patriæ + C. Cossutius Maridianus.
A. A. A. F. F.

Cæsar Imp. vel Imper. vel Dict. Perpetuo + P. Sepsillus Macer.

Clementia Cæsaris + P. Sepsillus Macer.

Coins after death of Cæsar in his honour.

C. Cæsar Dict. Perp. Pont. Mar. + C. Cæsar Cvs. Pont. Aug. (viz. Augur).

Cæsar Dic. + M. Anton. Imp. vel M. Anton. Imp.
R. P. C.

Caput Cæsaris + L. Lucineius Regulus.

Cæsar Imp. + P. Clodius M. F.

Caput Cæsaris + T. Sempronius Gracchus Q. Desig. S. C.

Cæsar Dic. Per. vel C. Cæsar Dict. Perpet. ex
S. C. Eckhel, vi. 8.

Coins of M. J. Brutus.

Brutus + Alata.

M. Brutus Imp. Costa Leg. + L. Brutus Prim.
Cvs.

Libertas + Bruttus.

Eagle holding laurel + Κοσμή.

Brut. Imp. L. Plaut. Cvs. + Eid. Mar.

Libertas + P. R. Restitu. vel Rest.

Q. Cæpio Brutus Imp. + Procos.
Eckhel, vi. 20.

Coins of C. Cassius.

C. Cassi Imp. + M. Serrillus Leg.

C. Cassi Imp. Libertas + Lentulus Spint.

M. Aquinus Leg. Liber + C. Cassi Imp.

Eckhel, vi. 24.

Inscriptions.

Sex. Julius Sec. L. Melofius Of. ad xlii. K. Ser.
Nob. P. Dol. Cvs. Memor Q. fuit Dcorum et
Fili et Libertæ sue. Monimes vale.
Mumtori, i. 203.

C. Julius C. F. C. N. (Cæsar iii. Dict.)

M. Aemilius (M. F. Q. N. Lepidus Mag. Eq.) ut
gum (M. Aemilius) patetatus (arisset iniret)
Cl. Domitius M. F. M. N. Calpurnius in inue-
quentem annum designatus erat, non inuit.

C. Julius C. F. C. N. Cæsar vi. (P. Cornelius
P. F. Dolabella. M. Antonius M. F. M. N.)

C. Julius C. F. C. N. Cæsar vi. Dict. iii. Opans
ex Monte Albano. An. dccix. (Varro, 710)
vii. Kal. Feb. Fasti Capitol.

The Sabbatic year.

Passover, April 3.

Pentecost, May 24.

Tabernacles, September 28.

B.C. 43 U.C. 711 Olymp. 182, 2

C VIPIUS PANSA (Quo in mag. occiso eum excepit C Octavius Cæsar, et hoc abdic. sufficitur est C Cæsaribus)

A HIRTIUS (Quo in mag. occiso eum excepit Q Pedius quo in mag. mortuo eum excepit P Ventidius)

N B.—C OCTAVI CÆSAR was consul in August of this year (see infra, no. 378)

368. The senate oppose the ambitious views of M. Antony, and he is ordered to quit Cisalpine Gaul and proceed to Macedonia, the province which had been originally assigned to him Dion, xlvii 29 (see B.C. 44, no. 359)

369. M. Antony persists in retaining Gaul, and besieges Decimus Brutus, the brother of M. Brutus, in Mutina. This was during the winter, B.C. 44–43. Ἰὴ τοῦ χειμῶνος προφάσει Dion, xlvii 35

370. Octavius is ordered by the senate to march with Hirtius and Pansa, the consuls, against Antony, and they defeat Antony in two battles at Mutina, but Hirtius and Pansa are slain Dion, xlvii 37, 38. The first battle was fought on April 15. *XVII Kalend. Maii Antonius legiones eduxit duas, etc.* Cic. Ep. Fam. x. 30 and see Ovid, Fasti, iv. 625. The second battle was fought before April 29, for on that day a letter from D. Brutus to Cicero refers to the final defeat of M. Antony. *Pulcro Antonio, etc.* *III Kalend. Maii Ex castris Regni Lp. Iam xi. 9.* The campaign of Octavius was concluded in three months.

Jussusque (Octavius) comparato exercitu pro praetore praesse, et cum Iulio et Pansâ qui consulatum acceperant D. Bruto opem ferre, demandatum bellum tertio mense confuit duobus praelis. Suet. Aug. 10. Octavius, for these battles, is saluted *Imperator*, being his first acquisition of this title Dion, xlvii 38. Cicero, Epist. ad Brut. i. 15, Philipp. xiv. 14 (see B.C. 31, no. 609 a)

371. Antony effects a junction with Lepidus at the head of a considerable force in Gaul on May 29. *Lepidus se cum Antonio conjunxit a d. iv Kal. Jun.* Cic. Ep. Fam. x. 23

372. The senate, jealous of the rising power of Octavius, decree the command of the seas to Sextus Pompey, and the province of Macedonia (deceived before to Antony) to M. Brutus, and of Syria (deceived before to Dolabella, the partisan of Antony) to Cassius, with the conduct of the war against Dolabella. Ἐφ' ἧς γὰρ

Πομπήν τῇ Σεσάρῳ τὸ ἰαυτιδόν, καὶ τῇ Βρούτῳ τῇ Μάρκῳ τὴν Μακεδονίαν, τῇ τε Κασσίῳ τῇ τε Συρίαν, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ἐχειρίσαν Dion, xlvii 40

373. Octavius prevails in the struggle against the senate, and is declared consul both by the senate and the people. Liv. Epit. 119. Appian, B.C. in 91. Dion, xlvii 43–46. This was in the month of August. Ἰππιτος ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πρώτῳ ἀποδείκνυτο Dion, lv. 6. *Quia hoc (mense, viz. August) sibi et primus consulatus et insignes victoria obligissent.* Suet. Aug. 81. And, according to Dion, on August 19. Καὶ ο μὲν οὕτω τῇ ἐν ἐκκαίδεκάτῃ τοῦ Ἀγροῦστου, ἐν ᾧ ποτε τὸ πρώτον ἠπάγετο, μετέλλαξε Dion, lvi 30. But, according to Velleius Paterculus, it was on Sept. 22, the day before Octavius's birthday. *Consulatumque inquit Cæsar pridie quam vixisset annos impleret, et Kal. Octob., cum collegâ Q. Pedio post urbem conditam decem.* Vell. Pat. ii. 65

374. A comet is seen in this consulship. Plin. N. H. ii. 23

375. Octavius marches against Antony and Lepidus, Dion, xlvii 50, who were advancing from Gaul to Italy. Dion, xlvii 51

376. Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, agree upon the Triumvirate for five years, Octavius taking Libya, Sardinia, and Sicily, Lepidus Spain and Gallia Narbonensis, and Antony the rest of Gaul, including Gallia Togata. *C. Cæsar pacem cum Antonio et Lepido fecit, ita ut Tresviri Republica constituentur per quinque annos essent, ipse et Lepidus et Antonius, et ut singulosque inannos proci haberent.* Liv. Epit. 120. Dion, xlvii 55. Appian, B.C. iv. 2–12. Plut. Cic. 46, Antony 19, 20. The five years commenced on Nov. 27 of this year, and were to end on Dec. 31, B.C. 38. *Emilius M. Antonius Imp. Cæsar in vo. i. p. c. et a d. v. K. Dec. ad p. i. K. Jan. sec. Iulius Colotianus.* cited Eckhel, vi. 70 (see B.C. 37, no. 513)

377. Death of Cicero by the orders of the Triumvirate at the instance of Antony. Dion, xlvii 11, on Dec. 7. *VII Idus Decembris occisus est, quo anno Divus Augustus in locum Pansæ et Iulii se et Q. Pedium consules suffecti.* Auctor Dialogi de Orator. 17. *Occisus est annorum lxxi (or lxxii).* His cons., Cassiodor

378. Octavius resigns the consulship. Ἦς γὰρ (ἠπαγεῖται) οὕτως ἐπεθύμησεν ὥστε καὶ το-λεμήσαι διὰ ταύτης, ταύτης ἐξὼν ἐξέστη Dion, xlvii 15

379. Early in the year Brutus and Cassius quit Athens, the former for Macedonia, and the latter for Syria. Dion, xlvii. 21.

380. Brutus visits Carystus in Eubœa, Plut. Brut. 24; and Demetrius in Thessaly, Plut. Brut. 25; and thence proceeds to Epidamnus. Thence to Asia, where he conciliates Dejotarus. *Καίτις οὖν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ὑστερον ἐπλεῖσεν.* Dion, xlvii. 24; and then returns to Europe, and afterwards passes again into Asia. *καὶ εὐθὺς ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπείσθει, etc., καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐκεί κραυνομένοις ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν αὐθις ἀνεκρίσθη.* Dion, xlvii. 25.

381. Cassius having got the stat of Dolabella, who was progressing slowly to the east (see B.C. 41, no. 302), joins Trebonius, his adherent, in Asia. Dion, xlvii. 26. And wins over Tarcondimtus, king of the highlands of Cilicia (see B.C. 50, no. 239; B.C. 31, no. 600); and compels the Tarsians, at just their will, to join him. Dion, xlvii. 26.

382. From Cilicia, Cassius proceeds to Syria. *Ταῦτ' οὖν ὁ Κάσσιος πράξας ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἦλθε.* Dion, xlvii. 26. And wins over to himself the six legions of L. Statius Mureus and Crispus Marcus, and the one legion of Cæcilius Bassus. Appian, B.C. iii. 78. Dion, xlvii. 28. Vell. Patere. ii. 69. Mureus and Marcus are willing to serve under Cassius, and Marcus takes the command of the fleet; but Bassus refuses to act with Cassius. Dion, xlvii. 28. Cic. Ep. Fam. xii. 11, 12.

383. Cassius enters Judæa, and meets A. Allienus, who was bringing up the legions from Egypt in aid of Dolabella (see B.C. 44, no. 363); and as Cassius had the superior force, Allienus and his legions are obliged to join his standard. *Παριλαβὼν οὖν τὴν Συρίαν, ἐς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὤρμησε, etc.* Dion, xlvii. 28. *Ἐς αὐτὸν (Allienus) ὁ Κάσσιος ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ τῶν ὄντων οὐ προσεπνευσμένων, ἡρώς περικλαβίτε, etc.* Appian, B.C. iv. 59. All this was before March 7 of this year, for, on that day, Cassius was at Taricheæ, from which he wrote to Cicero: *In Egyptum me profectum esse scito ad L. Murcum et Q. Crispum Imperatores. Viri (Mureus and Crispus) . . . exercitus mihi tradiderunt, ipsique mecum viis fortissimo animo rempublicam administrant. Item legionem quam Q. Cæcilius Bassus habuit, ad me venisse scito. quatuorque legiones quas A. Allienus ex Egypto aduxit tradidit ab eo mihi esse scito. . . . Datis Nonis Martiis ex castris Taricheis.* Ep. Fam.

xii. 11. Cassius also confirms the account that Bassus himself would not join him. *Bassus misere noluit mihi legionem tradere. Quod nisi milites, invito eo, legatos ad me misissent, eandem Apameam tenuisset, quoad vi esset expugnata.* Ep. Fam. xii. 12.

384. Cassius, while in Judæa, imposes on it a tribute of 700 talents, the collection of which is distributed by Antipater amongst his sons and friends, and Malachus, an influential commoner. Jos. Ant. xiv. 11, 2; Bell. i. 11, 2. These 700 talents are perhaps alluded to in Cassius's letter of May 7. *Habui paululum moræ, dum promissa militibus persolvero. Nunc jam sum expeditus.* Ep. Fam. xii. 12.

385. Herod is the first to raise his quota—100 talents from Galilee—and thus gains the favour of Cassius, and is made captain of Cæle-Syria. *Σπαρτηγὼν αὐτὸν τῆς Κοίλης Συρίας.* Jos. Ant. xiv. 11, 4. *Συρίας ἡγάγεε ἐπιμελητήν.* Bell. i. 11, 4. Four cities which were backward in their contribution, viz. Lydda, Thamna, Gophne, and Emmaus, are sold into slavery. Ant. xiv. 11, 2; Bell. i. 11, 2.

386. Malachus does not raise his share, and would have been put to death, but Antipater generously saves him, though a political antagonist, by advancing 100 talents on his account. Ant. xiv. 11, 3; Bell. i. 11, 3.

387. Dolabella is at Ephesus in the month of January, and issues an edict in favour of the Jews on the first of the month Lenæon. *Ἐν Πρωτανίῳς Ἀρτίμωνος, Ἀθηναίων πρῶτη, Δολοβέλλαος Ἀντοκράτωρ, Ἐφεσίων βουλῇ καὶ ἀρχαῖσι καὶ δήμῳ, χαίρειν, etc.* Ant. xiv. 10, 12.

388. The month Lenæon was an Ephesian month, and began about January 24. The calendar of Proconsular Asia was, according to Ideler (i. 414), as follows:—

Cæsarius	24 September
Tiberius	24 October
Apururius	24 November
Possidæon	25 December
Lenæon	24 January
Hierosebustus	22 February
Artemisius	24 March
Euangelus	24 April
Stratoniceus	24 May
Hecatonabæus	24 June
Antens	25 July
Laodikius	25 August

389. Dolabella, following in the steps of Cassius in Asia, puts Trebonius, the adherent of Cassius, to death by treachery, and possesses

himself of all Asia. This was before May 7 for Cassius, in his letter of that date to Cicero, alludes to the event *Quod si litterae perlatae non sunt, non dubito quin Dolabella, qui, neforae Trebonio occiso, Asiaticam occupavit, tabellarios meos deprehenderit, litterasque interceperit*. Ep Fam xii 12. And it was when intelligence of the defeat of Antony by Octavius at Mutina, on April 15, had not reached Rome. Οὐδέπω γὰρ ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐτε τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐσειληλκε, οὐτε τὰ ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ διὰ χειρὸς ἐπικρούητο. Dion, xlvii 29. See Vell Pat ii 69.

390. While Cassius is in Judaea, and therefore about April, Dolabella enters Cilicia, and is joined by the Tarsians. Οὗ δ' οὐν Δολοβέλλας ἐς τὴν ἡλικίαν ἦλθε, τοῦ Κασσίου ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ αὐτός. Dion, xlvii 30.

391. Cassius hears of the invasion of Dolabella before May 7 for he writes *Tideris scriptis, audio Dolabellam in Ciliciam venisse cum suis copis. Proficiscar in Ciliciam. Nonis Maii ex castris*. Cic Ep Fam xii 12.

392. Malachus causes Antipater, his benefactor, to be poisoned. This was after Cassius had quitted Judaea and returned to Syria. Ἐπει δὲ Κάσσιος ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀπῆγε, ἐκ Ant xiv 11, 3. Ἀναχωρήσας τοῦ Κασσίου Bell i 11, 3.

393. Herod, hearing of the murder of Antipater, his father, marches to Jerusalem, but not wishing to kindle a civil war, dissembles his revenge against Malachus for the present. This visit to Jerusalem was at the time of a feast. Ἐνατίσθη τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἑορτῆς. Ant xiv 11, 5. Ἐπειτα καὶ ἑορτὴν ὑπεσπερεφεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. Bell i 11, 6. It was probably the feast of Pentecost (May 13), for Cassius had not returned to Syria, but was at Tanchae so late as March 7, and there was not time for the intervening events between that and March 23, the day of the Passover nor could it have been the Feast of Tabernacles, on September 27, for it was just after the capture of Laodicea, which was much earlier (see *infra*, no 397).

394. Dolabella enters Syria, and, being rejected from Antioch, retires to Laodicea. This was some time in May, for on May 29 Lentulus had heard of it at Perga. *Dolabella enim in Syria est. Exclusus enim ab Antiochia Dolabella, et in oppugnando male acceptus, nullā alia confusus vibe, Laodiceam, quae est in Syria ad mare, se contulit*.

Dum Kalend Jun Perge. Cic Ep Fam xii 14, and see xii 15.

395. Cassius blockades Dolabella in Laodicea by land and sea. Dion, xlvii 30. Appian, B C iv 60. During the siege Cassius crosses over to Cyprus and is there on June 13. *Nam jam tenuis tetrachachmis triduum apud Dolobellam est. Nisi quid navibus Laodiceorum suppositus sit, cito fame pereat necesse est.*

Data Idibus Jun Cyprio a Ciommyu-acride. Cic Ep Fam xii 18.

396. Tilius Cimber, proconsul of Bithynia (see B C 14, no 365), hastens to join Cassius in Syria, when the Tarsians occupy the Cibeiran gates to stop his progress, but retire without fighting. Cimber leaves a detachment to keep Tarsus in check, and enters Syria. The Tarsians overpower the detachment and march against Adana, which favoured Cassius, and Lucius Rufus is sent by Cassius against them. This was before the death of Dolabella. Ἐπεὶ ὁ Δολοβέλλας ἐβῆ. Dion, xlvii 31. Lucius Rufus compels the Tarsians to capitulate. Dion, xlvii 31. And they are mulcted in 1,500 talents, and multitudes are sold into slavery to raise the fine. Appian, B C iv 61.

397. The siege of Laodicea is so closely pressed that Dolabella, despairing of escape, kills himself, and Laodicea is taken. This event probably occurred soon after midsummer. Dion, xlvii 30. Appian, B C iv 62.

398. On this triumph of Cassius, Herod hastens to Cassius to offer his congratulations, and then, with the leave of Cassius, puts Malachus to death by an ambush at Tyre. Ὡς δὲ Λαοδικεῖαν ἵερπτότος Κασσίου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπῆσαν κοινῇ, στεφάνου τε αὐτῷ καὶ χρήματα κορίζοντες, Ἐρώδης μὲν, etc. Jos Ant xiv 11, 6, Bell i 11, 7.

399. On the fall of Laodicea, Cassius had intended to march against Egypt. Μετὰ δὲ Λαοδικεῖαν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ὤρμα. Appian, B C iv 63. Plut Brut 28. But is recalled by a message from Brutus, that Octavius and Antony were transporting them forces into Macedonia. Ὁ Βρούτος ἐκάλεε κατὰ σπουδὴν, ὥς ἦδη Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀντωνίου τὸν Ἰόλιον περὶ ὧντων. Appian, B C iv 63. Plut Brut 28.

400. Cassius leaves his nephew with one cohort, *μετ' ἐνὸς τελευσε*, Appian, B C iv 63, in Syria, and proceeds to Tarsus, Appian, B C iv 64, and thence to Smyrna to have an interview with Brutus. Κάσσιος δὲ ἐπειδὴ τότε ἐν τῇ

Συρία καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Κιλικίᾳ κατεστήσαντο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν πρὸς τὸν Βρούτῳ ἀφίκετο. Dion, xlvii. 32. Περὶ Συρίαν ἄλλοις ἐνεβύχσαν. Plut. Brut. 28.

401. On the departure of Cassius from Syria, Elix, a partisan of Malchus, rises in arms against Phasaelus, the son of Antipater and brother of Herod, but is overpowered by him. Κασσίου δὲ ἀναχωρήσαςτος ἐκ τῆς Συρίας. πάλιν στάσις ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμοις γίνεται, etc. Jos. Bell. i. 12, 1; Ant. xiv. 11, 7. Herod was at this time with Fabius, the governor of Damascus, and very ill; but on his recovery he marches to Judea and takes Masada, which had been seized by a brother of Malchus. Ἡρώδης δὲ ἔφυγε μὲν ὡν παρὰ Φαβίου τῷ στρατηγῷ κατὰ Δαμασκόν, etc. Bell. i. 12, 1; Ant. xiv. 11, 7.

401 a. Coins of M. Antony.

M. Anton. Imp. vel M. Anton. Imp. R. P. C. + Caesar Div.

M. Antonius iii. vir R. P. C. (with the addition in some of Aug.) + C. Caesar iii. vir R. P. C. M. Anton. Imp. vel M. Anton. Cos. Imp. + M. Lepid. Imp. vel M. Lepid. Cos. Imp.

Head of Antony + P. Scipilius Mover.

M. Antonius iii. vir R. P. C. + L. Mureddi Longi vel P. Clodii vel I'ibii Vari.

M. Antonii. Imp. - iii. vir R. P. C.

Head of Antony + M. Antonius iii. vir R. P. C. Figure of Victory + Lugduni A. XL.

III. vir R. P. C. + Antonii. Imp. A. XL.

Eckhel, vi. 30.

Inscriptions.

L. Minatius L. F. L. N. Plancius Pro Cos. ex Gallia un. decx. (Varro, 711) K. Jan.

M. Aemilius M. F. Q. N. Lepidus ii. iii. vir R. P. C. Pro Cos. ex Hispania Prætor K. Jan. Fasti Capitol.

First year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 23.

Pentecost, May 13.

Tabernacles, Sept. 17.

B.C. 42. U.C. 712. Olymp. 184, 3.

M. AEMIL. LEPIDVS. II. VICE A. POSTVMI ALBII
Bruti, qui antiquam iniret damn. est.

L. MENATVS PLANCVS.

402. On new-year's day the triumvirs and people swear to observe all the ordinances of Julius Caesar. "Εν τε γὰρ τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοὶ τε ὅμοιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὅρκω-

σαι βέβαια ἱομῶν πάντα τὰ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ (Cesar) γενόμενα. Dion, xlvii. 18.

403. Ptolemy Mennai, who had married Alexandra, the daughter of Aristobulus and sister of Antigonus (see n.c. 49, no. 255; n.c. 40, no. 439), and Marion, whom Cassius had left tyrant of Tyre, and who was an ally of Ptolemy Mennai, endeavour to procure the restoration of Antigonus to the kingdom of Judea. Ἀντίγονος δὲ τὸν Ἀριστοβούλου, στρατηγὸν ἀφροίσαντα . . . κατὰγει Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Μενναῖος διὰ τὸ κῆδεσθαι, συνεμάχει δὲ αὐτῷ Μαρῖον, ὃν Τύρῳ καταλαβόντι Κίπσιος τύραννον. Jos. Ant. xiv. 12, 1; Bell. i. 12, 2.

404. Antigonus also, by a large bribe, induces Fabius, the governor of Damascus, to countenance the movement. Ὁ δὲ Μαρῖον . . . συνέλαχεν Ἀντιγόνῳ . . . τὸ πλῆρον διὰ Φαβίου, ὃν Ἀντιγόνος χρήμασι προσποιησάμενος βοηθὸν εἶχε τῆς καθόδου. Jos. Bell. i. 12, 2; Ant. xiv. 12, 1.

405. Marion invades Galilee and possesses himself of three forts; but Herod retakes them and defeats Marion at the borders of Judea, and drives him and Antigonus out of the country. Jos. Ant. xiv. 12, 1; Bell. i. 12, 3. Josephus relates this after the departure of Cassius from Syria. Ant. xiv. 11, 7; Bell. i. 12, 1 (see n.c. 43, no. 100). And before the battle of Philippi. Ant. xiv. 12, 2; Bell. i. 12, 4 (see post, no. 114). It was probably, therefore, in the first half of this year, as, at the close of the preceding year, Herod was occupied against the brother of Malchus at Masada (see n.c. 43, no. 401).

406. Herod enters Jerusalem in triumph, and is betrothed, but not at this time married, to Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander, son of Aristobulus. Ἐγγεμίμεροντο δὲ ἦδη καὶ ὀμολογίαν τῷ Ἰρκαῖο γενέει . . . μέλλον ἀγεσθαι τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου θυγατέρα, Ἰρκαῖο δὲ θυγατρίην. Jos. Ant. xiv. 12, 1; Bell. i. 12, 3. The marriage had not yet taken place in n.c. 40. Παραινούσης δὲ τῆς Ἰρκαῖο θυγατρὸς, ἥς ἐνεγγήνητο τὴν θυγατέρα. Ant. xiv. 13, 6. Ἦν ἐμελλεν ἀγεσθαι πρὸς γάμον Ἀλεξάνδρου θυγατέρα τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλου παιδός. Ant. xiv. 13, 7. The marriage was celebrated, in fact, in n.c. 37. Ant. xiv. 16, 1; Bell. i. 17, 9 (see n.c. 37, no. 518).

407. Brutus and Cassius, in pursuance of arrangements made at Smyrna (see n.c. 43, no. 400), proceed, the former to Lycia and the

latter to Rhodes Plut Brut 28 Appian, B C iv 65 Dion, xlvii 32.

408. Cassius by his admiral L. Silius Murens, defeats the Rhodians Dion, xlvii 33 Plut Brut 30 Vell Pat ii 69 Appian, B C iv 63

409. Cassius puts Antiobazanes II, king of Cappadocia, to death *καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὸν Ἀριοβιρζίνην συλλαβὴν ἀπατείει* Dion, xlvii 33 *Γαῖος δὲ ἱππας προὔστεμψεν* (Cassius) *εἰς Καππαδοκίαν, οἱ Ἀριοβιρζίνην τε ἀφ' ὧ κατελαύκει ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντα Κασσίου, εἰρ* Appian, B C iv 63 (see B C 65, no 57)

410. Brutus takes Xanthus, Patara, and Myia, and subdues all Lycia Dion, xlvii 31 Plut Brut 30 Vell Pat ii 69

411. Brutus and Cassius have another meeting in Asia and hasten to Macedonia *Ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν αὐτοὶς ἦλθον, καὶ ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐπερχόμενα* Dion xlvii 35

412. Meanwhile C. Norbanus and Decidius Saxas, partisans of the Triumvirate, cross from Italy to Greece, and take possession of Macedonia as far as Philippi Dion, xlvii 35 Appian, B C iv 87

413. Brutus and Cassius advance with their forces to Philippi, when Norbanus and Saxas decline battle and wait for Octavius and Antony, who were advancing from Italy Dion, xlvii 36 Appian B C iv 105

414. BATTLE OF PHILIPPI in the autumn *Ἰδεδούκεισαν τὸν χειμῶνα τραπὼντα* Appian, B C iv 122 *Ἀτέλλιος ἡμῖν αὐτῶν τὸν γε χειμῶνα περιμῖναι κενύων* Plut Brut 39 Dion, xlvii 43 Liv Epit 124 Plut Ant 22 Vell Pat ii 70 Val Max ix 9, 2 The battle was short of two years complete from the departure of Brutus and Cassius from Italy for Macedonia and Syria, to collect forces at the close of B C 44 *Δυσὶν οὐδὲ ὄνοιν ἐτοῦ στρατιαν τε συνέλεξαν* (Brutus and Cassius) *ὑπὲρ ἑκαστῶν σπλιτῶν τελεῖ, εἰρ* Appian, B C iv 133 Brutus and Cassius were certainly in Campania as late as August 1 B C 44, and probably two or three months longer (see B C 44, no 337). And the battle was before the birth of Tiberius (November 16), and was probably about the autumnal equinox. It is singular that the exact date of so important a battle should not have been preserved.

415. Amyntas, who had been the scribe or secretary and was now the general of Deiotarus, deserts from Brutus to Octavius and

Antony Dion, xlvii 48, xlix 32 (see B C 39, no 480)

416. Death of Brutus Dion, xlvii 49 Plut Brut 52, Anton 22

417. Antony proceeds to Asia, and Octavius to Italy *Μετὰ τοῦτο Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφωρμήθη* Dion, xlvii 2, ib 24 Jos Ant xiv 12, 2, Bell i 12, 1 Appian B C v 1

418. Antony is in Bithynia, where he gives a reception to various embassies. Amongst them was one from the Jews against Phasaelus and Herod, but Herod, by means of a bribe, secures the favour of Antony, and the Jews cannot obtain a hearing Jos Ant xiv 12, 2 Bell i 12, 1

419. Antony is at Ephesus, where he settles the affairs of the East *Ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γεόμενος, εἰρ* Appian B C v 4, and receives an embassy there from Pylaeus *ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς Ἐφέσον ἦκεν Ἀντώνιος ἐπεμψεν Ἰουδαίος οὐ Ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἡμέτερον πρεσβείαν πρὸς αὐτὸν* Jos Ant xiv 12, 2, when Antony orders all Jews who had been sold into slavery to be set free, Ant xiv 12, 3, and decrees the Syrians to restore to the Jews the lands which they had taken from them Ant xiv 12, 1

420. Lycia is made free (see A D 43, no 1656), and the Ithodians have their possessions extended Appian, B C v 7 (see A D 41 no 1633)

421. Laodicea in Syria, and Tarsus, for their sufferings in the cause of the victors, are made free cities with immunity from taxes, and the Tarsians sold into slavery are set at liberty *Λαοδικεαὶ δὲ καὶ Ταρσῖς ἐλευθερώθησαν καὶ ἀτελεῖτε φορῶν καὶ Γερσίων τοὺς τεπραμένους ἀπέλυνε τῆς δουλείας* Appian, B C v 7 (see B C 43 nos 396, 397). There are coins of Tarsus extant with the inscription of their freedom *Κοινοβουλίων Λλευθ Ταρσ*. The city appears to have been governed by a *κοινοβούλιον* or house of parliament, consisting of three orders, viz *Δῆμος, Φουλή, Γερουσία*. See Eckhel, iii 73

422. The Athenians have Aegina, Icos, Ceos, Sciothus, and Perusethus given to them Appian, B C v 7 (see B C 21, no 720).

423. Imposts are laid upon the countries in Asia, including Palestine *Ἐπιταρίων δὲ Φρυγίαν τε καὶ Μυσίαν καὶ Παλῆστίναν τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ Κατπαδόκων τε καὶ Κιλικίας καὶ Συρίας τῇ Κολίῃν καὶ Παλαιστίνῃ, καὶ τῇ Γουρσίαν, καὶ*

ἡσά ἅλλα γὰρ Σιμων. ἄπειν ἰσχυρὰ ἐπι-
βάλλε βασιλεὺς. Appian, B. C. v. 7 (see B.C. 63,
no. 81).

424. The tyrannies which Cassius had established in Syria (τυραννίαι γὰρ διατεταγμένων τὴν Συρίαν οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος) ἐφρόντισεν, Jos. Ant. xiv. 12, 1) are put down by Antony. Εν δὲ Συρίᾳ τοὺς κατὰ πόλεις ἐξήρει τυραννοὺς. Appian, B. C. v. 7.

425. Ariarathes and Sisenna contend before Antony for the kingdom of Cappadocia, and Antony favours Sisenna. Καὶ εἰς τὰ πόλεις καὶ βασιλεῖσιν ἐν μὲν Καππαδοκίᾳ Ἀριαράθης τε καὶ Σισίνης, ὃν τῷ Σισίνῃ συνέπραξεν εἰς βασιλείαν, καὶ ἡ, οἱ φανεῖσθε τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ Σισίνης Πλαφόρου. Appian, B. C. v. 7. Ariarathes was the brother of Ariobarzanes II. *Postero autem die (Ariobarzanes II.) cum Ariarathae fratre suo, et cum paternis amicis, majoribus natu, ad me in castra venit.* Cic. Ep. Fam. xv. 2. A., according to Strabo, the family of Ariobarzanes I. sat on the throne for three generations, εἰς τριγώνιον δὲ προελθόντος τοῦ γένους ἐξέλειπε, Strabo, xii. 3; and as Ariarathes was the brother, Sisenna must have been the son of Ariobarzanes II., and the grandson of Ariobarzanes I. It would appear that, subsequently, war was carried on between Sisenna and Ariarathes: Καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ Σισίνον (Νεοσσῆς) ὑπήλθε χρηματιστοσύνην, τοῦ ἐπιθεμένου τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ ἀρχῇ. Τοῦτον δ' ἦν καὶ τὰ Κάδρια βασιλεὺς καὶ πόλεως κατασκευὴν ἔχων, Strabo, xii. 2; and that Ariarathes ultimately, by the death or expulsion of Sisenna, possessed himself of the kingdom; for we find Ariarathes still king in A.C. 36 (see B.C. 65, no. 57; B.C. 36, no. 551).

426. Birth of Tiberius on November 16. *Notus est Romæ in Palatio xvi. Kal. Decemb. M. Æmilio Lepido, L. Munatio Planco Coss. post bellum Philippense. . . Nec tamen deinde qui partem antecedente anno Hirtii et Pansa, partem insequente Servilii Isaurici Antoniiurque consulatione gentium eum scribunt.* Suet. Tib. 5. Τῇ δὲ γὰρ Τυβερίῳ τῆς βουλῆς ἐγκρίμενος, καὶ τὸν γόνιν μήτρα τὸν Νοέμβριον, ἐν ᾧ τῇ ἑκτῇ ἐπὶ ἑκαταετησίῳ Τυβέρτιον καλεῖσθαι ἀζώσεως, etc. Dion, lvii. 18.

426 a. Inscription.
P. Valinius P. F. Pro Cos. de Illurico pridie, . .
Fasti Capitol.

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle,

Passover, April 11.

Pentecost, June 1.

Tabernacles, October 6.

B.C. 41. U.C. 713. Olymp. 194, 2.

L. ANTONIUS.

P. SERVILIUS ISAVRICUS, ὁ.

427. Triumph of Luc. Antonius, the brother of M. Antony, on new year's day. Ἡχθῆ δὲ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέρᾳ. Dion, xlviii. 4. *L. Antonius cos. ex Alpbibus.* Fasti Capitol.

428. Octavius is repulsed from Nursia and Sentinum, and returns to Rome. Sentinum is taken, and Nursia capitulates. Dion, xlviii. 13.

429. A famine in Italy from the blockade of Sextus Pompey. Dion, xlviii. 7.

430. Antony is in Greece, and bestows favours on Athens. Plut. Ant. 23. He leaves Censorinus to command in Greece, and crosses to Asia and makes a triumphal entry into Ephesus. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀντώνιος Κηρσοφόνιον ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καταλειπὼν εἰς Ἀσίαν ἐβῆ, etc. εἰς γούνην Ἐφέσον εἰσέρωντες αὐτοῦ, etc. Plut. Ant. 24.

431. Antony passes into Cilicia, and Cleopatra, whom he had summoned from Egypt, sails up the Cydnus and meets him at Tarsus, when he is captivated by her. Ἀπτόμενος τοῦ Παρθικού πολέμου, ἔπεμψε (Antony) πρὸς αὐτὴν κελύων εἰς Κιλικίαν ἀπαγγέλλαι, etc. Plut. Anton. 25. Καὶ ἐν Κιλικίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθούσης Κλεοπάτρας, etc. Appian, B. C. v. 8. Jos. Ant. xiv. 13, 1. Antony at this time was forty years of age. Ἐτὴν τεσσαράκοντα γεγονώς. Appian, B. C. v. 8 (but see B.C. 30, no. 636).

432. Antony, to gratify Cleopatra, drags her sister to death from the temple of Diana at Ephesus. Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ Ἀρτεμισίῳ. Dion, xlviii. 24. Jos. Ant. xv. 4, 1. But, according to Appian, it occurred at Miletus. Ἰστέον εὖσαν ἐν Μιλήτῳ τῆς Λευκοφρόνης Ἀρτέμιδος. Appian, B. C. v. 9. But Appian himself speaks of Arsinoe as a suppliant of Diana at Ephesus. Καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερός, ὃν Μεγάβουζον ἠγοῦνται, ὑπαικούμενον ποιεῖν τὴν Ἀρσινόην ὡς βασίλειαν, ἀχθῆναι μετ' ἐκεῖναι σεν (Antony). Appian, B. C. v. 9.

433. Antony proceeds to Antioch, and at Daphne one hundred chief men of the Jews again accuse Phasachus and Herod when Hyrcan-

nus is present, and Antony puts fifteen of the ringleaders in bonds, and appoints Phisaelus and Herod tetrarchs of Judea. Ταύτους μὲν ἀμφότερους (Phisaelus and Herod) Τετραρχαί καθίστησι, καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέπει πράγματα. Jos Ant xiv 13, 1. Τετράρχαι ἀποδείκνυσαι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς, πᾶσαν δοιοῦν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἐπιτρέπων. Bell i 12, 5.

434 Antony appoints Plancus procurator of Asia (see coins of this year), and Saxas in Syria (see no c 44, no 865, v c 40 no 441), and joins Cleopatra in Egypt. Dion, xlviii 24. On his way thither he passes through Tyre, when one thousand envoys of the Jews again accuse Phisaelus and Herod, and are driven away by force. Jos Ant xiv 13, 2, Bell i 12, 6.

435. Attalus, king of Paphlagonia (see no c 65, no 55), and Dejotarus, king of Galatia and Pontus (see v c 65, no 58), die, and parts of their dominions are given to Castor. Ταῦτα τε οὖν αὐτῶς ἐν τῇ ἐτει ἐκείνῃ (v c 40) ἐπράχθη. ἔν τε τῇ πρὸ τούτου ἐτει (and, therefore, v c 41).

Κάστωρι τε τὴν ἡγε τοῦ Ἀττάλου καὶ τοῦ Διοτάρου ἀρχὴ ἐν τῇ Γαλατικῇ τελευτησάντων ἰδοθῆ. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐι τοῖς δύο ἐτεσιν ἐγένετο. Dion, xlviii 33. But Noris conjectures with reason, that Dion here, as on some other occasions, mistakes the father for the son, and that the dominions of Attalus and Dejotarus I were now given to Dejotarus Philadelphus, who was the son of Castor, who was the grandson, by a daughter, of Dejotarus I. Noris Cenot Pis vol i p 292. Dejotarus Philadelphus, as king of Paphlagonia, was amongst the allies of Antony at the battle of Actium (see v c 31, no 600), but deserted from him to Octavius. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ βασιλέων ἀποστάσεις, Ἀμύντα καὶ Διοτάρου, πρὸς Καίσαρα, Plut Anton 68, and was confirmed by Octavius in the kingdom of Paphlagonia. But he never, apparently, possessed Pontus, which, in no c 39, was given by Antony to Darius (see no c 39, no 480), not Galatia, which was given by Antony to Amyntas, who is said by Strabo to have been the immediate successor of Dejotarus I (see no c 36, no 551). Dejotarus Philadelphus was the last king of Paphlagonia. Ὑστάτοι δὲ τῆς Παφλαγονίας ἦν Διοτάρης, Κάστωρος υἱός, ὁ προσαγορευθεὶς Φιλάδελφος, το Μορξίως βασιλεῖον ἔχων τῇ Γάγγρᾳ, πολισμύτιον ἔμει καὶ φρούριον. Strabo, xii 3. (Suabo wrote this about A.D. 20.) And

on the death of Dejotarus Philadelphus it was annexed to the Province of Bithynia.

435 a Ptolemy I, according to the coins, was this year made priest of Ollin. See Eckhel, iii 64. Ptolemy I took the name of M. Antony, and styles himself on his coins M. Automus Ptolemy (see v c 39, no 480).

435 b Coins of M. Antony

M. Ant. Imp. Aug. in vir. R. P. C. M. Nerva. Ptoq. P. ca. M. Barbat. Q. P. + L. Antonius Cos.

Ant. Aug. Imp. in vir. R. P. C. + Ptoles (see L. Antonius, see Dion, xlviii, 5) Cos.

M. Ant. Imp. Aug. in vir. R. P. C. M. Barbat. Q. P. + Cosas. Imp. Post. Cos. in vir. R. P. C. Eckhel, vi 42.

M. Anton. Imp. Aug. in vir. + L. Plancus Pro. Cos. (see ante, no 434).

Eckhel vi 43, but who refers the coin to no c 40.

Coins of Ptolemy

Μορξ. Αντωνίου Πτολεμαῖος Ἀρχιερεὺς + Δεῦ. τῆς ἱερῆς Κελευστικῆς καὶ Λα. πειν (see ante, no 435 a). Eckhel, vi 62.

Inscription

L. Antonius M. F. M. N. Cos. ex Alpbis. Fa-ti Capitol.

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle

Pasover, March 31

Pentecost, May 21

Tabernacles, September 25

no c 40 v c 714 Olymp. 185, 1

Cn. Domitius Calpurnius, n. Qui abd. et eum except. L. Cornel. Balbus.

C. Lucius Ptolemy. Qui abd. et eum except. P. Candidus Cnecus.

436 Perusia into which Lucius Antonius, the brother of M. Antony, had thrown himself, is taken, and all Italy submits to Octavius (his cos.) Dion, xlviii 15. The capture of Perusia was very early in the year, for the besieged were already in great straits the last day of the preceding year. Νομῆμαί διέβου. ἐς τὴν ἐπισύσαν ἡμέραν οὐσπε. ὁ Δεῦκος. ἐξέβου. κατὸς ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις τῶν Ἀρριαν, B.C. v 34.

437 Fulvia, the wife of M. Antony, as Octavius was now predominant in Italy, flies from Rome to join her husband in the East. Dion, xlviii 15. Arrian, B.C. v 50.

438 Octavius commits the war against Antony to Agrippa, and proceeds to Gaul,

which he tranquillises. Dion, xlviii. 20. Appian, B. C. v. 51.

439. Ptolemy Menæai, king of Chalcis, dies, and is succeeded by Lysanias his son. *Μετιά δὲ ἔτη δύο* (after the hearing of the Jewish envoys by Antony at Tyre, see B.C. 41, no. 434) *Λυσανίας διαδεγμένος ἤντην ἀρχὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευταίῳ τῷ (Πτολεμαίῳ δ' ἦν οὗτος ὁ Μενναίου) πείθει τὸν σατράπην (Barzaphernes) . . . καταγαγεῖν ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ τὸν Ἀρτίγονον, καταλύσαι δὲ τὸν Ὑρκανόν.* Jos. Bell. i. 13, 1. *Δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει* (the next year after the hearing of the Jewish envoys by Antony at Tyre) *Συρίαν (Ἡάρθω) κατέσχον.* . . . *Τελευτᾷ δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ ὁ Μενναίου, καὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ οὗτο ὁ παῖς Λυσανίας παραλαμβάνει,* etc. Ant. xiv. 13, 3 (see B.C. 63, no. 68; B.C. 36, no. 537).

440. Labienus, a partisan of Brutus and Cassius, and who had been sent into Parthia to obtain their cooperation, induces the Parthians this year to invade Syria with an army, under the command of Labienus and Pacorus (son of Orodes) and Barzaphernes. They take Apamea and Antioch, Saxas, the governor of Syria, escaping into Cilicia (his cons.). Dion, xlviii. 24. Jos. Ant. xiv. 13, 3; Bell. i. 13, 1. Florus, iv. 9. Vell. Pat. ii. 78.

441. Labienus, with part of the army, follows Saxas into Cilicia, and takes him prisoner, and puts him to death. Dion, xlviii. 25 (see B.C. 41, no. 434; *ἡβήη*, no. 458; B.C. 38, no. 506). He reduces Alabanda and Mylasa, and other cities on the continent, but not Stratonicea. *Τῆς Ἀσίας τὰς ὑπεριώτιδας πόλεις (ὁ γὰρ Πλάγκος φοβηθεὶς αὐτὴν ἐς τὰς ρήσους ἐπεναιώθη) παρατίσαστο πλὴν Στρατονικείας.* Dion, xlviii. 26.

442. Meanwhile Pacorus and Barzaphernes proceed southward, and are bribed by Antigonus and Lysanias to undertake the expulsion of Hyrcanus and the restoration of Antigonus to the kingdom of Judæa. Pacorus advances along the coast, and Barzaphernes through Galilee. Pacorus subdues Sidon and Ptolemais, and all the coast except Tyre. Jos. Ant. xiv. 13, 3; Bell. i. 13, 1. Dion, xlviii. 26.

443. Antony was in Egypt when the news of the Parthian invasion reached him, Plut. Ant. 30; and, while it is still spring, he marches to Tyre to meet the Parthians. *Ἦν δ' ἐκ μὲν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐς Τύρον ὤκειν.* Appian, B.C. v. 52. But, according to Dion, which is more probable, he sails to Tyre, *ἐπένευστο μὲν πρὸς τὴν*

Τύρον ὥς καὶ βοηθήσων σφίσιν, Dion, xlviii. 27; and finding the Parthians already in possession of Syria, *ἰδὼν δὲ ὅτι τὰ ἄλλα (except Tyre) προκατελημμένα ἔγκειν ἑαυτῷ αὐτοῖς, πρόσθεν τοῦ τοῦ Σέξτου πύλεμον ποιησάμενος,* Dion, xlviii. 27; and receiving letters from Fulvia imploring his presence in Italy, *Φουλβίας δὲ γράμμασιν αὐτὸν τῇ γυναικὶ καλούσης, Λιβύην, Parthica, he sails from Tyre by way of Cyprus and Rhodes to Asia, where he hears of the fall of Perusia.* *Ἐκ δὲ Τύρον διαπλέων ἐπὶ Κύπρῳ καὶ Ῥόδῳ καὶ Ἀσίᾳ ἤσθετο τῶν ἐν τῇ Περσίᾳ γενομένων.* Appian, B.C. v. 52. Plut. Ant. 30.

444. Antony sails to Athens, where he meets with Fulvia, *Φουλβίαν μὲν οὖν εὗραν ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐς Βρετεσσίου φουρούς,* Appian, B.C. v. 52; and makes an alliance with Sextus Pompey. Dion, xlviii. 27. Appian, B.C. v. 52.

445. Sextus Pompey, in pursuance of the compact with Antony, ravages the coast of Italy while Octavius is in Gaul, and when Agrippa is engaged in the celebration of the Ludi Apollinares. *Αὐτὸς δὲ (Octavius) ἐς Γαλατίας ἡγήρει μαθὼν οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Σέξτος ἐθήρησε τὸν Ἀγρίππαν περὶ τὰ Ἀπολλώνεια ἔχοντι, ἐσπριασγεί γάρ . . . καὶ τὴν ἱπποδρομίαν ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας ἐποίησε,* etc. Dion, xlviii. 20. The Ludi Apollinares commenced on July 6, and this, therefore, furnishes an important date.

446. Antony leaves Fulvia ill at Sicyon and sails to Corcyra, and thence to Brundisium. *Ἀντωνίος δὲ Φουλβίαν μὲν ἐν Σικωνίᾳ νοσηλευομένην ἀπέλειπε, ἀπὸ δὲ Κορκύρας ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον ἔπλει, σπράττῃ μὲν οὐ πολλῇ, ναυσὶ δὲ διακοσίαις, ὡς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πεποίητο.* Appian, B.C. v. 55. *Ὅδῃ Ἀντωνίος ἐς Παλοῖντα κατέπλευσεν . . . ἐντεύθει ἐπὶ Βρετεσσίου ἐπέπλεον.* Appian, B.C. 55, 56.

447. Antony, after the compact with Pompey, takes Siphos, and besieges Brundisium. *Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περαιωθεὶς, Σιφύοντα μὲν ἔσχε, θρανέσιον δὲ μὴ ἐθέλονται οἱ προσχωρήσαι ἐπολιόρκει.* Dion, xlviii. 27.

448. Octavius returns from Gaul, while Antony is at Athens. *Ὁ δὲ Κῆπερ ἐς Γόμην ἀπὸ Κελτῶν ἐπανέειτο ῥησθαι μὲν τῷ ἐς Ἀθήνας ἐκπέπλευκόντα.* Appian, B.C. v. 53. Dion, xlviii. 28. As Octavius was in Gaul during the Ludi Apollinares, July 6 (see *supra*), his return to Italy must have been still later in the year.

449. Octavius sends Servilius Rullus to Brundisium, and Agrippa to Siphos, and

Agrippa succeeds in retaking Siphus, but Rullus is defeated Dion, xlviii 28

450. A body of Jews, partisans of Antigonus, march against Jerusalem, but are defeated by Herod and Phasaelus, and are shut up in the Temple. This was about the time of the Pentecost (May 10) Ἀιμενον οἱ πολλοὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὄχλον εἰς τὴν κυλούμενην Πειτηροστήν ἐορτὴν δ' ἔστιν αὕτη μελλοῖται ἡξέαι Jos Ant xiv 13, 4 Ἐνστάσης δὲ ἐορτῆς ἡ Πειτηροστήν καλεῖται Bell i 13, 3

451. Ptolemy comes to Jerusalem and persuades Phasaelus and Hyrcanus, against the remonstrances of Herod, to go on an embassy to Barzabarnes, then in Galilee, when they are treacherously made prisoners thence Jos Ant xiv 13, 4, Bell i 13, 8

452. Herod flies to Masada, where he leaves his kindred, and sets out on his way to Malchus, King of Pella, to solicit aid Jos Ant xiv 3, 7, Bell i 13, 7 (see b c 47, no 286, b c 33, no 582) Masada has been lately identified by Robinson with a ruin called Sebbel, upon the top of a pyramidal cliff rising precipitately from the Dead Sea, on the south-western shore Bible Research vol i p 525, 2nd Ed

453. The Parthians make Antigonus king of Judaea. This was three years and three months before the Fast (ἡ νηστεία), on October 5, b c 37, and therefore about July, b c 40, for at the Fast b c 37, when Jerusalem was taken, Antigonus had reigned three years and three months Ἰρμι δὲ ἔτη καὶ πρεῖς μηνες ἡγεῖτο τοῦτον Σάσσατος τε καὶ Πρώτης ἐξεπολιόρκησαν Jos Ant xiv 10, 4

454. The Parthians deliver up Hyrcanus and Phasaelus to Antigonus, who cuts off the ears of Hyrcanus to prevent his being again high-priest Jos Ant xiv 13, 10, Bell i 13, 9 Dion xlviii 26 But Dion calls Antigonus by mistake Aristobolus. Hyrcanus at this time had reigned twenty-four years from his restoration by Pompey in b c 63 Ἦρξε δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἐννέα τοῖς πρώτοις, οὗ Ἰρμαῖος τεσσαυραταὶ εἰκοσι Jos Ant xv 10 Κατάγειται δ' αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Πωμαίων, καὶ πῖσας τὰς τιμὰς ἡπολαβὼν ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα διετέλειεν ἐν αὐτοῖς Ant xv 6, 4 Foi τεσσαράκοντα should be read τεσσαυρα καὶ εἴκοσι, as supra, in another part of the same work In assigning twenty-four years to Hyrcanus Josephus counts by Roman consular year from 1 January οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι γὰρ ἀπὸ 1 Νισαν, i e

b c 63 and b c 40 are reckoned as complete years

455. Phasaelus kills himself Jos Ant xiv 13, 10, Bell i 13, 9 And Hyrcanus is carried a prisoner to Parthia Bell i 13, 11

456. Herod being met on his way by envoys from Malchus prohibiting his approach, proceeds to Egypt, and here on his road at Rhinocolura of the death of his brother Phasaelus. He reached Rhinocolura the day after the repulse from Malchus καὶ τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἑσπέραν κατὰ τῷ ἐπιχωρίῳ ἱερῶν ἀβλίζετο 15β εἴη, οἱ Ἰρμολοῦραι προελθόντες τα περὶ τὴν ἀδελφοῦ τελευτὴν ἀπαγγέλλεται Jos Bell, i 14, 2, Ant xiv 14, 2 He passes on to Pelusium, and thence to Alexandria, where Cleopatra, desiring his assistance in military matters, tries to detain him Ant xiv 14, 2 Bell i 14, 2

457. Fulvia, the wife of Antony, dies at Sicron, and Antony and Octavius soon after come to terms, Antony taking all the provinces east of the Adriatic, except Dalmatia, and Octavius taking Spain, Gaul, Dalmatia, and Sardinia, and Lepidus taking Africa Κἰν τοῦτον Καίσαρ μὲν Σαρδῶν τε καὶ Δαλματίας, τὴν τε Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ τὴν Γαλιτίας, Ἀντώνιος δὲ τὰλλα πάντα ταῦ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰόνιον γάτος ἐν Ἑυρώπῃ καὶ τὴν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τοῦ Ῥωμαίου ὄντα ἀνέλαχε Τάτε γὰρ ἐν τῇ Διόδω ἐθὴν οὐ λειπόμενος, καὶ τὴν Σικελίαν ὁ Σεξσος εἶχε Dion, xlviii 28 Appian, B C v 65 Plut Anton 30 Appian states that Scodra in Illyria was the boundary between the dominions assigned to Octavius and those to Antony, from which it would appear that at this time the parts to the north of Scodra were included in Dalmatia, and Scodra itself, and the parts to the south of Scodra, in Illyria Appian, B C v 65 The above terms were arranged at Brundisium Dion, xlviii 30 In Irish Capitulum is the inscription

Imp Caesar Dni F C N in ur R P C
Oians quod pacem cum M Antonio fecit
M Antonius M F M N in ur R P C
Oians quod pacem cum Imp Cesare fecit
And this is followed by the inscription

M. Marcus L F L N Censorinus cos A
ex Macedonia K Jan And as the triumph of Censorinus was on January 1, b c 39, the preceding ovation for the peace between Antony and Octavius must have been in b c 40

458. The pacification of Octavius and Antony was brought about by the instrumentality of Ichnus Coccenus and Menidas Appian

B. C. v. 60. And Horace, on his journey from Rome to Brundisium, was to meet them and Fontein's Capito at Anxur.

*Hinc venturus erat Mœneus optinus atque
Cocceius, missi magnis de iobis utroque
Legati, aceros sulci componere amicos.
... Latroni Mœneus addidit ille
Cocceius, Capitoque simul Fonteinus, ad unguem
Factus homo, Antoni, non ut magis alter, amicus.*
Horat. Sat. I. 5, 25.

And this journey was in the autumn; for
... mali cultices rancique palustres
Aerent sonanos, v. 14.

After the conclusion of the pacification, Octavius and Antony entertain each other at Brundisium. Dion, xlviii. 30. They then give their attention to pressing matters; and, according to Appian, Antony now sends Ventidius to Asia against Labienus and the Parthians. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἐς τὰ ἐπείγοντα τοῦς φίλους ἐκότερος αὐτῶν περιέμπει, Οὐεντίδιον μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀντώνιος, cfr. App. B. C. v. 65. But according to Plutarch, Ventidius was not sent until after the league with Sextus Pompey in a.o. 39. Ἀντώνιος δὲ μετὰ τῆς συνθήκης (with S. Pompey) Οὐεντίδιον εἰς Ἀσίαν προῦπεμψε. Plut. Ant. 33. And so the author of the Parthica. Καὶ φίλος γινόμενος Καίσαρι, καὶ Πομπηίῳ, τῷ Σελεύκῳ ἀρχόντι, προῦπεμψε εἰς Ἀσίαν Οὐεντίδιον. Appian. Parthica. And, according to Dion, Ventidius was sent from Greece after Antony had arrived there in b.c. 39. Ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπανελθὼν ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐνεχρόνισσε. . . . Αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν περὶ ταῦτα ἦν, τὸν δὲ δὴ Οὐεντίδιον τὸν Πόντικον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν προῦπεμψε. Dion, xlviii. 39.

459. Antony and Octavius proceed from Brundisium to Rome, and there celebrate the nuptials of Octavia, the sister of Octavius, with Antony. Dion, xlviii. 31. Plut. Ant. 31.

460. Octavius and Antony are obliged to lay on some taxes, and the corn ships being prevented from arriving as usual by S. Pompey, who was master of the seas, a scarcity follows, and they become unpopular. Dion, xlviii. 31. Appian, B. C. v. 67.

461. The Ludi Circenses are celebrated, and the people, during the games (*ἐν ταῖς ὑποαγμίαις*), clamour for peace with S. Pompey. Dion, xlviii. 31. It does not appear whether these games were the Ludi Circenses proper or

the Ludi Circenses Plebei. If the former, they were from September 15 to 19, both inclusive. But if the Ludi Circenses Plebei be meant, as is most probable, they were from November 15 to 17, both inclusive.

462. Antony favours peace with S. Pompey, but Octavius resists it. Octavius is attacked in the forum by the populace, but is rescued by Antony. Dion, xlviii. 31. Appian, B. C. v. 68.

463. Herod sails from Egypt at a season when he would have to encounter the depth of winter. Μῆτε τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐπαύσαντι. Jos. Bell. i. 14, 2. Χειμῶνάς τι ὄντος. Ant. xiv. 14, 2. Φράζει δὲ πλείους ἐπὶ χειμῶνος. Ant. xiv. 14, 3. He makes for Pamphylia and touches at Rhodes, where he embellishes the city and fits out a trireme. Ant. xiv. 14, 3: Bell. i. 14, 3.

464. He sails to Brundisium, Jos. Ant. xiv. 14, 3; Bell. i. 14, 3; and passes on to Rome, where he gains the favour of Antony and Octavius, who are both there (see ante, no. 459).

465. The senate is convened, when Messala and Atratinus speak in favour of Herod, and Antony urges that, having regard to the Parthian war, Herod ought to be appointed king, and a decree is made declaring Herod king of Judæa. Jos. Ant. xiv. 14, 4; Bell. i. 14, 4.

466. Herod is conducted from the senate to the Capitol, where the decree is enrolled, Herod walking between Octavius and Antony, and the consuls and other magnates preceding them. Herod, on this the first day of his reign, is feasted by Antony. Λυθείσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς, μέσον ἔχοντες Ἡρώδην Ἀντώνιος καὶ Καῖσαρ ἐξέσσαν, προαγόντων ἑμα ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρχαῖς τῶν ὑπάτων, θύσαντες καὶ τὰ δόγματα καταθεσόμενοι εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον. Εἰσιτὰ δὲ τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ Ἡρώδην τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ἀντώνιος. Jos. Ant. xiv. 14, 5; Bell. i. 14, 4.

467. The causes that led to Herod's exaltation were partly the distress of Antony for money, of which Herod made large presents, Jos. Ant. xiv. 14, 4; and partly the pressure of the Parthian war, in which Herod would be a useful ally; and partly the goodwill that both Antony and Octavius entertained towards Herod himself. Ant. xiv. 14, 4; Bell. i. 14, 4.

468. This event occurred in the present consulship, and in the 184th Olympiad. Ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκικοστῆς καὶ ὀγδοικοστῆς καὶ τετάρτης Ὀλυμπιάδος, ὑπατεύοντος Σεργίου Καλλίου τοῦ

δεύτεροι καὶ Γαίου Ἀσείνου Πωλλωνος Jos Ant 11, 5 In strictness, the first six months only of the year belonged to the 184th Olympiad but Josephus, reckoning by consular or Jewish years, usually designates the whole year by the Olympiad in which the consulship or Jewish year commenced (see p c 69, no 10, where Josephus adopts a similar mode of computation)

439. As Herod had sailed from Egypt just before the winter, he could not have been declared king much before the close of the year, i.e. not before November at the earliest, and more probably in December

440. Herod remains at Rome only seven days, ἔπειτα τοὺς πέντε ἡμέρας, when he returns to Judaea Jos Ant 11, 5

471 The appointment of Herod as king by Antony, after the pacification between him and Octavius, is confirmed by Appian Ἰσθ' δε πη (Antonius) καὶ βασιλεὺς οὐδ' ἐκμιμῶσαι ἐπὶ φόροις αὐτὴν τεταγμένοι, Πόντου μὲν Διοῦτοι τοὶ Φαριῆκους τοῦ Μηθρίδου, Ἰδουμίων δὲ καὶ Σαμαρειῶν Ἰερῶδη App B C v 75

472 A few days before the close of the year, Octavius and Antony change the consuls and praetors. Καὶ τοῦτω τοὺς τε στρατηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους, καὶ περ ἐπ' ἐξῆς ἡδὴ τοῦ ἔτους ὄντος, παύσαι τε, ἄλλους δὲ τιμαρτοῖσιν, βραχὺ φροντισάσας, εἰ καὶ ἐπ' ὀλίγους ἡμέρας ἄρξουσιν Dion, xlviii 32 These transactions were in the year p c 40 Γαῖον τε οὖν οὕτως ἐν τῇ ἰεὲς ἐκείνῃ ἐπράχθη (his cons.) Dion, xlviii 33

472 a Coin of M Antony

Aut Imp mtr R P D + Cn Antonius Imp
Eckhel, vi 43

Coin of Polemo

M ΝΥΜΦΙΟΝ + ΑΡΧΗΤΕΛΕΣ ΣΥΚΕΛΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΜΙ
ΑΛΑΝ E-B (i.e. in his second year, see
p c 41, no 435) Eckhel, iii 62

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle

Pasover, March 20

Pentecost, May 10

Tabernacles, September 14

B.C. 39. U C. 715 Olymp 185, 2

L. MARCIUS CENSORINUS
C. CALPURNIUS PISONIS

473. Octavius is captivated by Livia, and divorces his wife Scribonia, after the birth of her daughter Julia Τῷ δὲ ἐπιγαμιόμην, ἐπὶ τῇ Δούκῃ τε Μάρκῳ καὶ Γάϊῳ Σαρδίου ὑπάτευσαν ἡδὴ καὶ τῆς Λιβίας ἐρᾶν ἤρχετο καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Σκριβωνίαν τελευτᾶσαι οἱ θυγάτριον ἀπετέμναιτο ἀνθημερόν Dion xlviii 34 (see p c 38 no 491)

474. Under pretext of the Parthian war, which would require Antony's presence Octavius and Antony appoint consuls for the next eight years, and now, for the first time consuls at the original nomination are appointed, not for the whole year, but for fragments of years. The year, however, was always designated by the names of the consuls with whom the year commenced Dion, xlviii 35 (see p c 45, no 334) According to Appian, the consulships for the next four years only were now determined Ἀτέφρηάν δὲ τῆς ἐκιοῦσης ὑπαταν, ἐς τετραετίαν App B C v 78

475. The famine continues at Rome, from the blockade of Sextus Pompey, from whom Antony had now separated himself (see p c 40, no 444), and Antony and Octavius proceed to Brundisium to open negotiations for peace Ἐξέσσαι ἐς Βυῖας ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος App B C v 69

Sextus Pompey sails to Inaria Ὁ Πομπήιος ἐς τὴν Λιναρίας διεπλεῖ App B C v 71

476. Octavius, and Antony, and S Pompey have a conference at Misenum Ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ (Octavius and Antony) πρὸς Μισσηνὴν λόγους ἤλθον εἰσθήκεισαν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀπέλμῃ, ὁ δὲ (Pompey) ἐν χώματι τιμῇ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ (his cons.) Dion, xlviii 36 App B C v 71

477. They have a second meeting at the mole of Puteoli, when it is arranged that Pompey shall have Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and the Peloponnesus Σικελίας καὶ Σαρδόνος τῆς τε Ἰχαιᾶς ἐπὶ περὶ τῆς ἡρᾶς Dion, xlviii 36 App B C v 72

478. Octavius and Antony return to Rome by land (ὡδινον), and enter the city by night, to avoid public rejoicings App B C v 73

479. Antony proceeds from Italy to Greece, and Octavius to Gaul Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦτοις οἱ μὲν Καῖσαρ εἰς τὴν Κελτικήν, οἱ δὲ Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ τὸν

πόλεμον τὸν Παρθυσίων. App. B. C. v. 75. 'Ο Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐξ τῆν Ἑλλάδι ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπαυελθὼν, ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐνεχρόνισσε. Dion, xlviii. 39. It might be thought that this was more than nine months after the marriage of Antony to Octavia, inasmuch as a daughter had been born to him. 'Ο Ἀντώνιος . . . ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἐξ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ τὰ οἰκία, τὴν δ' Ὀκταβίαν ἄχρι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπέηγετο, θυγατρὶν γεγοῦτος αὐτοῦ. Plut. Ant. 33. Τὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ὀκταβίας οἱ γίννηθεῖσαν (Antonius) ἐνεγγύησε. Dion, xlviii. 51. But it appears that Octavia, when betrothed to Antony, was pregnant by Marcellus, her former husband, who had recently died. Καὶ τὴν Ὀκταβίαν τὴν τοῦ Κελσαίου ἀτελέφην, γυναικα τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ, ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ἐλευσθείη, καὶ κόυσαι προμηθευσάμενοι. Dion, xlviii. 31.

480. Antony, about this time, appoints Darius, son of Pharnaces, king of Pontus (see B.C. 47, no. 304; B.C. 36, no. 537; and Amyntas king of Bithulia (see B.C. 42, no. 115; B.C. 36, no. 551); and Polemo king of part of Cilicia (see B.C. 41, no. 435 a; B.C. 36, no. 545). 'Ἐπὶ οὗτοισι (the pacification with Sextus Pompey) . . . ἐξώρμη . . . δ' Ἀντώνιος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Παρθυσίων, καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης εἶναι κύρια ὅσα τε ἐπιτρέξῃ τε καὶ πράξειν . . . ἴσθη δὲ πη καὶ βασιλεὺς ὅς ἐδοκίμασεν, ἐπὶ φόροις αὐρὰ τεταγμένους, Πόντου μὲν Διάρειον, τὸν Φαρνάκους τοῦ Μιθριδάτου, Ἰωνυαίων δὲ καὶ Σαμωρείων Ἡρόδην, Ἀμόνταν δὲ Πισιδῶν, καὶ Πολέμωνα μέρος Κιλικίας, καὶ ἑτέροις ἐς ἔτερα ἔθνη. App. B. C. v. 75. The part of Cilicia given to Polemo appears to have been Cilicia Aspera, viz. from Cape Coracassium on the west to the river Lamas on the east, and his dominions extended a good way inland, for we learn from the coins of Polemo that he was high-priest and potentate of Olbe, Lalsasis, and Cennata (see Eckhel, iii. 62). Iconium, also, the metropolis of Lycouia, was included in his dominions and was, perhaps, his capital. Τοῦτο δὲ (Iconium) εἶχε Πολέμων. Strabo, xii. 6. These several appointments, though grouped together by Appian, were not all contemporaneous. That of Herod, for instance, was as we know from Josephus, at the close of the preceding year.

481. Ventidius (see B.C. 40, no. 458) drives Labienus before him as far as the Taurus. Καὶ δε (Ventidius) ἤλθε τε ἐπὶ τὸν Λαζιῆνον . . .

ἐκείθεν τε μετὰ ἐξ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ πορεύοντα, εὐθὺς ἐξέωσε, καὶ φεύγοντα ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἐπέκλωε . . . καὶ αὐτὸν πρὸς τῷ Τυόρῳ καταλαβὼν, ἐκ. See Dion, xlviii. 39.

482. Labienus is joined by the Parthian forces, when Ventidius defeats them, and Labienus escapes, but is taken some time afterwards and slain. Dion, xlviii. 40.

483. Ventidius reconquers Cilicia and then all Syria and Palestine. Μετὰ δὲ οὗ τοῦτο (the defeat of Labienus) ὁ Οὐεντιδῖος τὴν τε Κιλικίαν ἐκρίματο . . . καὶ οὕτως τὴν τε Συρίαν ἐκλεψεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν Πάρθων ἄμειξε, πλὴν τῶν Ἀραβίων, περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν Παλαιστίνην, Ἀντιγονοῦ τὸν βασιλευσῆα αὐτῆς ἐκφοβήσας, κατέσχευ ἀπάνως, καὶ ὁ μὲν χροῖματα πολλὰ μὲν παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὡς ἐκείνων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀιγινήτου τοῦ τε Ἀντύχου καὶ Μάλχου τοῦ Ναβυθαίου, ἐπὶ τῷ Πανόρῳ συνήραιο, εἰσέπραξε. Dion, xlviii. 41. These events were in this consulship, for ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ χρόνῳ τούτῳ (B.C. 39) ἐγένετο. 'Ἐπὶ δ' Ἀππίου τε Κλαυδίου καὶ Γαίου Νωρβαίου ἐπάτων (B.C. 38), etc. Dion, xlviii. 42, 43; and they were late in the year, for Antony first heard of the successes against the Parthians when he was at Athens for the winter of B.C. 39-38: Διαχειμάζοντι δ' αὐτῷ (Antony) περὶ Ἀθήνας ἐπαγγέλλεται τὰ πρώτα τῶν Οὐεντιδίου κατορθωμάτων, ἐπὶ μίχρ' τοὺς Πάριους καταήσας Λαβιόνον ἀπεκτόνον. Plut. Ant. 33. 'Ἐχειμάζον ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις. App. B. C. v. 76. It could not be the winter of B.C. 40-39, for Antony spent that winter in Italy, and did not leave for Greece till the spring or summer of B.C. 39.

484. Ventidius, while in Palestine, is bribed by Antigonus to leave him in possession of the throne, and Ventidius, leaving Selo as a blind in Palestine as if against Antigonus, returns to Syria: αὐτὸς μὲν (Ventidius) ἀνεχώρησεν πρὸς τὴν πλείονι εὐνοίᾳ, ὥστε μὴ κατάφορον γένηται τὸ τὸλμημα, Σίλωρα μετὰ μέρος τινας τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατέλειπε. Jos. Ant. xiv. 14, 6; Bell. i. 15, 2.

485. Herod arrives in Syria from Rome, and lands at Acre. After having collected a force, he wins over nearly all Galilee: καὶ πλὴν ολίγων πᾶσι Γαλιλαίᾳ προσέβητο, Jos. Bell. i. 15, 3; and marches against Antigonus. The voyage from Rome to Judea, being in winter, would be a tedious one, and the collection of an army on his arrival would also occupy a considerable time; and, accordingly, it was late in

the year when Herod took the field, and Ventidius had already retired from Judaea to Syria, having left Silo in Judaea. Οὐερτίδιος μὲν οὖν ἐβύχωνε τὰς τιμαρχίας τὰς διὰ Πάρθους ἐν αὐτῇ πόλει οὐσας καθιστάμενος, Σίλων δ' εἰ Ἰουδαίᾳ χρήμασι ἔπ' Ἀντιγόνου διφθάρμενος, etc. Jos Ant xiv 15 1, Bell i 15, 3

486. Herod takes Jotapa and raises the siege of Masada, and then marches with Silo against Jerusalem which he besieges. Jos Ant xiv 14 4, Bell i 15, 3. But he is counteracted by the teachers of Silo, who had been bribed by Antigonus, and is obliged to allow the Romans to go into winter quarters in Idimata, Samaria, and Galilee. Χειμῶν ἔσαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων στρατίαν διαφῆκεν (Herod) καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐν ἀβύθιοις διψῶν ἀντιμένον τῶν ὀπλῶν. Bell i 15, 6, i 16, 1, Ant xiv 15 3

487. Herod during the approach of winter, marches through the snow (ἐν νύκτῳ σφοδρότατον Jos Bell i 16, 2, νύκτος τοῦ θεοῦ. Ant xiv 15, 1) to Sepphons, which he takes and then sends three cohorts and a troop of horse against the bandits about Aishela to prevent their ravages, and forty days after follows with his whole army and disperses them, except those who hid in the caverns, and is now in possession of the whole of Galilee. Εἰς δὲ τεσσαράκοντ' ἡμέρας, etc. Ant xiv 15, 4. Μετὰ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας, etc. Bell i 16 2. He then disperses his own troops to their winter quarters. Λύει τὰ χειμῶντα δώτερθε. Ant xiv 15, 4. Διέπρηνεν εἰς οὐς ἐχέμαζον σταθμούς. Bell i 16, 3. During the winter Herod finds supplies also for the Roman troops, whom Antigonus had undertaken to support, but had broken his engagement after a month. Ἐλτοῦ τῳ Σίλων ἦκε παρ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἡγεμόνες τῶν ἐν τοῖς χειμῶσι, Ἀντιγόνου τροφὸς παρέχει οὐ θέλοιστος μῆνα γὰρ οὐ πλέον ὅ ἄνθρωποι αὐτῶν ὄρεσθε. Ant xiv 15, 4

488. Antony, at this time, is hugging at Athens. Ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον (the winter campaign of Herod) Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἔρχεται ἐν Ἀθήναις. Jos Ant xiv 15 5, Bell i 16, 4

488a Coin of M Antony

M Antonius M F M N Aug Imp Rex et Pontifex
R P D Cos Desig Rex et Pontifex
Eckhel, vi 44

M Ant Rex P C + P Ventidius Pontifex
Eckhel, vi 45 (but who refers the coin to B C 38)

N B M Antony probably assumed the title of Imp Iterum this year from the victories of Ventidius

Inscriptions

L Mavens L F C N Censorius cos ex Macedoniam An pccxviii (Vario, 715) K Im
C Asia in Cu R Palla Pro Cos ex Ponticum
An pccxviii (Vario, 715) K Notem
Fash Capitol

15th year of the Sabbath cycle

Passover, April 8

Pentecost, May 29

Tabernacles, October 3

B C 38. U C 716. Olymp. 185, 3

ΔΡ ΓΑΥΔΙΟΥ ΠΛΕΘΙΕΡ
C NORBANUS ILACUS

489. Sixty-seven praetors are in office at one time or other in the course of the year

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἅπ' αὐτοῦ τε Κλαυδίου καὶ Γαίου Νωρβάνου στρατηγῶν ἑπτά καὶ ἑξήκοντα ἄλλοι ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἀποδείχθητες ἤρξαντο. Dion, xlviii 43 (see B C 44 no 341 B C 23, no 703)

490. A law is passed at Rome against burying the dead within fifteen furlongs of the city. Μήτε τις κενσεῖ τῶν τεκνῶν ἐν τοῖς πεντεκαίδεκα ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως σταδίοις γιγνέσθαι. Dion, xlviii 43

491. Octavius (his cross) marries Livia. Dion, xlviii 43 and Livia, three months after, gives birth to Claudius Drusus Nero. Dion, xlviii 44 (see B C 39 no 173)

492. Octavius and Sextus Pompey are again at war, Dion, xlviii 45, and Octavius summons Antony and Lepidus to Rome to his assistance. Dion, xlviii 46

493. Antony, who had never left Greece, crosses to Brundisium, but is alarmed by an ill omen, and returns without having met Octavius. Εἰς γὰρ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὡς ἐβύχωνεν εἰς (Antony) Πρὸς δὲ ἡ συμμῆξι τῷ Κλισσῶνι ἐς τὴν Ἰλλυδίαν αἰετ' ἔλευσεν. Dion, xlviii 46

494. Octavius is at Rhegium, and his fleet suffers from a storm. Dion, xlviii 48

495. Octavius sends for Agrippa from Gaul to command the fleet and applies himself this year and the next to the construction of ships. Ἰδοὶ τε εἰσαυτὸν τούτων τε καὶ ὑστερον. Dion, xlviii 49

496. Ventidius, very early in the spring (καταρπεία ἐν τοῖς χειμῶσι, ἐπὶ ἐκαστῷ),

prepares to meet the Parthians, Dion, xlix. 19; and summons Silo and Herod to assist him. Κατὰ δὲ Συρίαν Ουεντιδίου Σίλωνα μεταπεμπόμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους ἐπέστειλε πρῶτα μὲν Ἡρώδῃ συλλαμβάνεσθαι τοὺς τοῦ πολέμου, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν σφέτερον καλεῖν τὴν συμμάχου. Jos. Ant. xiv. 15, 5; Bell. i. 16, 1.

497. Herod, at the time of Silo's departure to join Ventidius, was on his march against the banditti hid in the caverns of Galilee, who had escaped him the year before. 'Ο δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν σπηλαίοις Ἀρσάδας ἐπευγόμενος Σίλωνα μὲν ἔξερψεν Ουεντιδίῳ. Jos. Ant. xiv. 15, 5; Bell. i. 16, 4. He then leaves Ptolemy in command of Galilee, and marches himself to Samaria; but Ptolemy is slain, and Herod returns and avenges his death. Ant. xiv. 15, 6; Bell. i. 16, 5.

498. Ventidius defeats the Parthians in Cyrrhastica, when Pacorus, the son of Orodes, is slain. Dion, xlix. 20. The battle is said to have been fought on the same day with the defeat of Crassus. 'Εν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἔτους ἀμφότερα συνήχθη. Dion, xlix. 21. *L. Ventidius Bassus . . . Pacorum regis Orodis filium interfecit eo ipso die quo olim Orodes Persarum rex per ducem Surenem Crassum occiderat.* Eutrop. vii. 5. Oro. vi. 18. This would place the battle on June 9 (see B.C. 53, no. 184). But, after the defeat of the Parthians, Herod left his brother Joseph in command of Judæa, while he himself marched to join Antony, and after this it was still harvest. 'Ηει δὲ (Joseph) τὸν σίτον ἀρπάσων ἐν ἀκμῇ τοῦ θέρους. Jos. Bell. i. 17, 1. Βουλόμενος ἐκθερίσαι τὸν σίτον αὐτῶν. Jos. Ant. xiv. 15, 10 (see *infra*, no. 504). As the usual harvest month in Judæa is May, though the time varies in different parts according to the elevation, it seems very unlikely that, if the battle was fought on June 9, the harvest should be still in progress when Herod marched to join Antony. The victory of the Romans over the Parthians, when Pacorus was slain, was probably placed on the very day of the victory of the Parthians over the Romans for no other reason than to make the Roman retribution the more striking.

499. Ventidius, after the defeat of the Parthians, Πυκάρου πένοντος ἐν μάχῃ καὶ τῶν Πάρθων πραιδάντωι, Jos. Ant. xiv. 15, 7; Bell. i. 16, 6; sends Macheras with two legions to assist Herod. Ant. xiv. 15, 7; Bell. i. 16, 6.

500. Ventidius himself marches against An-

tiochus I. king of Commagene. Αὐτὸς δὲ (Ventidius) ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντιόχον . . . ἐπιστράτευσεν. Dion, xlix. 20 (see B.C. 65, no. 54). This Antiochus was succeeded by Mithridates I., who was amongst the allies of Antony at the battle of Actium (see B.C. 31, no. 600; B.C. 29, no. 653).

501. Antony comes to the camp of Ventidius and besieges Samosata, the capital of Commagene. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ (in Commagene) ἦλθεν αὐτῷ ὄντι (Ventidio) Ἀντώνιος ἐξείρτης ἐπιπτάς . . . προσέβαλε μὲν τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ κατακλείσας αὐτὸν εἰς Σαμόσατα ἐπολιοῖκε. Dion, xlix. 21, 22.

502. Ventidius, on being superseded by Antony, returns to Rome, and has a triumph on Nov. 27 of this year. *P. Ventidius pro cos. ex Taurino monte et Parthis an. dcccxxv (716, Varro) . . . v. K. Decem. Fasti Capitol.*

503. Macheras seeks an interview with Antigonus at Jerusalem for the purpose of betraying him, but is repulsed, and returns to Herod at Emmaus. Herod and Macheras quarrel, and Herod, leaving his brother Joseph in command, marches through Samaria by way of Antioch to join Antony, who at this time was besieging Samosata. Ἐρύγχατε (Antony) πολυρκῶν Σαμόσατα. Jos. Ant. xiv. 15, 8. Προσπολεροῦντα Σαμοσάτοις. Bell. i. 16, 7. App. Parth.

504. Joseph, the brother of Herod, after Herod's departure to join Antony, is slain by Antigonus at Jericho. This was during the time of harvest. 'Ηει δὲ τὸν σίτον ἀρπάσων ἐν ἀκμῇ τοῦ θέρους. Jos. Bell. i. 17, 1; Ant. xiv. 15, 10. And it was soon after Herod had left, for ὡς ἤκουσεν ὄντα παρήγοράτω τὸν ἀεελφόν. Bell. i. 17, 1. But Herod knew nothing of it till after the termination of the siege of Samosata. Τοῦτων δὲ οὐδέπω πέπυστο Ἡρώδης, μετὰ γὰρ Σαμοσάτων ἄλυσιν Ἀντώνιος μὲν καταστήσας ἐπὶ τῆς Συρίας Σόσιον, καὶ προστάξας Ἡρώδῃ βοηθεῖν ἐπ' Ἀντιγόνου αὐτὸς εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀνεχώρησε. Bell. i. 17, 2.

505. Antony, after Herod's arrival, quits Samosata upon a compromise. Dion, xlix. 22. App. Parthica. But Josephus, to magnify Herod, speaks of the surrender of Samosata through Herod's exertions. Ant. xiv. 15, 9; Bell. i. 16, 7.

506. Antony sets out for Italy, leaving Sosius in command of Syria and Cilicia (see B.C. 40, no. 458; B.C. 35, no. 555; B.C. 40, no.

441) Καὶ ο μὲν (Antony) ταῦτα πράξας ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφωρμήθη, Γάιος δὲ δὴ Σόσιος ἐτι ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐν Συρίας καὶ τῆς Κιλικίας παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβὼν, etc Dion xlv 22 According to Josephus, Antony left Samosata for Egypt. Αὐτὸς ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐχώρει Ant xiv 15, 9 Αὐτοὶ εἰς Αἰγύπτου ἀι ἐχώρησε Bell i 17, 2 And Appian says that he went to Athens, after having adjusted some small matters by the way in Syria. Καὶ μικρὰ τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ κατασθησάμενος εἰς Ἀθήνας ἔπειτα ἦλθε App Parthia Probably, therefore, Antony first visited Cleopatra in Egypt, and then went to Italy by way of Greece. He did not arrive in Italy till the following year (see B C 37, no 512).

507. Herod, on his return from Samosata, hears at Daphne of the death of his brother Joseph. Ὅστις δὲ ἰδὼν κατα τὴν πρὸς Ἀντιοχείαν Δαφίην, etc Jos Bell i 17, 3 Ἐν Δαφίῃ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐδήλωσαν αὐτῷ, etc Ant xiv 15, 11

508. Sosius sends two legions to assist Herod in Judaea, and follows himself with his whole army. Σόσιος μὲν δύο τάγματα ἐποιοῦσόντα Ἡρώδῃ προὔπεμφεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τοῦ πλείονος στρατοῦ ἠκολούθει. Jos Ant xiv 15, 9, Bell i 17, 3

509. Herod, with one of the two legions and 800 auxiliaries, marches to Acie. Ἐτευχθεὶς οὖν κατα τὴν ποιεῖται, ὡς κατα Λιββαίαι τὸ ὄρος γίνεσθαι, ὡς οὐκυόσιος μὲν τῶν αὐτοῦ προσλαμβάνων, ἔχων δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τάγματι εἰς Πτολεμαῖδα παραγίγεται Jos Ant xiv 15, 11, Bell i 17, 3 And thence, when the other legion had come up (ἐλθόντος δὲ αὐτῷ παρ' Ἀντωνίου καὶ δευτέρου τάγματος, Ant xiv 15, 11, Bell i 17, 3), through Galilee to Jericho, where he defeats the opposing army, and then, marching to Samaria, defeats Pappus, the general who had been sent thither by Antigonos Ant xiv 15, 11-13, Bell i 17, 3-8

510 Herod would now have advanced against Jerusalem, but is prevented by the winter which sets in with great severity. Γι μὴ χειμῶν ἐπισχε βαθεύς Jos Ant xiv 15 12 Εἰ μὴ χειμῶνι διεκωλύθη σφοδρότατ Bell i 17 6

510 a Inscription

P Ventidius P F Pro Cos ex Tauro monte et Parthis, an ποσων (Vatro, 716) v Καὶ Decem Fasti Capitol

sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle

Passover, March 28

Pentecost, May 18

Tabernacles, September 22

B.C. 37 U.C. 717 Olymp 185, 4.

M VIPSANIUS AGRIPPA

L CANINIUS GALLUS Qui abdic et eum except

T Stalilus Taurus

511. First year of the reign of Herod as reckoned by Josephus, who invariably dates it either by the consular year from 1 January, or by the Jewish year from 1 Nisan of this year. Herod's actual reign did not begin till the death of Antigonos, toward the close of the year, but Josephus dates it retrospectively from 1 January or 1 Nisan of this year. Herod had been king nominally in B C 40 (see that year, no 465).

512. Antony, who had reached Athens on his way to Italy the preceding year, arrives in Italy in the spring to aid Octavius against Sextus Pompey. Ἀρχόμενος δ' ἦρος, ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐς Τύραντα διεπλευσάσας τριακοσίας τῷ Καίσαρι συμμαχήσων, ὡς ὑπεσχετο App B C v 93 Κῆρ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ καὶ ο Ἀντώνιος ἦλθε μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν αὐθις ἐκ τῆς Συρίας Dion xlviii 54 Ἐκ τινων διαβολῶν παροξυνθεὶς πρὸς Καίσαρα αὐτοὶ τριακοσίας ἐπλεῖ πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, οὐ δεξαμένῳ δὲ τῷ Βρειταννῶνι, τὸν σπύλον εἰς Τάρινα περιώρμισσε Plut Ant 35

513. The first Triumvirate of five years having expired December 31, B C 38, it is now renewed for five years more. Ἐαυτοὺς δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐς ἄλλα ἔτη πέντε, ἐπειδὴ τα προτερα ἐξηληλύθει, ἐπένειψαν Dion, xlviii 54 (see B C 43, no 376).

514. Antony consumes all this year in Italy, or in passing to and fro. Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τοῦ τε Κλαυδίου τοῦ τε Νωρβίου, τοῦδ' οὕτως ἐγχείετο (B C 38) 1ῳ δ' ἐπιγυμνομεν ἔπει (B C 37)

Ἀιτῶνιος μὲν γὰρ ἔς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφικνούμενος, καὶ ἐκεῖσε αὐθις ἐταίων πάντα τὸν ἐταίων κατατρεῖ Dion xlv 23

515. Antony returns from Italy by way of Corcyra, whence he sends Octavia to Italy under pretext of her being unequal to a Puthian campaign, and hastens himself to Syria. Αὐτὸς δὲ οἰ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους στρατεύσας ἤπειρε Ἀμελίας καὶ τὴν Ὀκταβίαν αὐτῇ ἐνθὺς ἐκ τῆς Κερκυρας ὁ Ἀιτῶνιος ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἵνα δὴ μὴ συγκυ διενέσθῃ οἱ τοὺς Παρθοὺς πολέμοισι ἀπέπεμψεν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα

ὁ Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἤπειγετο. Dion, xlviii. 54. According to Plutarch, Antony had sent Octavia back from Tarentum at her own request. Ἐνταῦθα (Tarentum) τὴν Ὀκταβίαν (συνέπει γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτῇ) δεηθείσαν ἀποπέμψαι πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν, ἔγκνον μὲν οὖσαν, ἥδη δὲ καὶ δεύτερον ἐξ αὐτοῦ θυγίτριον ἔχουσαν. Plut. Ant. 35. It will appear, from the circumstances attending the death of Antigonus at the close of the year, that Antony was then in Syria, viz., at Antioch (see *infra*, no. 528).

516. Orodes resigns the kingdom of Parthia in favour of his son, Phraates IV. (see B.C. 70, no. 8; A.D. 14, no. 1062). Phraates puts his father and brothers to death, and Moneses and other nobles take refuge with Antony. Ὁ Ὀρώδης . . . Φραάτη τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν λοιπῶν παίδων τὴν ἀρχὴν ζῶν ἔτι ἐνεχείρισε . . . ὥστε συγχύσει τῶν πρώτων ἐγκαταλειπόντας αὐτὸν, τοὺς μὲν ἀλλοσε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀποχωρήσας, ἐν οἷς καὶ Μονέσις ἦν. Τοῦτο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀγρίππα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Γάλλου ὑπατενόντων (B.C. 37) ἐγένετο. Dion, xlix. 23. But, according to Plutarch, Φραάτην κτείναντος Ὀρώδη τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν κατασχόντος, ἄλλοι τε Πάρθων ἀπιδιδρασκον οὐκ ὀλίγοι, καὶ Μονέσις, ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανὴς καὶ δυνατός, ἦκε φεύγων πρὸς Ἀντώνιον. Plut. Ant. 37. For the coins of Phraates IV., see Eckhel, iii. 529.

517. Herod, in the spring (λαφίσαντος τοῦ χειμῶνος, Jos. Bell. i. 17, 8; λήξαντος τοῦ χειμῶνος, Ant. xiv. 15, 14), marches to Jerusalem, and lays siege to it. This was three years after the nomination of Herod to the kingdom by the Romans, at the close of B.C. 40. Συνήγχετο δὲ αὐτῷ τρίτον ἔτος ἐξ οὗ βασιλεὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀπεδέδεικτο. Bell. i. 17, 8. Τρίτον δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἔτος ἦν, ἐξ οὗ βασιλεὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀπεδέδεικτο. Ant. xiv. 15, 14 (see B.C. 40, no. 465). Josephus may here mean only that this was the third year *current* from the appointment of Herod as king by the Romans, as it would be if we reckon the years from the actual appointment, toward the close of B.C. 40. But *συνήγχετο* may also be rendered as *completed*; and, if so, it would furnish a clue to Josephus's mode of computation; that is, the first year was dated from 1 January or 1 Nisan, B.C. 40, and then the third year would end and the fourth year begin 1 January or 1 Nisan, B.C. 37.

518. Herod leaves his army at Jerusalem to throw up the earthworks, and goes to Samaria to celebrate his marriage with Mariamne, the daughter of Alexander (see B.C. 42, no. 406). Jos. Bell. i. 17, 8; Ant. xiv. 15, 14.

519. He returns to Jerusalem, and Sosius arrives by way of Phœnicia; and the whole force now assembled consists of 11 cohorts and 6,000 horse. Jos. Ant. xiv. 16, 1; Bell. i. 17, 9.

520. Three mounds over against the Temple and on the north side of it are completed in the course of the summer. Οἶκος τε γὰρ ἦν. Jos. Ant. xiv. 16, 2.

521. The precincts of the temple are the parts first taken. Ἡρώτα μὲν οὖν τὰ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἤλικοτο. Jos. Bell. i. 18, 2. Ἐάλωσαν μὲν γὰρ πρότεροι μὲν οἱ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεμένους τοῦ θεοῦ ἀμνησμένοι, Dion, xlix. 22; that is, on the fortieth day from the completion of the mounds the outer wall on the north of the Temple is captured, and on the fifteenth day after that the second wall of the Temple, when some of the cloisters of the Temple are burnt. Τῆροθι γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τεῖχος ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον πεντεκάδικα, καὶ τινας τῶν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐνεπρήσθησαν στοῶν. Ant. xiv. 16, 2.

522. The fall of the city, which follows immediately upon the capture of the Temple, occurs after five months complete from the commencement of the siege by Herod, πέντε μηνὶ δήμεγκαν τὴν πολιορκίαν, Jos. Bell. i. 18, 2; and in the sixth month current *περισσεύειντες* 8' ἐπὶ μῆνας 22 ἐπολιούσους, Bell. v. 9, 4; and in the third month from the effective siege by Herod and Sosius jointly, after Herod's return from his nuptials at Samaria, τῷ τρίτῳ μηνί, Ant. xiv. 16, 4; and on the day of the Fast, Tisri 10, or October 5, the very day on which it had been taken before by Pompey, in B.C. 63 (see no. 78), and in the consulship of Marcus Agrippa and Caninius Gallus (B.C. 37). Ὑπατεύοντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ Μάρκου Ἀγρίππα καὶ Κανινίου Γάλλου (B.C. 37), ἐπὶ τῆς πέμπτῃς καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, τῷ τρίτῳ μηνί, τῇ εὐροτῇ τῆς νηστείας (October 5), ὥσπερ ἐν περιτροπῇ τῆς γινομένης ἐπὶ Ηομηπίου (B.C. 63) τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις συμφορᾷ, καὶ γὰρ ἐπ' ἐκείνου τῇ αὐτῇ ἐάλωσαν ἡμέρα μετὰ ἐτη εἰκοσιεπτά. Ant. xiv. 16, 4.

523. The expression, τῷ τρίτῳ μηνί, in the above passage, has been thought by some to

mean the third Jewish month, i e Sivan (June). But this hypothesis cannot be maintained, for 1 The capture was on the day of the Fast, τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς Νηστείας, and ἡ Νηστεία, without qualification, denotes invariably (as in Acts, xxviii 9) the great fast on Tishri 10 2. In the third Jewish month, Sivan there was no fast, though there were fasts in several of the other months, as in the fourth, fifth, seventh, and tenth 3 Josephus is positive that Herod did not march from his winter quarters until the winter was over, and allowing time for the collection of his forces from their different quarters and the march to Jerusalem, he could not well have opened the siege before March, and as the capture was after five months complete, and in the sixth month current, this would carry us into August, but Sivan, the third month, ended in B C 37 on June 28. See Greswell's *Ptolegetomena*. Supposing the capture to have been in June, Herod must have commenced the siege five months before, that is, in January, when certainly the winter could not be said to be over 4 Antigonus, at the time of the capture, had reigned three years and three months (see *infra*, no 528), viz from his appointment by the Parthians in B C 40, and this appointment was unquestionably after the Pentecost, or May 10, B C 40 (see that year, no 450), and the capture of Jerusalem by Herod must therefore have been after August 10, B C 37, and therefore not in the third Jewish month, Sivan, or June. If there be no mistake or corruption of the text, we can only construe τριτῷ μηνί to mean the third month from the siege, dated from the junction of the forces of Herod and Sosius, after the arrival of the latter. Possibly the historian may at the moment have confounded the duration of the siege by Herod with the duration of the siege by Pompey, which latter was for three months (see B C 63, no 78), or Josephus may have written ἐ' μηνί (in the sixth month), and the translator may have copied γ' μηνί (in the third month), or again, the word ἐπὶ τῆς πεμπτῆς καὶ οὐδεκάστης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος τῷ τρίτῳ μηνί may have been written by mistake for ἐπὶ τῆς, etc., τῷ τρίτῳ ἔτει, viz in the third year of the 185th Olympiad, and, in favour of the latter conjecture, we may remark that Josephus's usage is to designate the whole year by the Olympic year to which the first six months belong (see B C 69, no 10),

and if so, as the capture is referred by Josephus to B C 37, it would be assigned by him to the third year of the 185th Olympiad. Unless the year of the Olympiad be given, it would be uncertain whether the event occurred in B C 40, B C 39, B C 38, or B C 37, as all these years would fall within the same Olympiad.

524 Josephus places the capture of Jerusalem by Herod twenty-seven years after the capture by Pompey in B C 63, i e the historian, as usual, reckons by consular or Jewish years from every 1 January or 1 Nisan, and B C 63, B C 37, are both counted as whole years.

525 The siege of Jerusalem by Herod was during a Sabbatic year, for Josephus alludes to the want of provisions on that account. Τὸν γὰρ ἐβδόμητόν ἐστιν αὐτῶν σιτίβη κατὰ τὰντὸν εἶναι. Ant. xiv 16, 2. And Josephus speaks of the Sabbatic year as continuing after the siege was over, i e after 5 October. Τῆς δὲ χώρας μείων ἀγεώργητον τὸ ἑβδοματίων ἡμέρας ἔτος, ἐνίστασθαι γὰρ, τὰ τε καὶ σπεῖρειν, ἐν ἐλευσὶ τῆς γῆς ἀπληρομεῖον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν. Ant. xv 1, 2. It follows, therefore that the Sabbatic year was not observed, as some suppose, from autumn to autumn, i e from the commencement of the civil year, but from 1 Nisan to 1 Nisan, the commencement of the sacred year. The particular years observed as Sabbatic years may thus be proved from the Books of the Maccabees. The authors (for there were two) of these Books adopt the Seleucian era, with the qualification that the Greeks, who began their year from the autumnal equinox, dated the Seleucian era from 1 October, B C 312, while the authors of the Maccabees, reckoning by Jewish years, date the Seleucian era from 1 Nisan, B C 312. In 1 Maccab vi 20 (compare vii 1, Jos. Ant. xii 9, 3), Judas lays siege to the garrison of Jerusalem, in the 150th year of the Seleucian era, i e in the year current from 1 Nisan, B C 163, to 1 Nisan, B C 162. If B C 37 from 1 Nisan was a Sabbatic year, then B C 163 from 1 Nisan would be equally a Sabbatic year, and so it was, for when Antiochus Eupator, in order to release Jerusalem, besieged the city of Bethsura, on the borders of Idumaea, it was straitened for provisions on account of the Sabbatic year. Ὅτι οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐκὼς διατροφή τοῦ συγκυλίσσασθαι ἐαυτοῖς, οἱ σάββατον ἦν τῇ γῇ, 1 Macc vi 49, Προμάρτα δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἀγγέλοις διὰ τὸ ἑβδόμητος ἔτος εἶναι,

vi. 53. Again, if B.C. 37 was a Sabbatic year, then B.C. 135, from 1 Nisan, would also be such, and so we find it. Thus the high-priest Simon was put to death in Shebat of the 177th year of the Seleucian era, 1 Maccab. xvi. 14, and the 177th year was current from 1 Nisan, B.C. 136, to 1 Nisan, B.C. 135, and 1 Shebat fell on 6 January, B.C. 135; and Josephus records the transactions of this the first year of Hyrcanus as follows:—On the death of Simon, in Shebat or January, B.C. 135, Hyrcanus threw himself into Jerusalem, and shut the gates upon Ptolemy, who then retired to Dagon, near Jericho. Ant. xiii. 7, 4; xiii. 8, 1. Hyrcanus followed him to Dagon, and wanted courage to carry it by assault, from Ptolemy's putting Hyrcanus's mother to the rack whenever an attempt was made. This caused some delay; and before Hyrcanus could take the place by siege, the Sabbatic year began. Ἐλκεμένης δὲ οὕτως εἰς χρόνον τῆς πολιορκίας, ἐνίσταται τὸ ἔτος ἐκεῖνο καθ' ὃ συμβαίνει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἀρχεῖν κατὰ εἰς ἑπταετηρὶς παρρητητοῦ, ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἐβδόμησιν ἡμέραις. Ant. xiii. 8, 1. Hyrcanus, being thus overtaken by the Sabbatic year, relinquished the siege, and returned to Jerusalem. After this, but still in the first year of Hyrcanus, Antiochus Sideres, after ravaging Judaea, besieged Hyrcanus in Jerusalem. Τεράτωρ μὲν ἔτι τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ (Antiochi) πρῶτον ὁ τῆς Ὑρκου οὐ ἀρχῆς, Ὀλυμπιάδος ἑκατοσφῶ καὶ ἑξηκοσφῶ καὶ δευτέρῳ (lege ἑκατοστής καὶ ἑξηκοστής ἔτι δευτέρῳ). Ant. xiii. 8, 2. During this siege occurred the setting of the Pleiades in the autumn, ἑορταίη Ἡλείδος; and the Feast of Tabernacles, ἐπιστάσις γε μὴν τῆς Σκηνοπηγίας ἑορτῆς, ἡλιούντες αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ πάλιν εἰσεβέζαντο. Ant. xiii. 8, 2. It is evident from the above that the first year of Hyrcanus was current from January, B.C. 135, to January, B.C. 134, and that the Sabbatic year commenced from 1 Nisan, B.C. 135. It may be further remarked that, according to an ancient Jewish tradition, Jerusalem was taken by Titus in the year next after the Sabbatic year; and if B.C. 163, B.C. 135, and B.C. 37 were Sabbatic years, then, of course, A.D. 69 (the year before the capture of Jerusalem) would also be a Sabbatic year. See Anger, p. 38, note (1).

525. Dion refers the capture to the consulship of Claudius and Norbanus, i. e. B.C. 38. Ἐπὶ μὲν δὲ τοῦ τε Κλαυδίου τοῦ τε Νορβανίου

τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐγένετο. Dion, xlix. 23. But he is clearly mistaken, as B.C. 38 was not a Sabbatic year; and, besides, two distinct winters succeeding the spring of B.C. 39, when Herod returned to Syria, are recorded by Josephus before the capture of the city, so that the latter event could not have occurred earlier than in B.C. 37. The events also themselves which belong to B.C. 38 (see that year) would not allow time for a tedious siege of five or even three months, not to mention that at the close of the year of the siege Antigonius was taken by Herod to Antony, then at Antioch; but Antony, after the siege of Samosata, in B.C. 38, made all haste to Egypt, and then passed through Greece on his way to Italy, so that he could scarcely have been at Antioch in the latter part of B.C. 38 (see that year, no. 506). In B.C. 37, on the other hand, it is expressly stated that he returned from Italy to Syria, and, no doubt, to Antioch, the capital, where was the palace of the Seleucidae. Josephus gives the full particulars of the siege, and, in treating of a matter which so nearly concerned his own nation, is much more trustworthy than a late Roman historian who merely bestows a passing notice on the affairs of Judaea in the course of a general history. The words of Dion, ἐπὶ μὲν δὲ τοῦ τε Κλαυδίου τοῦ τε Νορβανίου τοῦ θ' αὐτῶς ἐγένετο, are at the close of a chapter which had opened with the siege of Samosata by Antony, which was in B.C. 38; and if the passage stood by itself it might be thought that Dion, in his allusion to the consulship of Claudius and Norbanus, was referring to the siege of Samosata by Antony himself, and not to the capture of Jerusalem by Sosius, his lieutenant. But Dion afterwards observes, τῷ δ' ἐπιγυγμένῳ δ' ἔτι (B.C. 37) οἱ μὲν Ρωμαῖοι οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ λόγον αἰὼν ἔπραξαν, etc., Dion, xlix. 23; from which it would appear that Dion really supposed the fall of Jerusalem to have occurred in B.C. 38. However, the date assigned by Dion is obviously erroneous.

527. Dion appears to be right in referring the day of the capture of Jerusalem to a Sabbath or Saturday, ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κρήνου καὶ τῶρε ἡμέρᾳ ὑπομαμένη, Dion, xlix. 22; for, according to De Morgan's Book of Almanacks, October 5, B.C. 37, was a Saturday. Dion had stated the same thing of the capture by Pompey; but in this he was mistaken, and the cause of

the *eiros* was that the capture was on the great Fast which was observed as a *Sabbath* but was not an ordinary *Sabbath*. With the same predilection for a *Sabbath*, Dion also erroneously places the final capture of Jerusalem, in A D 70, on a *Sabbath* (see that year, no 2151). As it was well known that the Jews kept the seventh day holy, every great success against them was naturally referred to a *Sabbath*.

528. On the capture of the city (by Herod and Sosius) Antigonus, who had remained in the castle afterwards called Antonia, surrenders himself, *ἀντίωνος μὲν αὐτοῦ τῆς βυρσῆς, Jos Ant xiv 16, 2*, having reigned three years and three months, *τρία γὰρ ἔτη καὶ τρεῖς μῆνες ἀρξάμενος, Ant cx 10* viz from the time of his appointment by the Parthians in B C 40 (see that year, no 453).

Antigonus is carried by Sosius to Antony, then at Antioch, and, at the instigation of Herod, Antigonus, according to Josephus, Plutarch and Strabo, is beheaded. *Τούτοι οὖν φιλοφρονησάμενοι μετρίως ἐσχάτου διαψυχράς ἐλπίδος ἤκουσεν τῆς ἀγγελίας περὶ τῆς ἐκδόσεως, Jos Bell 1 18, 3. Αἰτωλῖος δὲ λαβὼν αἰχμάλωτον τὸν Ἀντιγόνου δεσμῖον ἔγωγε τούτοις ἐν Ἀιτωλῶν χεῖρ πέλειται, Ant xiv 16, 2. Ἀντιγόνου τὸν Ἰουδαίου προαγαγὼν ἐτελείεσθαι, οὐδενὸς πρότερον ἔτερον βασιλεὺς οὕτω καλοῦσθαι, Jos Bell 1 18, 3. Ἀντώνιος μὲν Ἀντιγόνου τὸν Ἰουδαίου ἀχθέντα εἰς Ἀιτωλίαν πέλειται, Strabo cited Ant xiv 16, 4. But according to Dion, Antigonus was scourged and crucified. *Ἐμαστιγώσας σταυρῷ προσέθηκεν, Dion, xlv 22*. From these summary statements of the execution it may be inferred that the interval between the capture of Jerusalem and the execution was very short.*

Here ended the line of the Asmonean princes after a dynasty of 126 years, *ταυτοῖσι γὰρ οὕτως ἢ τοῦ Ἀσμοναίου ἀρχὴ μετὰ ἐτη δέκατον καὶ εἰκοσὶ ἕξ, Jos Ant xiv 16, 4*, or, as in another place, after a dynasty of 125 years, *ἵσμεν ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν Ἀσμοναίων ἐς οὗς ἔβασίλευον, Ant xvi 6, 3*. The Asmonean dynasty dated from the peace concluded between Judas Maccabees and Antiochus Epiphanes in the 150th year of the Seleucian era, *ἔτος δ' ἦν τούτου τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῖς ἑκατὸν Σελευκίου ἑκατοστόν καὶ πεντακοστόν, Ant xii 9, 3*, i.e. some time between 1 October, B C 163, and 1 October, B C 162, and, reckoning from B C 162, the

duration would be 125 years complete and 126 years current.

From the death of Antigonus the actual reign of Herod, according to Josephus, commences, but he computes it retrospectively, either by consular years from 1 January, or by Jewish years from 1 Nisan, of this year. To reconcile Josephus with himself, one or other of these modes of reckoning must be adopted, but to which of the two the preference should be given it is hard to say. On the one hand, as Josephus, both on the appointment of Herod as King by the Romans, in B C 40, and on the capture of Jerusalem by Herod in B C 37, is particular in mentioning the *consulship* in which these events occurred, one might be led to infer that the *consulship* was the leading idea in the historian's mind. On the other hand, Josephus, a Jew and of a Levitical family, must have been taught from his earliest infancy to date the year from 1 Nisan, and, accordingly, in his history he makes use of the Jewish months of the sacred year as beginning from 1 Nisan though under their syro-Macedonian names (see A D 70, no 2093). And this would lead us to the conclusion that, in reckoning the reign of Herod, Josephus computes in this way. The Jewish custom according to the Talmud, was this: at whatever time of year was the actual accession, the first year was reckoned retrospectively from the 1 Nisan proceeding so that the second year commenced from 1 Nisan next following the accession. *Non numerant in regibus nisi a Nisano. Nisanus initium anni regibus, ac dies quidem unus in anno (viz post Kal Nisan) instat anni computatur. Unus dies in anni fine pro anno computatur. Angei, p 9, note (a).* The Egyptians reckoned the reigns of princes in a similar way making the second year of the reign to commence on new year's day, or 1 Thoth, next after the accession, and the Jews may have borrowed the custom from the Egyptians. See Eekhel iv 42. It will make no essential or practical difference whether Josephus be assumed to have dated the reign of Herod by the Roman year, from 1 January, or by the Jewish year, from 1 Nisan.

529. Herod appoints Ananelus, a priest from Babylon, to the high-priesthood. *Jos Ant xiv 2, 4*. This follows immediately after Herod's accession to the throne. *ἰστούς (Ananelum) αὐτὸς μὲν (Herod) ἐτίμησεν ὅτε τὴν βασιλείαν παρ-*

λαβεν. Ant. xv. 3, 1. Ananelus was removed from the pontificate towards the close of the following year and is then said to have held the office for some time. Νῦν ἔφη (Herod) διδόναι τῷ πατρὶ (Aristobulo) τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην, καὶ πάλαι προκαταστήσασθαι τὸν Ἀνάηλον, παιδίου παντάπασιν ὅτιος Ἀριστοβούλου. Ant. xv. 2, 7 (see B.C. 36, no. 542).

530. Herod appoints Costobarus governor of Idumæa and Gaza. Ἡρώδης τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν ἀρχόντα τῆς Ἰδουμαίας καὶ Γάζης ἀποδείκνυσαι τὸν Κωστήβαρον. Jos. Ant. xv. 7, 9 (see B.C. 34, no. 567).

530 a. Coin of M. Antony.

Head of Antony + C. Sestius Imp.

Eckhel, vi. 45 (but who erroneously refers the coin to B.C. 38).

Inscriptions.

M. Aemilius M. F. Q. N. Lepidus. } iii. viii. R. P. C. . . .

M. Antonius M. F. M. N. } ad pridie K.

Imp. Caesar Divi F. C. N. } Quint.

M. Agrippa L. F. }

Fasti Capitol.

The Sabbatic year.

Passover, April 16.

Pentecost, June 6.

Tabernacles, October 11.

B.C. 36. U.C. 718. Olymp. 186, 1.

L. ORLIVS PONTICOLA. Qui abdic. et eum excepit

L. Munatius Plancus.

M. COCCOIVS NERVA. Qui abdic. et eum excepit

P. Sulpicius Quirinus.

Second year of the reign of Herod, from
1 January, or 1 Nisan.

531. Octavius, in the spring, prosecutes the naval war against Sextus Pompey. Καίσαρ δὲ, ὡς τὸ ναυτικὸν ἠρώμαστο καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ ἐπίστα, ἤρξε τε ἐκ τῶν Βαθύων, etc. Dion. xlix. 1. Lív. Epit. 129. According to Appian, Octavius set sail about midsummer. Τῆς ἀιτωγῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἡ ἡμέρα προεῖρητο πᾶσι, καὶ ἦν δεκάτη τροπῶν θερινῶν ἡμεῖρα Ῥωμαίων νοσηνίαν ἔχουσι τοῦ μηνός, ὃν ἐπὶ τῇ ἡ τοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ πρώτου Ἰουλίου ἀπὶ Κύντιου κηλοῦσι. App. B.C. v. 97.

532. Mecænas, a knight and the great patron of letters, has the chief administration of affairs in Italy under Octavius. Dion. xlix. 16.

533. Sextus Pompey is defeated in a naval

battle by Octavius, and flies from Messene to Corcyra, and thence to Cephallonia, and thence to Lesbos, where he seeks to repair his broken fortunes. Dion. xlix. 17. App. B. C. v. 133.

534. Lepidus is ejected from the triumvirate. M. Lepidus qui ex Africa velut ad societatem belli contra Sextum Pompeium a Cesare gerendi trajecerat, quum bellum Casari quoque inferret, relictus ab exercitu, absoluto triumviratus honore, vitium impetravit. Lív. Epit. 129.

535. Early in the year Canidius Crassus marches against and conquers Pharnabazes, king of Iberia, and Zober, king of Albania. Ἐν δὲ ἐν τῷ λοιπῷ χειμῶνι τοῦτ' Ἰβλίου καὶ τοῦ Ναρώνια ἀρχόντων (B.C. 36), Πούπλιος Κανίδιος Κράσσος ἐπὶ Ἰβήρας τοὺς ταύτῃ στρατίους, etc. Dion. xlix. 24 (see B.C. 65, no. 46).

536. As Antony approaches Syria (see B.C. 37, no. 516), his passion for Cleopatra revives, and on landing he sends for Cleopatra from Egypt. Ὁ Κλεοπάτρας ἔρως . . . αὐτὴ ἀνέλιμπε καὶ ἀνδράρην Σωφίᾳ πλησάδωντος αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸς . . . Κιτιπώτα Φωιτήνι ἐπιδύει ἀγορεύει Κλεοπίτραν εἰς Συρίαν. Plut. Ant. 36.

537. Antony invests her with the coasts of Phœnicia from the river Eleutherius to Egypt, with parts of the dominions of Iysanias, king of Chalcis (see B.C. 40, no. 439), whom Antony puts to death; and with parts of the dominions of Malchus, king of Petra (whom Antony also puts to death); and parts of the dominions of Herod; and with Cyprus, Cyrene, and also Cilicia Aspera (i. e. from Cape Coracœsium to the river Lamus) and Crote. This investiture was on the arrival of Cleopatra in Syria. Ἐλθοῦσα δὲ χωρίζεται καὶ προστίθεται μικρὸν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἄλγουσιν, ἄλλα Φωιτήνι. Κόλῃν Συρίαν, Κύπρον, Κιλικίας πολλήν (viz. Cilicia Aspera), ἐπὶ δὲ τῇσ' Ἰουδαίας τὴν τὸ βάλαμον φέρονσαν καὶ τῆς Ναβυταίων Ἀραβίας δση πρὸς τὴν ἐκτὸς ἀποκλίνει θάλασσαν. Plut. Ant. 36. Dion (who also places the investiture in this consularship) adds other particulars. Ἐπὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Κλεοπάτρῃ μεγάλως διεβλήθη (Antony) . . . ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀραβίας τῆς τε Μάλχου καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων (τοῦ γὰρ Ἀσανίαν ὃν αὐτὸς βασιλεῖα σφῶν ἐπεποιήκει, ἀπέκτεινε, ὡς τὸ τοῦ Πακρόν πρᾶξαντα), πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς Φωιτίης, τῆς τε Παλαιστίνης, Κύρης τε τινεὶ καὶ Κυρήνης, τὴν τε Κύπρον αὐτοῖς (the sons of Cleopatra by Antony) ἐχαρίσατο. Τότε μὲν (B.C. 36) ταῦτα ἐπραξεν. Τῷ δ' ἐχομένῳ

ἔπει, ὅτε Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Κορνούφιους ὑπά-
 τευσαν, etc (see 35) Dion, xlix 32. And
 Porphyry expressly places the death of Ly-
 sanias and the grant of part of his dominions
 to Cleopatra in this year, for the reign of
 Cleopatra commenced in B.C. 51 (see no 188)
 and he assigns the grant of these provinces to
 the sixteenth year of her reign, i.e. in B.C. 36
 τὸ 16' ἐκκαίδεκατον (of Cleopatra) ὡς ἐμήσθη τὸ
 καὶ πρῶτον, ἔπειδ' ἡ τελευτήσαντος Ἀνσιμάχου
 (lege Ἀνσιάνου) - ἧς ἐστὶ Συρία Καλλιίδος
 Βασιλέως Μάρκος Ἀντωνίου ὁ Αυτοκράτωρ
 τήν τε Καλιίδα καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὴν τοποὺς παρε-
 ὄντες τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ Porphyry and Euseb
 Muller's *Fragment Græc Hist* in 724. Jose-
 phus, in speaking of the presence of Cleopatra
 in Syria at this time, gives the following ac-
 count of the grant to her. Καὶ διαβᾶσα (Cleopatra)
 σὺν ἑκείνῳ (Antony) τὴν Συρίαν πεποισὺν
 κτήματι τοῖσιν αὐτῇ Λυσιστρίαν μὲν οὖν τὸν
 Πτολεμαίου Πάριον αἰτιασμένη τοῖς πράγ-
 μασι ἐκείνῳ, ἀποκτείνουσι. Ἡρεὶ δὲ τὰρ Ἀν-
 τώνιον τῆς τε Ἰουδαίας καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀράβων,
 αἰετοῦσας τοὺς βασιλεύοντας αὐτῶν ἀφελῆσθαι.
 μερὲς τῆς χώρας ἑκατέρην παρελόμενος,
 τοῦτοισι αὐτὴν ἐπαρτίσας, εἰδῶσι δὲ καὶ τὰς εἰσὶν
 ἑλευθερίου ποταμοῦ πάλαις ἀχρὶς Αἰγύπτου,
 χωρὶς Τόρου καὶ Σιδώιος, ἐκ παραγῶν ἐκδῶς
 ἑλευθερίας, πολλοὺς λιταροῦσας αὐτῇ δοθῆναι.
 Ant. xv 4, 1, Bell i 18, 5. It appears from
 these citations that the kingdom of *Chalcis* (see
 no 63, no 68) tell, on the death of Lysanias,
 into the possession of Cleopatra. *Avanitis*,
Trachonitis, *Batanaea*, and *Pneates* seem also
 to have been ceded to Cleopatra, and were
 meant, perhaps, to be included by Porphyry
 under the general description of τῇ Καλιίδα
 καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὴν τόπους. After the death of
 Cleopatra they were farmed out to Zoanodorus
 or Zenon, and were known as the Heritage of
 Lysanias *Οἶκος Ἀνσιάνου* Ant. xv 10, 1,
 Bell i 20, 4. And from this denomination of
 them it would appear that these tracts had
 formerly belonged to Ptolemy Mennæus, and
 had descended from him to his son Lysanias.
Abylene, the district to the north of Panene,
 and other part of the dominions of Lysanias
 (see no 63, no 68), was probably conferred
 by Antony on some member of the Lysanian
 family, for it was not included on the death of
 Cleopatra, in the grant to Zenon (see no 24,
 no 696), and in the fifteenth year of Tiberius
 it was held as a Tetrarchy by Lysanias, who

was no doubt a descendant of the Lysanias
 whom Antony had put to death. Luke iii 1.
 In A.D. 41, it was conferred, together with
 Philip's Tetrarchy, on Herod Agrippa the elder
 (see A.D. 41, no 1619), and in A.D. 53, on
 Herod Agrippa the younger (see A.D. 53 no
 1788). How Chalcis itself was disposed of
 after the death of Cleopatra is not stated but in
 A.D. 41 it became again a kingdom, and was
 conferred upon Herod the brother of Agrippa I
 (see A.D. 41, no 1621). *Cilicia Aspera* had
 been conferred by Antony, in B.C. 39, upon
 Polemo (see that year, no 480), and he was,
 no doubt, now appointed king of Pontus in
 lieu of Cilicia Aspera, given to Cleopatra. He
 was certainly king of Pontus during this year
 (see infra, no 545). Darius, who had been
 made king of Pontus in B.C. 39, must either
 have died or been ejected. Strabo refers to
 the grant of Cilicia Aspera by Antony to Cleopatra,
 and makes Cape Coracesium the bound-
 ary to the west, and the river Lamos to the
 east. Ἀντωνίος τὰ χωρία ταῦτα (the parts
 eastward of Coracesium) τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ προσε-
 κριμεν. Λαβῶν (Archelaus) τὴν Ἰσραὴλιν
 Κιλικίαν ὅλην, πλὴν Σελευκίας, καθ' ὃν τροπον
 καὶ Ἀρμόντιος εἶχε, καὶ ἐπὶ προτέρῳ Κλεοπάτρᾳ.
 Strabo vii 5 (see B.C. 81, no 618).

538. Hyrcannus, early in the year, arrives
 from Babylon at Jerusalem, partly from his
 own wish, and partly on the invitation of
 Herod. This was after Herod's accession to
 the throne, as reckoned from the death of
 Antigonus, and after receipt of the intelligence
 of it by Hyrcannus. Κατασχόντος δὲ τῆς βασι-
 λείας Ἰερῶν, τυθαρμένος ὕμαιο ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς,
 etc, τυθαρμένος δὲ τὸν Ἡρώδην παρεληφέναι
 τὴν βασιλείαν, ἀντιμεταχώρει ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, etc
 Jos. Ant. xv 2, 1 and 2.

539. Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcannus,
 writes to Cleopatra to ask that the high-priest-
 hood may be conferred on her son Aristobolus.
 This letter followed close upon the appointment
 of Ananelus as high-priest (see B.C. 37 no 529),
 and arose from Alexandria's resentment on that
 account. Εὐθὺς οὖν οὐκ ἦγενεν Ἀλεξάνδρα
 τὴν ἱερίαν (the appointment of Ananelus)
 καὶ γράφει Κλεοπάτρᾳ αἰτεῖσθαι παρ'
 Ἀντωνίου τῷ παιδὶ τὴν Ἀρχιερωσύνην. Ant.
 xv 2, 5.

540. Q. Dellius (παῖς αὐτοῦ Ἀντωνίου) γενομένου, Dion, xlix 39) persuades
 Alexandria to write to Antony (not said to be

in Egypt), and at the same time to send the portraits of Aristobulus and Mariamne Ant xv 2, 6

541 Antony desires Herod to send Aristobulus to him, but Herod evades the injunction Aristobulus at this time was sixteen, and as he was seventeen at the Feast of Tabernacles, v c 35, and entered his eighteenth year shortly afterwards (see v c 35, no 560), the events here referred to must have occurred in v c 36, and probably before the Feast of Tabernacles of this year, and before Antony set out for Media. *Επιστείλλει δὲ πέμπει τὸν παῖδα σὺν εὐτρεπέεσσι, προστιθείς εἰ μὴ βαρὺ δοκούσιν ἰούτων ἀπεκχεθέντων πρὸς Ἡρώδην, οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐκρινεν ὥς τε κἀλλιστον ὄντα τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον (ἐκκαυθευάσθη γὰρ ὡς ἐτόγγχανεν) καὶ γίγναι πρῶτοντα πέμπει παρὰ τὸν Ἀντώνιον* Jos Ant xv 2, 6

542. Herod shortly afterwards, in order that Aristobulus might be prevented by his office from leaving the country, removes Ananias, and appoints Aristobulus *Ἰνα μὴδ' ἀποδημήσαι δυνατόν ᾗ περιμενεῖν* (Aristobulo) *ἔφη* (Herod) *διδόναί τῷ παιδί τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην* Jos Ant xv 2, 7, Bell i 22, 2 This was after the Feast of Tabernacles, for Aristobulus held office for one year only, and was put to death soon after the Feast of Tabernacles, v c 35 (see that year, no 560)

543. Antony marches with 60,000 foot and 10,000 horse to the Euphrates, against the Parthians, but finding the passage guarded, he proceeds by way of Armenia against Media, Artavasdes, the king of Armenia, professing to be his ally, and to be at war with Artavasdes (same name) king of Media (see v c 50, no 239, v c 38, no 374) Plut Ant 37 Dion, xlix 25

544 Cleopatra having accompanied Antony as far as the Euphrates, returns by way of Aramea and Damascus She passes through Judæa, when Herod rents of her the palm-groves of Jericho, which Antony had given to her for two hundred talents, and becomes surety for 200 talents more to be paid by Melchus, as the rent for the parts of Arabia which had been given to her by Antony, and then escorts her to Pelusium *Τούτων ἡ Κλεοπάτρα τυχούσα, καὶ παρατεμψασα μισθὸς Εὐφράτου τὸν Ἀντώνιον, etc* Jos Ant xv 4, 2, xv 5, 3, Bell i 18, 5

This expedition of Antony was after the

successes of Canidius Cilius against Pharnabazes (v c ante, no 535), for it was partly in consequence of them *Τούτοις τε ὡς ἐπαρθείς ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὸν τε πολέμον τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς* (Parthians) *ἐς χεῖρας ἤγετο, etc* Dion, xlix 21

And Antony arrived in Armenia so late in the year that, instead of opening the campaign against the Medes, he ought to have put his troops into winter quarters *Πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῦ δεῖν ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ διαχειμάσαι, καὶ θανάτουσι τὸν στράτον δικαιοσχίλιν σταδίων ἀποτετραχμείον πορεύει* *εὐθύς ἤγει, etc* Plut Ant 38

545 Polemo accompanied Antony in this expedition, and was at this time king of Pontus (including probably Colchis) *Τοῦ Πολεμῶνα τοῦ ἐν τῇ Πόντῳ βασιλευσσι-τοι* Dion xlix 25 (see supra, 537, v c 39, no 480, n c 2, no 966 a)

546 Antony besieges Prasaæ, the capital of Media, in vain Dion, xlix 25 Plut Ant 38 A detachment of the army under Statianus is cut off, when Polemo is taken prisoner, but is ransomed Dion, xlix 25 Plut Ant 38

547. Operations were carried on after the autumnal equinox *Ἦδη τοῦ ἁέρος συνισπαμένου μεταφθινοπωρῆν ἡσημερίαν* Plut Ant 40

548. Antony makes a disastrous retreat during the winter, losing 10,000 foot and 4,000 horse before reaching Armenia, and afterwards 8,000 men more *Υπὸ δὲ τῇ τοῦ φύχους θεινῶς ἰταλαιπύρῃσι, χειμῶν τε γὰρ ἦν ἦν* Dion xlix 31 *τοτε δὲ διὰ πολλοῦ χειμῶνος ἦδη καὶ νυφειῶν ἀπαύστων ἐπειγόμενος δικαιοσχίλινος ἀπέβαλε καθ' ἑδὼν* Plut Ant 51

549. Antony reaches Λευὴ Κώμη (between Beirut and Sidon), where Cleopatra joins him from Egypt, with supplies of clothing and money *Ἐν χωρίῳ τινὶ μεταξὺ Βηρουτοῦ λευκῶ καὶ Σιδῶνος Λευὴ Κώμη καλεῖται* Plut Ant 51

550 Antony retires to Egypt *Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα πράξας ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀπῆγε* Dion, xlix 31

551. Antony (his cousin) appoints Amyntas (see v c 39, no 480, n c 31, no 618), who had been scribe and then general of Dejotarus (see v c 42, no 415), and then king of Pisidia (see v c 39, no 480), to be king of Galatia (see v c 41, no 435), with Lyconia and part of Pamphylia, and at the same time disposes

Araratthes, king of Cappadocia (see B C 42, no 425), and appoints Archelaus in his place (see B C 65, no 56, A D 17, no 1087) 'Ο δ' οὖν Ἀντίσιος ταῦτα τε (the expedition to Media) οὕτως ἔπραξε, καὶ δυναστεῖαι Ἀμύντα μὲν Γαλατίας, καίτερον γραμματεῖ τοῦ Διοσιπόρου γενομένῳ (called before δ τοῦ Διοσιπόρου στρατηγός, Dion, xlvii 48) ἔδωκε, καὶ Λυκαονίας Παμφυλίας τε τινὰ αὐτῷ προσθείς Ἀρχελάῳ δὲ Καππαδοκίας ἐβηλὼν τὸν Ἀριάρθην. Τότε μὲν ταῦτα ἔπραξε (B C 36) 15 ἔχομεν ἔτι ὅτε Πομπήϊος καὶ Κορινουφίλιος ἐπάρευσαν, etc Dion xlix 32, 33 Amyntas was the immediate successor of Dositarus in Galatia. Ἔτα ἐκείνον (Dositarus) ἐδεξάτο Ἀμύντας Strabo, xii 5 (see B C 25, no 675) By the part of Pamphylia given to Amyntas, Dion may mean Isauria, as, according to Strabo, Isauria was in the possession of Amyntas. 'Εφ' ἧμῶν δὲ καὶ τα Ἰσαυρία καὶ τὴν Δέρβην Ἀμύντας εἶχεν. Strabo, xii 6 Isauria, according to Pliny, was reckoned into, and deemed part of, Pamphylia. *Ciliciae PAMPHYLIAE omnes junctae, neglecta gente Isaurica* Plin N H v 23 The dominions of Amyntas, comprising Galatia, Lycania, Isauria, and Pisidia, reached, on the west, as far as Antioch ad Pisidiam and Apollonia. Τὴν γὰρ Ἀπποχεῖαν ἔχων τὴν πρὸς τῇ Πισιδίᾳ μέχρι Ἀπολλωνιάδος τῆς πρὸς Ἀπταμεία τῇ Κιβωτῇ, καὶ τῆς παραρτίον τοῦ καὶ τὴν Λυκαονίας, etc Strabo, xii 6 (see B C 25, no 675)

Araratthes, king of Cappadocia, was not only deposed, but also put to death, by Antony. *Quem (Araratthem) a M Antonio interemptum luce clarius erat* Valer Maxim ix 15, 2

Armema Minor had been annexed to the kingdom of Cappadocia (see B C 65 no 57), but appears not to have been included in the grant to Archelaus, as we afterwards find Armema Minor given to Polemo (see B C 33, no 579)

552 While Antony is engaged against the Medes, Sextus Pompey is at Lesbos and had proposed to winter there. *Γενομεῖσι δὲ (Pompey) ἐν Λέσβῳ καὶ ἐκεῖ ὄν τε (Antony) ἐπὶ Μήδους ἐστρατεύεσθαι. . . μαθὼν διενοεῖτο μὲν κατὰ χύονα χιμᾶσαι* Dion, xlix 17 App B C v 133 But hearing of Antony's disaster, he abandons the design of joining Antony, and resolves to take an independent part Dion, xlix 17.

553 On Antony's escape from Media, S Pompey writes to him, but hearing of his

return to Egypt, he despairs of him, and opens a communication with the Parthians Dion, xlix 18 App B C v 133

553 a Coins of M Antony

M Antonius M F M N Augu Imp Rei +
in ur R P C Cos Desig Rei et Tert
Antonius Augus Cos Des Rei et Tert + in ur
R P C Imp Tertus
Ant Augus (oi Augu) in ur R P C + Imp
Rei

M Antonius M F M N Augu Imp Tert +
Cos Desig Rei et Tert in ur R P C

N B. The barbarous letter π is used for ε. Antony probably assumed the title of Imp Tert. on the news of the victories of Caudinus Crassus this year (see ante, no 335) Eckhel, vi 45

Inscriptions

Cui Domitius M F M N Calpurnius Pro Cos
et Imperator, an decemv. (Varro, 718)
et K Sept
Imp Caesaris Divi F C N u in ur R P C
u Olaus et Sicilis, an decemv. (Varro,
718) Idib Novemb Fasti Capitol

First year of the Sabbatic cycle

Passover, April 5

Pentecost, May 26

Tabernacles, September 30

B.C. 35. U C 719. Olymp. 186, 2.

L CORNELIUS

SEXT POMPEIUS

Third year of the reign of Herod, from
1 January, or 1 Nisan

554. S Pompey, finding the forces brought against him irresistible, takes the road to Bithynia App B C v 140 But is overtaken by Antony's officers at Medismum, in Phrygia, when he surrenders himself to Amyntas Dion, xlix 18 App B C v 142 Titus Antony's general takes S Pompey to Miletus, and there dispatches him at the age of forty. *Αὐτὸν δὲ τὸ Πομπήϊον τεσσαριακοστὸν ἔτος βιωῦντα ἐν Μιλήτῳ κατέκαιεν* App B C v 144 The death of S Pompey was his loss. *Οὕτω δὲ τε Πομπήϊος Σέξτος ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Κορινουφίλιον τοῦ Λακίων καὶ ἐπὶ Σέξτου τινὸς Πομπήϊον ἀπέθανεν* Dion, xlix 18

555. L Munatius Plancus is at this time governor of Syria. *Εἰσι δ' οὐ Πλάγιος, οὐ Ἀρτίσιος, λεγοῖτες ἐπιστάται (the death of*

Sext. Pompey), καὶ νομίζουσιν ἀρχοντα Συρίας καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐπιστελλομένοις ἐς τὰ ἐπιτάγματα ἐπιγράφειν τὸν Ἀντώνιον καὶ τῇ σφραγίδι χρῆσθαι. App. B. C. v. 144. Planus succeeded Sosius (see B.C. 38, no. 506); and as the latter was at Rome and celebrated his triumph in B.C. 34 (see that year, no. 572), Planus was probably appointed to Syria in B.C. 35. Planus was succeeded by Lucius Calpurnius Bibulus (see B.C. 33, no. 581).

556. Antony sends Polemo to negotiate with the king of Armenia, and for his success in this mission Antony, in B.C. 33, made him a grant of Lesser Armenia. "Ὡστε καὶ ἐκεῖνός περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ Παύλῳ μετὰ τὸν τοῦτο εὐνοῖναι. Dion, xlix. 33 (see B.C. 39, no. 480; B.C. 33, no. 579).

557. Octavius crosses to Sicily with the intention of passing to Africa, but returns and makes a campaign in Illyria and Pannonia. Dion, xlix. 34-37. He leaves Fufius Geminus in command there, and returns to Rome. Dion, xlix. 38.

558. Alexandra meditates a flight with her son Aristobulus to Cleopatra in Egypt, but the plot is detected. The discovery was just before the Feast of Tabernacles (19 September). "Ἢ δὲ (Cleopatra) λαθροῦσαν ἐκίδεναι ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου σὺν τῷ Παύλῳ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀποκρίσκειν . . . ὃ δὲ (Herod) τὴν μὲν ἔως τῆς ἐγχευρήσεως ἑάσας προελθεῖν, ἐπ' αὐτοφύρῳ τοῦ ὄρασις συνέλαβε . . . προῦκειτο μέντοι παντάπασιν αὐτῷ τὸ μεμάρκιον ἐκπολὺν πεισθαι, τὸ δὲ μὴ ταχὺ, μηδ' ἅμα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, ἑδῶκε πιδυνώτερον εἰς τὸ λανθάνειν, καὶ τῆς Σερωνοῦς ἐνστάσης· ἐρηγὴ δ' ἔστιν αὕτη παρ' ἡμῶν εἰς τὰ μάλιστα θηρομένη ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας ὑπερβάλλειν, etc. Jos. Ant. xv. 3, 2 and 3.

559. At the Feast of Tabernacles Aristobulus as high-priest wins the favour of the people, and Herod proceeds to take measures for his death. Aristobulus at the time of the Feast was seventeen. Τὸ γὰρ μεμάρκιον Ἀριστοβούλου ἔξῃστον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔτεσι γεγονώς ἔτος, etc. Jos. Ant. xv. 3, 3. Ἐπαυκαῖεκαί. Bell. i. 22, 2.

560. Shortly after the Feast, but when Aristobulus was in his eighteenth year, and after having held the high-priesthood for one year (see B.C. 36, no. 542), he is drowned at Jericho by the orders of Herod, and Ananelus is appointed high-priest in his place. Ὀκτω-

καίδεκα μὲν ἅπαντα βίους ἔτη, τὴν δ' Ἀρχιερασίην κατασχὼν ἑνιαυτός, ἦν Ἀνάνηλος, ἑκαμῆναις πάλιν. Jos. Ant. xv. 3, 3; Bell. i. 22, 2. Ananelus was succeeded by Jesus, son of Fabi (see B.C. 36, no. 542; B.C. 22, no. 715).

561. Alexandra writes an account of the murder of her son to Cleopatra, who appeals to Antony. Jos. Ant. xv. 3, 5 (see B.C. 34, no. 564). As Herod was called to account for this early in B.C. 34 (see that year, no. 564), the Feast of Tabernacles above mentioned must have been that of B.C. 35.

562. A coin of M. Antony.

Antonius Augur Cos. Des. Iter et Ter. + M. Silvanus Aug. Q. pro Cos. Eckhel, vi. 47.

A coin of Herod.

On the obverse *Galea*, and on the reverse Βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης L. P. (i. e. in the third year of his reign).

And if Herod computed his reign from the death of Antigonus at the close of B.C. 37 (see no. 528), the coin belongs to this year. Possibly, however, Herod may have reckoned his reign from the time of his appointment by the Romans at the close of B.C. 40 (see no. 465), and then the third year would commence at the close of B.C. 38. Eckhel, iii. 485.

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 25.

Pentecost, May 15.

Tabernacles, September 19.

B.C. 34. U.C. 720. Olymp. 186, 3.

L. SCRIBONIVS LIBO.

M. ANTONIVS, II. Qui Kal. Jan. abdic. et suffectus est L. Sempronius Atratinus.

Ex. Kal. Jul. P. Æmilivs Lepidus, C. Memmius.

Ex. Kal. Nov. M. Herennius.

Fourth year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

563. Octavius proceeds to Gaul on his way to Britain, but is recalled by disturbances in Dalmatia. Ὀρμηθένον δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς τὴν Βρεττανίαν, κατὰ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς ἔχλον, στρατεῦσαι, καὶ ἦδη καὶ ἐς τὴν Γαλιταίαν μετὰ τὸν χειμῶνα, ἐν ᾧ δ' τε Ἀντώνιος τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Λούκιος Λίβιος ὑπάτευον, προσεχωρηκότος, etc. Dion, xlix. 38. Liv. Epit. 132. Suet. Octav. 20. App. Illyr. 25-27.

564. Antony early in the spring proceeds by way of Iasodica of Syria and Nicopolis

Pompeii to Armenia. Ἀντώνιος δὲ . . . ἐς τὴν Νικόκαλον τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου αἰφνίδιον ἔμεινεν ἡμερῶν ἡμέτε. Dion. xlix. 39. While halting at Laodicea, he summons Herod before him on the charge of having put Aristobulus to death. Τούτους ἀνακειθόμενος Ἀντώνιος, ὡς ἐπὶ Λαοδικείας ἐστάλη, πέμπει κελύων Ἡρώτην ἐλθόντα τῶν εἰς Ἀριστοβούλου ἀπολογήσασθαι. Jos. Ant. xv. 3, 5 (see B.C. 35, no. 561).

565. Herod, leaving his uncle Joseph and the husband of Salome, Herod's sister, in charge of Judaea, repairs to Antony at Laodicea, and makes his peace with him by means of largesses. Jos. Ant. xv. 3, 5-7. And Antony consoles Cleopatra, who had coveted the dominions of Herod, by the gift of Colesyria. Δόντος Ἀντωνίου ἡδ' ὧν ἤξιον τὴν Κολήην Συρίαν, καὶ διὰ τούτου πενηγορήσας τοῦ ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀποσκευασμένου τὰς ἐντέλλει, ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπέμεινε. Ant. xv. 3, 8. Colesyria was probably given to Cleopatra at this time, as stated by Josephus, and not in B.C. 36, as mentioned incidentally by Plutarch; Ant. 36, (see B.C. 36, no. 537).

566. Herod escorts Antony on his expedition to Armenia, and then returns to Judaea. Παραπέμψας ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντώνιον ἐπὶ Πάρθους εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὑπέστρεψεν. Jos. Ant. xv. 3, 9.

567. Herod puts his uncle Joseph to death on suspicion of improper familiarities between him and Mariamne during Herod's absence. Jos. Ant. xv. 3, 9; Bell. i. 22, 5. Salome, who had been the wife of Joseph, is now given in marriage to Costobarus. Ant. xv. 7, 9 (see B.C. 37, no. 530; B.C. 26, no. 671).

568. Antony enters Armenia, and takes Artavasdes prisoner by stratagem, and puts him in chains. Dion. xlix. 39. Strabo, xi. 14 (see B.C. 66, no. 34). And defeats Artaxias, the son of Artavasdes, who had been elected to the throne in the room of Artavasdes, and reduces all Armenia. Dion. xlix. 40. This was in the third summer (both inclusive) from Antony's former visit to Armenia (see B.C. 36, no. 543). *Tertius ualate reversus in Armeniam regem ejus Artavasdem fraude deceptum, tenuit, sed, ne quid honori dederet, aureis vincit.* Vell. Pat. ii. 82. Tac. Ann. ii. 3 (see B.C. 33, no. 580).

569. Antony returns to Egypt, and presents Artavasdes and all the booty to Cleopatra. Καὶ μετ' οὐ πολλὰ παρὴν ἐκ Πάρθων Ἀντώνιος

ἄγων αἰχμάλωτον Ἀρταβάζην τὸν Τεγράνον παῖδα δῶρον Κλεοπάτρας, μετὰ γὰρ τῶν χρημάτων, καὶ τῆς λείας ἀπάσης ὁ Πάρθος ἐβύθη αὐτῇ ἐχαρίστη. Jos. Bell. i. 18, 5; Ant. xv. 4, 3. Dion. xlix. 40. Artavasdes was put to death by Antony during the Actian war. Ἀντοῖθι συνάπτοιτος τοῦ Ἀκτιαίου πολέμου. Strabo, xi. 14.

570. Cleopatra had a son by C. Julius Caesar, called Cæsarian, and three children by M. Antony, viz. Alexander and Cleopatra, twins, and Ptolemy. And Antony, now on his return from Armenia, assigns Egypt and Cyprus to Cleopatra the elder and Cæsarian jointly, and Syria and Asia, from the Hellespont to the Euphrates, to Ptolemy, and Libya and Cyrene to Cleopatra the younger, and guarantees Armenia, with the countries between the Euphrates and the Indus to Alexander! Καὶ αὐτοῖς (Cleopatra the elder and Cæsarian) καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον τὴν τε Κύπρον, ἀλλὰ διανομήν τινα ποιησάμενος, ἔδωκε . . . τοῖς ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ παῖσι τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας οἱ γεγονόσι, Πτολεμαίῳ μὲν τὴν τε Συρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ Ὠκεράντου μέχρι τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου πάντα, Κλεοπάτρα δὲ τὴν Αἰγύπτον τὴν περὶ Κυρήνην, τῇ τε ἀδελφῇ αὐτῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν τε Ἀρμενίαν καὶ πᾶν τὰ πέραν τοῦ Εὐφράτου μέχρι Ἰνδῶν δώσειν ὑπέσχετο, καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνα ὧς ἔχων ἦδη ἐχαρίζετο. Dion. xlix. 41. Plutarch appears to confound the two Cleopatras, for Ἡρώτην μὲν ἀπέθηκε Κλεοπάτραν βασιλίσσαν Αἰγύπτου καὶ Κύπρου καὶ Αἰζίνης καὶ Κολῆς Συρίας, συμβασιλεύοντος αὐτῇ Καίσαριωνος . . . Δεύτερον δὲ . . . Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μὲν Ἀρμενίαν ἀπένειμε καὶ Μηδίαν καὶ τὰ Πάρθων, ὅταν ἐπαγάγηται, Πτολεμαίῳ δὲ Φοινίκην καὶ Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν. Plut. Ant. 51 (see B.C. 36, no. 537).

571. Astrologers and sorcerers are expelled from Rome. Καὶ τοὺς ἀστρολόγους καὶ τοὺς γόητας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως (Αἰγύπτου) ἐξήλασαν (his case). Dion. xlix. 43 (A.D. 16, no. 1080).

572. The triumph of Sosius at Rome on 3 September for the capture of Jerusalem, C. Sosius, C. F. C. N., pro cos. ex Judaea an. DCCLXIX. (Varro, 720) iii. *Nonas Septemb. Fasti Capitol.* Pompey's return from the East was in B.C. 62, and his triumph in B.C. 61; and by analogy, as the triumph of Sosius was in B.C. 34, his return would be in B.C. 35. About the midsummer therefore of B.C. 35 he was probably succeeded in Syria by L. Munatius Plancus (see B.C. 35, no. 555).

572 a. Coins of M. Antony.

Anton. Aug. Imp. iii. Cos. Dec. iii. iii. vir. R. P. C.
or Antonius Aug. Imp. iii. + M. Silanus Aug.
Q. Pro Cos.

Antoni. Armenia devicta (see ante, no. 568.) +
Cleopatra Regine Regionum Filiorum Regionum.

Eckhel, vi. 42.

Head of Antony + Ρωμας L. A. (struck at Alex-
andria),

Eckhel, iv. 44.

Inscriptions.

T. Stadienus T. P. Taurus Pro Cos. ex Africa
A. DCCXII. (Varro, 720) Prillie K. Jul.

C. Sosius C. F. T. N. Pro Cos. ex Judea an-
DCCXIX. (Varro, 720) iii. Nomas Sept.

C. Norbanus C. F. Plancus Pro Cos. ex His-
pania an. DCCXIX. (Varro, 720) Id. Octob.

Fasti Capitol.

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 15.

Pentecost, June 3.

Tabernacles, October 8.

B. C. 33. U. C. 721. Olymp. 186, 4.

L. Vespasius Tullus. Vies Scx. Pompeii Magni
qui autequam iniret ocell. est.

C. Octav. CESAR, II. Qui abdic. Kal. Jan. et eum
excepit Publius Antonius Crassus.

Ex Kal. Maii. L. Flavius.

Ex Kal. Jul. C. Pontius Capito. M. Atilius Ariola.

Ex Kal. Sept. L. Vinicius.

Ex Kal. Octob. L. Laevinius.

Fifth year of the reign of Herod, from
 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

573. Octavius is consul for a few hours only. *Secundum vero (consulatum gessit) paucissimis horis, nam die Kalendarum Januarii, quum mane pro aede Capitolini Jovis paullulum curuli sellâ præsedit, honore abijt, suffecto alio in locum suum.* Suet. Octav. 26. 'Ο δ' οὖν Καίσαρ τὴν τε ὑπατείαν (ἦτορ γὰρ μετὰ Δευκίου τοῦ Τοῦλλου δευτέρου) τῇ πρώτῃ εὐθὺς ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πρόπον ἀπέπει. Dion. xlix. 48.

574. Antony is invited by the king of Media to join him in a war against Phraates, king of Parthia, with whom the king of Media had quarrelled. 'Ο Ἀντώνιος . . . παρεσκευάζετο εἰς Ἀρμενίας αὐτὸς ἀναβαίνειν, καὶ συγγενόμενος τῷ Μῆδῃ περὶ πεπραγὸν Ἀράξην οὕτω κινεῖν τὸν πόλεμον. Plut. Ant. 52.

575. Antony, in Syria, on his way to Media, hears of the arrival of his wife Octavia at Athens from Rome for the purpose of joining him, when he writes to her to remain there

during his expedition to Media. *Γενόμενῃ δ' (Octavia) ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐξέτατο γράμματα παρ' Ἀντωνίου καλεῖοντος αὐτὴν προσμένειν, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην δηλοῦντος.* Plut. Ant. 53; and see Dion. xlix. 33.

576. Cleopatra, alarmed at the approach of Octavia, induces Antony to postpone his expedition to Media and return from Syria to Egypt. *Ἦλτος δ' οὖν οὕτω τὸν Ἀνδρῶν ἐξέτηξαν καὶ ἀπεθῆλυνον, ὥστε, ζήσαντα μὴ Κλεοπάτρα πρόηται τὸν βίον, εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπαλεθεῖν, τὸν δὲ Μῆδον εἰς ὧραν ἔπος ἀναβιλεῖσθαι, καίπερ ἐν στάσει τῶν Παρθικῶν εἶναι λεγομένων.* Plut. Ant. 53; and see Dion. xlix. 33.

577. Octavia returns, by command of Octavius, from Athens to Rome. *Ὀκταβίαν δὲ Καίσαρ ὑβρίσθαι ἔδοκῶσαν, ὡς ἐπαγγέλλεν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, ἐκέλευσε καθ' ἐαυτὴν οἰκεῖν.* Plut. Ant. 54.

578. Antony marches to Media, but contents himself with an offensive and defensive alliance with the king of Media against the Parthians. *Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἤλασε μὲν μέχρι τοῦ Ἀράξου ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους στρατεύσων, ἀρκέσθη δὲ τῇ πρὸς τὸν Μῆδον ὁμολογίᾳ, etc.* Dion. xlix. 44.

579. Antony invests Polemo (see B. C. 36, no. 545; B. C. 26, no. 670) with the Lesser Armenia (see B. C. 65, no. 53; B. C. 20, no. 727), and then proceeds to Ionia and thence to Greece, to prepare for war against Octavius. *Καὶ τῷ τὸν ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος τῷ Πολέμῳ τὴν μικροτέραν Ἀρμενίαν χαρισάμενος . . . ἐς τε τὴν Ἰωνίαν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρος πολέμῳ ὤρμησεν.* Dion. xlix. 44.

580. The king of Media is vanquished by the Parthians, and Armenia (see B. C. 34, no. 568; B. C. 20, no. 734) and Media are lost for a time to the Romans. *Ὅ,τε Μῆδος . . . ἀνθητήθη τε καὶ ἑάλω, καὶ οὕτως ἡ Ἀρμενία μετὰ τῆς Μῆδίας ἀπώλετο.* Dion. xlix. 44. Artaxias, the son of Artavasdus (see B. C. 34, no. 568), was now established on the throne of Armenia. *Ejus (Artavasdus) filius Artaxias, memoriam patris nobis infensus, Arsacidarum vi seque regnumque tulit est.* Tac. Ann. ii. 3. Jos. Ant. xv. 4, 3 (see B. C. 20, no. 734).

581. Probably about this period Lucius Calpurnius Bibulus succeeds L. Munatius Plancus as governor of Syria (see B. C. 35, no. 555). *Πίβουλος δὲ . . . στρατηγὸς Ἀπεδείχθη Συρίας ὑπὸ Ἀντωνίου, καὶ στρατηγῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ἀπέθανον.* App. B. C. iv. 38. It thus appears

that he died in office; but he was living in b.c. 32, as is evidenced by one of his coins. See Eckhel, vi. 57. In b.c. 31, Q. Didius was governor of Syria (see that year, no. 611).

582. Malchus, for some time, pays the 200 talents for which Herod had been his surety to Cleopatra (see a.c. 36, no. 544), but afterwards is backward, and at last repudiates the engagement altogether. 'Ο δ' Ἀραβ, Ἡρώδου τὴν φορὰν ἐπέδεξάμενός, χρόνον μὲν τινα παρέχεν ἑκείνῳ τὰ ἐκατὸν τάλαντα, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ κακοήθης ἦν, καὶ ἱραδὺς εἰς τὰς ἀποδόσεις, καὶ μόλις εἰ καὶ μέρη τινα διαλύσειεν, οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐξόδοι ἐκόων ἀζημίως. Jos. Ant. xv. 4, 4. Some time, therefore, had elapsed since the grant to Cleopatra, so that the grant could not have been made when Antony was in Syria in b.c. 34, but must have been in b.c. 36.

583. Herod would now have made war against Malchus at once, but is diverted by the breaking out of war between Antony and Octavius. Ἡρώδης δὲ . . . εἶχε μὲν ὥς ἐπελευσόμενος, προθεσμίᾳ δὲ ἐχρήσατο Ἰωρδαίνῃ πολέμῳ. Jos. Ant. xv. 5, 1.

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Pasover, April 2.

Pentecost, May 23.

Tabernacles, September 27.

B.C. 32. U.C. 722. Olymp. 187, 1.

CS. DOMITIVS TERNOSTRIVS.

C. SOSIUS.

EX KAL. JUL. I. CORNELIVS.

EX KAL. NOV. M. VALERIVS MESSALLA.

Sixth year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

584. Sossius, at the beginning of the year, inveighs against Octavius, who is then absent from Rome, but Octavius shortly after returns, when Sossius and Domitius, the consuls, join Antony. Οἱ οὖν ἑταροὶ . . . λάθρα προεξεχώρησαν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀπῆλθον. Dion, l. 2. Suet. Octav. 17.

585. Tiberius and Plancus, on the contrary, desert from Antony to Octavius. Dion, l. 3.

586. A remarkable eruption of Mount Etna occurs this year. Dion, l. 8.

587. No decisive movement is made by Antony or Octavius during this year. Μετέωρων δ' οὖν πάντων ἡρώδης ἐπὶ τούτοις διῴκει, ἐν μὲν

τῷ ἑνὶ ἐκείνῳ πλεον οὐκ ἐν ἰσχύει. Dion, l. 9. But they are engaged on both sides in preparation for war. Dion, l. 6.

588. Antony proceeds with Cleopatra to Ephesus, where the fleet (not including any contribution from Herod) is assembled. Αὐτὸς δὲ Κλεοπάτραν ἀναλαβὼν εἰς Ἐφεσον ἦκε, καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐκεῖ συνέει παρταχόμεν. Plut. Ant. 56. The fleet then proceeds to Samos. Συνελουσὼν τῶν δυνάμεων, πλείοντες εἰς Σάμον ἐν εὐπαθείαις ἦσαν. Plut. Ant. 56.

589. Antony proceeds to Athens. Αὐτὸς δὲ πλείους εἰς Ἀθήνας πάλιν ἐν παιδείαις ἦν καὶ θεάτροις. Plut. Ant. 57.

590. Antony advances to Corecyra, but returns again to Peloponnesus and winters at Patrae. Καὶ ἐκεῖνος (Antony) . . . ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον (ἦν γὰρ ἐκ μεσσηνίου ἦν) ἀνισκλήσας, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν Ἠλείῳσι παρεχίμασε. Dion, l. 9. Plut. Ant. 60.

591. Herod levies troops on the side of Antony. Τῆς γὰρ ἐπ' Ἀκτῶν μάχης προσδοκώμενης, etc. Jos. Ant. xv. 5, 1. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀκτιακοῦ πολέμου συνειργήσας, πυρσιεύσασατο μὲν Ἡρώδης Ἀντωνίῳ συνετομῶν. Bell. i. 19, 1. And is ready to take the field, when Cleopatra, hoping to destroy either Herod or Malchus and to receive the dominions of the vanquished, prevails on Antony to send Herod against Malchus, who had failed to pay his tribute of 200 talents for the rent of part of Arabia granted by Antony to Cleopatra (see a.c. 33, no. 582). Ἦξιον γὰρ ἢ Κλεοπάτρα ταῦτα (the war of Herod against Malchus) λωσιτελεῖν αὐτῇ, τὸν ἕτερον ὑπὸ διατρίβον κακῶς πάσχειν ἰγγυμένην. Τούτων αὐτῇ (Herod) παρ' Ἀντωνίου ληχθέντων, ὑποστρέψαι Ἡρώδης συνέειχε τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ὥς εἰδὼς εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἐμβαλόν. Ant. xv. 5, 1.

592. Herod marches against Malchus and defeats him at Diospolis. Ἐς Δίωσπολιν ἀφικνεῖται (Herod) . . . καὶ μάχης καρτερὰς γενομένης ἐκράτησαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. Jos. Ant. xv. 5, 1; Bell. i. 19, 2.

593. Herod engages a second time with the Ambians at Canatha, in Coelosyria, when Atticnion, the general of Cleopatra in that part and the private enemy of Herod, treacherously attacks Herod, who now suffers a total defeat. Jos. Ant. xv. 5, 1; Bell. i. 19, 2. This was before the earthquake in the spring of a.c. 31, for the latter calamity overtook Herod as he was making reprisals for the defeat by ravaging the Arabian borders. Ἀμνιαμένω δὲ τοὺς ἔχθρους

ἐπιτίπτει συμφορά δαίμονος ἄλλη κατ' ἔτος μὲν τῆς βασιλείας ἐβόμον. Bell. i. 19, 2.

593 a. Inscription.

Imp. Caesar, Cos. Des. Tert. iiii. vir R. P. C.
Iterum Mianon turresque F. (at Tergeste)
Ad Calvem Suetonii.

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 22.

Pentecost, May 12.

Tabernacles, September 16.

B.C. 31. U.C. 723. Olymp. 187, 2.

Actian Era I., from 2 Sept. of this year.

C. OCTAVIUS CAESAR, III.

M. VALERIUS MESSALA CORVINUS. Vici M. Antonii iii, qui antequam iniit hostis judic. est.

Ex Kal. Maii, M. Titius.

Ex Kal. Oct. Cn. Pompeius.

Seventh year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

594. Octavius is consul for part of the year only. *Quinque medios consulatus a seculo ad undecimum annos gessit, ceteros aut novem aut sex aut quatuor attribuit mensibus.* Suet. Octav. 26.

595. This was the last of the eight years for which consuls had been appointed in B.C. 39 (see that year, no. 174). *Μετὰ δὲ τὰ ταῦτα ἦσαν μὲν ἑταροὶ εἰς τὸ ἐχθρόν τετος δὲ τὸ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος προαιδέειν γένοντο τότε, ὅτε ἐς τὰ ἔκτω ἔτη τὰς ἀρχὰς εἰσάπαυ προκατεστήσαντο, καὶ τότε γε τελευτήσαντο ἐκείνο ἔτη.* Dion, i. 10.

596. Octavius, while it is still winter, attempts to surprise Antony, and sails from Brundisium to Coreyra, but encounters a storm and returns. *Ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ ἐξανήχθη μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καὶ ἐπλευσε μέχρι τῆς Κερκύρας . . . χειμῶνι δὲ περιπέσων καὶ ποιηθεὶς ἀνεχώρησε (his cosa).* Dion, i. 11.

597. Antony, as the spring advances, remains for some time at Patrae. *Τοῦ δὲ δὴ ἥρος ὁ μὲν Ἀντώνιος οὐδέμω ἐκινήθη (his cosa).* Dion, i. 11.

598. Octavius moves forward with his fleet and army to the mouth of the Ambracian Bay. *Ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ Ἀκτιον.* Dion, i. 12. Upon which Antony also advances to Actium. *Ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀντώνιος, ἐπεὶ ἡ τάχιστα τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἰσχυρὴν ἐπέβητο, οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ Ἀκτιον μετὰ τῶν συνόντων οἱ ἠπείχθη.* Dion, i. 13. According to Plutarch, *φθάει δὲ Καῖσαρ, Ἀντωνίου περὶ τὸ Ἀκτιον ὁρμήντος*

ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ νῦν ἡ Νικόπολις ἵστανται, ἐμπαλὸν τὸν Ἰόνιον καὶ τῆς ἠπείρου χωρίον, δὲ Τορὴν καλεῖται, κατασχόν. Plut. Ant. 62.

599. Antony still stands aloof from a battle until he had collected all his forces. *Οὐ μόντοι καὶ ἐς αἰῶνα μὲν εὐθὺς κατέστη.* Dion, i. 13.

600. The allies of Antony are thus enumerated by Plutarch: *Βασιλεῖς δ' ἠπείρου συνεμύχοντες ὁ Λιβύων, καὶ Ταρκόντιμος ὁ τῆς ἄνω Κιλικίας (see B.C. 48, no. 269; *ἡθνα*, no. 608), καὶ Καππαδοκίας μὲν Ἀρχέλαος (see B.C. 36, no. 551), Παφλαγονίας δὲ Φιλάδελφος (Dionotarus Philadelphus, see B.C. 41, no. 435), Κομμαγηνῆς δὲ Μιθράτης (see B.C. 38, no. 500), Ἀλέλλος δὲ Θράκης. Οὗτοι μὲν αὐτῷ παρέσαν.* *Ἐκ δὲ Πόντου Πολέμων σπράττον ἔπερτε (see B.C. 33, no. 579), καὶ Μάχχος ἐξ Ἀρμενίας, καὶ Ἡρώδης ὁ Ἰουδαῖος, ἐπὶ δ' Ἀρμένιος ὁ Ἀνακτων καὶ ὁ Γαλατῶν βασιλεὺς (see B.C. 36, no. 551). Ἦν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Μιῆων βασιλεὺς ἀπεσταλμένη βοήθεια.* Plut. Ant. 61. Thus, Plutarch agrees with Josephus in the statement that Herod and Malchus personally were not present with Antony, though they aided him with their forces. Josephus makes Herod thus explain himself: *πάντως ἄν με (Herod) μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐπείρασας, εἰ μὴ διεκώλυσαν Ἀριμνες, καὶ συμμαχίαν μέντοι γε αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν, καὶ σίτου πολλὰς ἐπεμψα μωράδας.* Bell. i. 20, 1.

601. In the spring, and when the seventh year of Herod is said to be current, and when the war at Actium was at its height, and therefore before the defeat of Antony at Actium, a dreadful earthquake occurs in Judaea. *Ἀμνομένην δὲ (Herod) τοὺς ἔχθρους (the Arabians, see B.C. 32) ἐπιτίπτει συμφορὰ δαίμονος ἄλλη κατ' ἔτος μὲν τῆς βασιλείας ἔβόμον, ἀμάρτυρος δὲ τοῦ περὶ Ἀκτιον πολέμου, κατὰ γὰρ ἀρχομένου ἔαρος ἡ γῆ σεισθεῖσα βοσκημάτων μὲν πλῆθος ἀπεiron, ἀνθρώπων δὲ τρεῖς διέφθικε μορᾶδας.* Jos. Bell. i. 19, 3. *Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ τῆς ἐπ' Ἀκτίῳ μάχης συνεσταμένης (when the battle was now set in array at Actium) Καῖσαρι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, ἐβέβηκεν ὄντος Ἡρώδης τῆς βασιλείας ἔτους, σεισθεῖσα ἡ γῆ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὡς οὐκ ἄλλοι ἔδοκει, τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἡγῶν πολλὰν φθορίαν ἐποίησεν.* Ant. xv. 5, 2. The spring above referred to could not be that of B.C. 30, for after the defeat and flight of Antony the war at Actium could not be said to be at its height. Also, as Herod threw himself upon the mercy of Octavius very early in B.C. 30,

there would not be time, during the interval between the earthquake in the spring of B.C. 30 and the interview with Octavius, for Herod to have sent an embassy to the Arabians, and then to have encouraged his countrymen under the calamity, and finally to have crossed the Jordan and defeated the Arabians in battle (see *ἡβη*, no. 604). And what is still more decisive is that the battle of Actium is spoken of by Josephus as a subsequent event to the defeat of the Arabians. *Μεταλαμβάνει δ' αὐτόν* (Herod) *εὐθὺς ἡ περὶ τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων φροντίς διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον φίλιν, Καίσαρος ἥτις περὶ Ἀκτίων νενικηκός*. Bell. i. 20, 1. And in the Antiquities Josephus speaks first of the battle being set in array at Actium, but not yet fought, Ant. xv. 5, 2; and then narrates Herod's proceedings against the Arabians, Ant. xv. 52; and then the perilous position of Herod from the victory just gained by Octavius over Antony. *Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα (the war with the Arabians) καλῶς εἶχεν αὐτῷ, ἐνσπερχομένη κατὰ πάντα γεγενημένη, κίνδυνος δ' ἐμπιπτεῖ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων κρίσιν ἐπείγων, Ἀντώνιον Καίσαρος ἐν τῇ κατ' Ἀκτίων μάχῃ νενικηκός*. Ant. xv. 6, 1.

602. Herod, under the calamity of the earthquake, sends ambassadors to the Arabians to treat for peace; but the Arabians are elated at the losses of Herod, and assassinate the envoys. Jos. Ant. xv. 5, 2; Bell. i. 19, 3.

603. Herod calls his countrymen together, and encourages them under their calamities. Jos. Ant. xv. 5, 3; Bell. i. 19, 4.

604. He crosses the Jordan and defeats the Arabians at Philadelphia, when they elect him their champion. *Διέβαινε* (Herod) *τὸν ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν μετὰ τῆς ἐνάρμης, στρατοπέδουμένος δὲ περὶ Φιλαδέλφειαν, εἰς Τηλικιύτην δὲ πλὴν τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἀμυνόμενος . . . προέκοψε ὥστε καὶ Προσέτης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους αἰρεθῆναι*. Jos. Bell. i. 19, 5 and 6; Ant. xv. 5, 5. The battle was probably fought in the summer, as the Arabian army despaired of maintaining their entrenchments chiefly from want of water. *Ἐλξε δ' οὖν ἐν βελτίῳ τὴν ἐκπύδα τῆς σπηρίας, ἀπορία τῶν ἐπικυδίων καὶ μάλλον ὄσσεος*. Ant. xv. 5, 4.

605. Agrippa defeats Q. Nasidius and takes Leucas and Patrae, and wins over Corinth. Dion, l. 13.

606. Cnaeus Domitius deserts to Octavius, when Antony, growing suspicious, puts Iamblichus, king of Emesa and Arethusa (see B.C.

47, no. 286; and *ἡβη*, no. 618; and B.C. 20, no. 727), and others to death. *Καὶ ἀπικτεῖνεν ἐκ τούτου ἄλλους τε καὶ Ἰάμβλιχον Ἀραβίων τινῶν βασιλεῖα*. Dion, l. 13.

607. Amyntas, king of Galatia, and Q. Dellius are at this time engaged in levying forces for Antony in Macedonia and Thrace. *Ἐντυχον δὲ ἐπὶ μισθοφόρους ἐς τε τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐς Ὀρμένην πεπεμμένους*. Dion, l. 13.

608. Sosius, the admiral of Antony, defeats Lucius Tarconius, but is defeated by Agrippa, when Sosius and Tarcondimotus (see B.C. 43, no. 381) are slain. *Ἀλλὰ καὶ προσεβλήθη* (Sosius) *μετὰ τε τοῦ Ταρκονιμότου καὶ μετὰ ἄλλων πολλῶν*. Dion, l. 14. Tarcondimotus was king of Cilicia Amaniensis, or the Highlands of Cilicia, *τῆς ἀνω Κιλικίας*, Plut. Ant. 61, i.e. of the eastern parts about Mount Amanus. Strabo, xiv. 5. See Cic. Epist. Fam. xv. 1 (see *ἡβη*, no. 600; and B.C. 20, no. 727).

609. THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM. Dion, l. 32-33. Vell. Pat. ii. 85, 86. Plut. Ant. 66-68. Liv. Epit. 133. On September 2, τοιαύτης τῆς ἡ ναυμαχίας αὐτῶν τῇ ἐννέτῃ τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου ἐγένετο. Dion, l. 1.

D. K. Sept. N. Jovi Tonant, in Capitolio. E. IV. (September 2) M. Fer. Ex S. C. *Quod eo die Imp. Cæs. Divi F. Augustus apud Actium vicit. Se et Titio Cos.* (old calendar). Muratori, i. 151.

The battle began at 11 A.M., and the event was uncertain up to 1 P.M., when victory declared itself for Octavius. *Ad horâ quintâ usque in horam septimam, incertâ vincenâ spe, gravissimæ utrinque cordes ante; reliquum diei cum subsequente nocte in victoriam Cæsaris decinavit*. Oros. vi. 19. It was twelve years from the commencement of the Triumvirate. *Cum Antonio per duodecim fere annos, novissime per quatuor et quadraginta solus* (Octavius) *republicam tenuit*. Suet. Octav. 8 (see B.C. 43, no. 376). And in the second year of the 187th Olympiad. *Ἦν* (the battle) *ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξήκοντης καὶ ὀγδοήκοντης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος γενέσθαι συνίδη*. Jos. Ant. xv. 5, 1. In this passage Josephus, reckoning as usual, designates the year by the Olympiad with which the year began, so that, as the first six months of the year B.C. 31 fell in the first year of this Olympiad, Josephus attributes the last six months also (in which the battle was fought) to the same year of the Olympiad (see similar instances of this mode of reckoning under B.C. 69, no. 10).

609 a. Augustus is saluted Imperator VI. *Cesar sextum Imperator appellatus*. Oros. vi. c. 19. It is uncertain on what occasions he had been the last four times previously saluted Imperator. See Eichel, vi. 149. He was Imperator I. in B.C. 43 (see B.C. 43, no. 370).

610. Antony and Cleopatra fly together as far as to the Peloponnesus, and thence Cleopatra sails to Egypt, and Antony to Libya, and so to Alexandria. Dion, li. 5. Plut. Ant. 69.

611. Quintus Didius is now prefect of Syria (see B.C. 33, no. 581; B.C. 29, no. 651), and induces the Arabians to burn the Egyptian fleet in the Red Sea. 'Εν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγένετο τὰς τε ναὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀραβικῇ κόλῳ πρὸς τὸν ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν πλοῦν· ναυπηγηθείσας οἱ Ἀράβιοι πεισθέντες ὑπὸ Κύντου Διδίου τῆς Συρίας ἀρχιστοῦ κατέπρησαν. Dion, li. 7. Plut. Ant. 69.

612. Octavius sends Agrippa back to Italy, to take charge of his interests there, Dion, li. 3; and sails himself to Athens, ἐκ τούτου Καίσαρ μὲν ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἔλκεται, Plut. Ant. 68; and regulates the affairs of Greece, τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐψήκησε, Dion, li. 4; and thence to Asia, where he waits for news of Antony, ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν κομισθεὶς καὶ ἐκεία προσκαθίστατο, τὰ τε τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἅμα ἐκ παραύξει, Dion, li. 4; and thence to Samos, where he passes the winter. *Ab Actio quum Samum insulam in hiberna se recepisset*, etc. Suet. Octav. 17.

613. On the news of the battle of Actium, Herod is thrown into consternation, and Alexandra, the daughter of Hyrcanus, opens a correspondence with Malchus, king of Peura, with the view of wresting the kingdom from Herod; but Herod discovers the plot, and puts Hyrcanus to death, when upwards of eighty years of age. Τότε γὰρ (at the news of the battle) ἀπέγνωστο αὐτῷ τὴν Ἡρώδην τὰ πρίγματα, καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχθοις τε καὶ φίλοις, etc., τότε δὲ πλείων μὲν ἢ ὀγδόηκοντα γεγονώς (Hyrcanus) ἐτόλμα ἑνῃ, etc. Jos. Ant. xv. 6, 1 and 3; Bell. i. 2, 1.

614. Antony and Cleopatra summon their allies to their aid in Egypt, but meet with no encouragement. Dion, li. 6.

615. Herod advises Antony to put Cleopatra to death, as the only means of safety, and, on his refusal, deserts his cause. Jos. Bell. i. 20, 1; Ant. xv. 6, 6.

616. Antony hears of Herod's desertion, and sends Alexas or Alexander to him, to dis-

suade him from joining Octavius. Ἀλέξας ὁ Λαοσκεύς . . . ἐπέμφθη μὲν Ἡρώδην τὸν βασιλέα τῆς μεταβολῆς ἐκείων, αὐτοῦ δὲ καταμείνας καὶ πρυοῦς Ἀντωνίων, ἐτόλμασεν εἰς ὧσαν ἔλθειν Καίσαρος Ἡρώδην πεποιθώς. Plut. Ant. 72.

617. It would appear from another passage of Plutarch that this desertion by Herod of Antony's cause followed very soon after the battle of Actium, on 2 September, B.C. 31; for τῷ δ' Ἀντωνίῳ Κανιδίῳ τε τῆς ἀπαβολῆς τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ δυνάμεων ἀντάγγελος ἦλθε, καὶ τὸν Ἰουδαίων Ἡρώδην ἔχοντα τινὰ τάγματα καὶ σπείρας ἦν οὖσι Καίσαρι προσεχωροῦναι. Plut. Ant. 71.

618. Octavius confirms Amyntas as king of Galatia (see B.C. 36, no. 551; B.C. 25, no. 675); and Archelaus, the son of Archelaus the priest of Comana (see B.C. 36, no. 551; A.D. 17, no. 1087), as king of Cappadocia; but deprives Philopator, son of Tarchonimotus (see *supra*, no. 608, and B.C. 20, no. 727), of Cilicia Amamiensis, or the Highlands about Mount Amanus; and Lycomedes (see B.C. 47, no. 805) of his dominions in Pontus; and Alexander who had succeeded his brother Jamblichus (see *supra*, no. 606, and B.C. 20, no. 727), of Emesa and Arcthusa, in Coele-syria. Τὸς δὲ δυνάστας, τοὺς τε βασιλεῖς, τὰ μὲν χωρῖα, οὐα παρὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου εὐχόμενοι, πάντας, πλην τοῦ τε Ἀμύντου καὶ τοῦ Ἀρχελαίου, ἀφείλετο, Φιλοπάτορα δὲ τὸν Ταρκονιμότου καὶ Λυκομήην ἐν μίρῃ τοῦ Καππαδοκικοῦ Πόντου βασιλεύοντα, τὴν τε Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν τοῦ Ἰαμβλίχου ἀδελφόν, καὶ τῶν δυναστεῶν ἔπαυσε, καὶ τούτων . . . ἀπέκτεινε. Dion, li. 2. This Lycomedes was the priest of Comana, App. Mith. 114, 121 (see B.C. 17, no. 305), and Medeus was now appointed in his place. Τὴν δὲ τοῦ Λυκομήους Μηδείῳ τινὲ ἔδωκεν. Dion, li. 2. Cleon, at one time or other in the reign of Augustus, held this priesthood for a few weeks, λαβὼν δὲ (Cleon) ἔστατο καὶ τὴν ἐν Πόντῳ τῶν Κομάνων ἱερουσίαν, εἰς ἣν κατεβῶν ἐντὸς μηνιαίου χρόνου κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον, Strabo, xii. 8; and when Strabo wrote, it was held by Dyteutas. Εἴθ' ὕστερον Λυκομήους . . . καταλυθείς δὲ καὶ τούτου, τὴν εἶχε Διτέυτης, υἱὸς Ἀλκινομήους, Strabo, xii. 8. To Amyntas was also given at this time (B.C. 31) Cilicia Aspera, which had before been granted by Antony to Cleopatra (see B.C. 36, no. 537). Λαβὼν (Archelaus) τὴν Τραχυῶνα Κιλικίαν ὄλην, πλὴν Σελευκεύς, καθ' οὗτρόπον καὶ Ἀμύντας πρότερον

είχε, καὶ ἐπὶ πρῶτον Κλεοπάτρῃ Strabo, xiv. 5 (see n.c. 25, no. 675).

619. The dates comprised in this year are of some importance, as they enable us to fix the mode in which Josephus computed the years of Herod's reign. Herod became king on the fall of Jerusalem, in October, n.c. 37, or rather on the death of Antigonus, about November, n.c. 37; and if Josephus reckoned the years from October to October, or from November to November, the earthquake in Judea, in the spring of n.c. 31, and the battle of Actium, in the autumn of n.c. 31, would both have fallen in the sixth year of the reign of Herod. Josephus, however, assigns both the earthquake and the battle of Actium to the seventh year of the reign of Herod, i.e. he computes the years of the reign either by the consulships from 1 January, or by Jewish years from 1 Nisan, making the first year of Herod to end with 31 December, n.c. 37, or 1 Nisan, n.c. 36, and the second year to commence on 1 January, n.c. 36, or 1 Nisan, n.c. 36. As to the victory of Actium on 2 September, n.c. 31, it may be thought possible that Herod began his reign so early in n.c. 37 that Josephus may have considered Herod as having on 2 September, n.c. 31, already commenced his seventh year, if reckoned from the assumption of the crown on the fall of Jerusalem or even on the death of Antigonus. The same answer, however, is certainly inapplicable as regards the earthquake, which is also attributed to the seventh year of Herod, and yet occurred in the spring which preceded the battle, i.e. in the spring of n.c. 31. If, therefore, the spring of n.c. 31 was in the seventh year of Herod, the first year must have commenced on 1 January, or 1 Nisan, n.c. 37. For other similar instances of reckoning the reign of Herod, see n.c. 25, no. 683; n.c. 20, no. 738; n.c. 10, no. 805; n.c. 4, no. 925. Josephus may probably have computed the reigns of Herod's sons in the same way (see a.d. 6, no. 1011; a.d. 33, no. 1454). But he did not so reckon the reign of Agrippa I. (see a.d. 41, no. 1678), or Agrippa II. (see a.d. 49, no. 1726); for their reigns were in his own time, and he had accurate information.

619 a. Coins of M. Antony.

M. Anto. Cos. iii. Imp. iii. + *Antonia Aug. Scorpis Imp.* or *Scorpis Imp. Leg. viii.*

M. Antonius Aug. Imp. iii. Cos. Tert. iii. vir R. P. C. + D. Tur. (i. e. *Turullius*).

Eckhel, vi. 48.

N.B. It does not appear on what occasion Antony assumed the title of Imp. iii. The coin may have been struck in anticipation of a victory over Octavius, whereas Antony was defeated.

Coins of Polemo.

M. Αντωνίου Πολεμώνος Αρχιερωσ + Κεισαρ. Δυναστων Παλῶν της Ιερους και Αιδασητων R. I. A. i. e, in his eleventh year (see n.c. 41, no. 435).

Μποκο Αντωνιον Πολεμωνος Αρχιερωσ Σαδ. + Δυναστων Ολβε . . . Κεισαρι. και Ααλα . . . ια. E. I. A. Eckhel, iii. 62.

Inscription.

Eodem Anno (n.c. 31) Imp. Caesar Dñi F. C. N. ex a. d. iii. Nou. Sept. victo ad Actium M. Antonio iii. viro R. P. C. ii. sobis Ierop. tenuit. Fasti Capitol.

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 10.

Pentecost, May 31.

Tabernacles, October 5.

B.C. 30. U.C. 724. Olymp. 187, 3.

C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANS, IV.

M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

Ex Kal. Jul. C. ANTONIUS VERUS.

Ex Id. Sept. M. T. (M. FIL.) CICERO.

Ex Kal. Nov. L. SENECA RAVINUS.

Eighth year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

620. Octavius is consul for part of the year only, and enters on his consulship at Samos. *Quartum consulatum . . . in insulâ Samo, octavum et nomen Tarracore, inivit.* Suet. Octav. 26.

621. Octavius, while it is still midwinter, having no certain intelligence about Antony, and receiving unfavourable news from Italy, makes a hasty journey to Brundisium. *Ad Actium cum Sesonio ianuario in hiberna se recepisset, turbatus nuntio de seditione militum . . . repetit Italiam.* Suet. Octav. 17. *Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἄλλοις ἀναζητήσαι προσέειπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἡπείχθη μεσούσης τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐν ᾧ τὸ τέταρτον μετὰ Μάρκου Κράσσου ἦρχεν . . . ἔλθων δὲ ἐς Βρεντήσιον οὐκ ἐπὶ περαιτέρω προύχωσεν.* Dion. li. 4.

622. Octavius remains only thirty days at

Brundisium, and then returns to Asia. "Ἐτε τὴν Ἑλλάδα αὐθις τριακοστῇ μετὰ τὴν ἄφικεῖν ἡμέρᾳ ἤλθον, καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὰς ναῦς ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ὑπερεκτείνων, οὕτω ταχέως ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀνεκομίσθη, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον τὴν τε Κλεοπάτρην ἐκότερον ἦμα, καὶ οἱ ἀφωρμήθη καὶ οἱ ἐπανήλθε, μὴδὲν. Dion, li. 5. According to Suetonius, Octavius was only twenty-seven days at Brundisium. *Nec amplius quam septem et viginti dies, donec desideria militum ordinarentur, Brundisii conmoratus.* Suet. Octav. 17.

623. Antony and Cleopatra send an embassy under Euphronius to Octavius while in Asia. "Ἄρμ' δὲ καὶ πρὸς Καίσαρα πρέσβεις ἐπεμpton εἰς Ἀσίαν. Plut. Ant. 72. Dion, li. 6.

624. The first embassy having failed, they send a second, and deliver up Publius Turullius, one of the regicides, or assassins, of Julius Caesar. Octavius, on receipt of this embassy, was apparently at Cos, for Turullius was put to death there. Καίσαρ δὲ τὸν μὲν Τουρούλιον ἀπέκτεται, καὶ (ἔνυχ' γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἐν Κῷ τοῦ Ἀσκληπίου ὧλης ἔβλα ἐς ναυτικὸν κεκοπῶς) εἴλην τινα καὶ τῷ θεῷ, οἱ ἐκεῖ ἐδικαιώθη, δοῦναι ἔδεικε. Dion, li. 8.

625. Antony afterwards sends a third embassy with his own son Antyllus, but it does not appear at what time. Τρίτην τε οὖν πρεσβείαν (Antony) ἔστειλε, καὶ υἱὸν τὸν Ἀντυλλον, μετὰ χρυσίου πολλοῦ, αὐτῷ ἐπέμψεν. Dion, li. 8.

626. When winter is over, Octavius sails along the coast of Asia towards Syria, and his generals advance against Egypt from Libya. "Ἐσχεν αὖν ἀναβαλὼν ὁ πόλεμος τότε, τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος παρελθόντος, αὐθις ἐπ' αὖθις διὰ Συρίας, οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ εἰς Λιβύης. Plut. Ant. 74. Suet. Octav. 17.

627. A band of gladiators, partisans of Antony from Cizyren (in spite of Amyntas in Galatia, who had deserted to Octavius, and of the sons of Tarcondimotus in Cilicia), having forced their way into Syria, with the view of joining Antony in Egypt (Dion, li. 47), Herod sends succours to Q. Didius, prefect of Syria, against the gladiators, and Didius writes word of it to Octavius. Διό μοι γράφει Κύντος Δίδιος συμμαχίαν σε (Herod) παρορμάνει πρὸς τοὺς μονομάχους αὐτῶν. Jos. Bell. i. 20, 2. Προσθεις, οἱ Κύντος Δίδιος γράφειν ἀπάσῃ προθυμίᾳ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς μονομάχους αὐτῶν συλλαβέσθαι τὸν Ἡρώδην. Ant. xv. 6, 7 (see p.c. 29, no. 654). The name of Didius does

not appear in the consular Fasti, and, therefore, at this time the rule that Syria should be governed by men of consular dignity appears not to have been yet established.

628. Antony, who had been in doubt whether to join the gladiators in Syria, or meet Cornelius Gallus, the general of Octavius, at Peritonium, decides on the latter, and suffers losses both by sea and land. "Ἐς μὲν τὴν Συρίαν, καίτοι βουληθεὶς κατὰ τὴν τῶν μονομάχων μετάπερψον ὁρμήσαι, οὐκ ἐπορεύθη, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐκείνῳ (Corn. Gallum) ἐχώρησεν. Dion, li. 9.

629. Octavius sails to Rhodes, where Herod has an interview with him, and, throwing himself upon his mercy, makes his peace with him, and is confirmed in his kingdom. Εἰς Ῥόδον ἤλθει (Herod) Καίσαρι συντεχέειν. Jos. Ant. xv. 6, 6. Καὶ πλεόστας (Herod) εἰς Ῥόδον ἔνθα ἔαυριζε Καίσαρ, πρόσισιν αὐτῷ ἐν χειρὶ λαβήναι, τὴν μὲν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὸ σχῆμα ἐδούλη, τὸ δὲ φρόνημα βασιλεῦς. Bell. i. 20, 1. This interview was after the march of Antony from Alexandria to Peritonium, for the gladiators in Syria were then still unsubdued, whereas the interview was after the subjugation of the gladiators, as Octavius alluded to the dispatch of Q. Didius upon the subject. Bell. i. 20, 2; Ant. xv. 6, 7. The interview could not have been much before April B.C. 30, for since 1 January Octavius had gone to Italy and returned, which occupied a month (see *supra*, no. 621); nor, on the other hand, could it have been much later than April B.C. 30, for by 1 August, B.C. 30, Octavius had triumphed in Egypt, and the news of Antony's death had reached Rome by the Ides, i.e. 13 September, B.C. 30.

630. Herod returns to Judaea by sea, and prepares for the reception of Octavius. "Ἐπαύει δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν . . . Ἐθῆς μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν ὑποδοχὴν ἐγγερόντι Καίσαρος ἀπὸ Συρίας, εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐμβαλεῖν μέλλοντας. Jos. Ant. xv. 6, 7.

631. Octavius proceeds through Syria on his way to Egypt, *Asia Syriaque circuitu Aegyptum petit*, Suet. Octav. 17; and puts Alexas, the friend of Antony (see p.c. 31, no. 616), to death at Laodicea of Syria, notwithstanding the intercession of Herod in his favour. Plut. Ant. 72. In Jos. Ant. xv. 6, 7, and Bell. i. 20, 3, Alexas is called Alexander, the former being the abbreviation of the latter.

632. Herod escorts Octavius all the way from Acre to Egypt. *Kai ἐπειδὴ παρὴν* (Octavius), *δεχεται μὲν* (Herod) *αὐτὸν ἐν Πάλεμαδι τάσθι τῆς βασιλικῆς*. Jos Ant xv 6, 7, Bell i 20, 3.

633. Octavius takes Pelusium by the treachery of Cleopatra. Plut Ant 74. Antony at this time was engaged at Peritonium. Dion, li 9.

634. Antony, on hearing of the loss of Pelusium, advances from Peritonium to Alexandria, and at first gains a temporary success before the walls but is afterwards defeated. 'Ο δ' οὖν Ἀντώνιος ἐκ τοῦ Παρατονίου πρὸς τὴν περὶ τοῦ Πηλουσίου πόσιν ἐπανελθὼν προαήνησεν πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας τῷ Καίσαρι, etc. Dion, li 10.

635. Octavius wins over Antony's fleet on 1 August. *Kai Septidibus primò luce Antonius cum ad instruendum classem in portum descenderet, subito universae naves ad Caesarem transierunt*. Oros vi 19. *Anno calendae hasunder 1 August Ex Aug N P T Claud Spei Aug Alexand Recepti Muratori, i 305*. This 1 August was deemed the day of capture of Alexandria, and the Senate decreed that the Egyptian year should thenceforth commence with the day of capture. *Προσηλφίσαντο τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἐάλο, ἀγαθὴν τε εἶναι, καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐτὴ ἀρχὴν τῆς ἀγαριθμήσεως αὐτῶν νομίζεσθαι*. Dion, li 19. But for some reason or other the Alexandrian era from the conquest of Egypt by Augustus in B.C. 30 dates on the coins, according to Fokhel, from 29 August, B.C. 30. Eckhel, iv 42.

636. Death of Antony and Cleopatra by their own hands. Dion, li 13, 14. Plut Ant 76, 77. Antony was fifty-three or fifty-six, and Cleopatra thirty-nine. *Ἐπελεύθησε δὲ Κλεοπάτρα μὲν, ἐνὸς ἑορταίου τεσσαρικοῦ ἐτὴ βιώσασα, καὶ τούτων δύο καὶ ἑξοσι βασιλεύσασα, συνάρξασα δὲ Ἀντωνίῳ πλείω τῶν δεκαεσσαυτῶν, Ἀντώνιον δ' οὐ μὲν 22, οὐ δὲ τριὰς τὰ πενήκοντα ὑπερβαλεῖν φασίν*. Plut Ant 86. The twenty-two years current of the reign of Cleopatra date from the death of Ptolemy Auletes, her father, in B.C. 51 (see no 188). The fourteen years' reign jointly with Antony must date from the triumvirate, though Antony first saw her in B.C. 41 (see no 431). As to the age of Antony see B.C. 41, no 431, when he was said to be only 40.

637. The news of the death of Antony reaches Rome when Cicero, the son of the

orator, was consul suffectus for part of the year. *Ἠγγέλθη δὲ τοῦτο καίρωνος τοῦ Κικέρωνος παῖδι ἐν μέρει τοῦ ἔτους ὑπατεύοντος*. Dion, li 19. This was in September. *Ipsius Augustus M Cicerone filio consule Idibus Septembris Senatus obdudionali donavit*. Plin N H xxii 6. *Insp Cas m K Jul C Antistio Id Sept M Tullius M Licinius*. Inscriptio apud Sigonium p 142, b ad ann Capit 723, cited Fasti Hellen.

638. Hellenus, the son of Antony by Fulvia, and Caesarian, the son of Cleopatra by Julius Caesar, are put to death. Dion, li 15, Suet Octav 17, Plut Ant 81, but Cleopatra, Ptolemy, and Alexander, the children of Cleopatra by Antony, are spared. Dion, li 15. Suet Octav 17. Cleopatra is given in marriage to Julius II and Octavius confers on him at the same time, as a reward for his services, the kingdom of Numidia which had been held by his father. *Ἦν τε Κλεοπάτρα ἰόβη τῇ τοῦ ἰόβου παιδὶ συνώμνησε, τούτῳ γὰρ ὁ Κεῖσαρ γραφέντι τε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ συστρατεύσασαι φεοῖ ταύτην τε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν πατρῴαν ἔδωκε*. Dion, li 15 (see B.C. 1, no 968).

639. Herod after the death of Antony and Cleopatra, comes to Egypt when Octavius invests him with Gadara, Hippos, Samaria, Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, and Straton's Tower (afterwards Caesarea). *Ὡς ἦεν* (Herod) *εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἥδην Κλεοπάτρας καὶ Ἀντωνίου τεθνεώτων . . . τῇ βασιλείᾳ προσέθηκε* (Octavius) *τὴν τε ὑπὸ Κλεοπάτρας ἀπογεγενησάν χώραν, καὶ ἐξωθεν Γάδαρ καὶ Ἰσπον καὶ Σαμάρειαν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τῶν παραλίων Ἰάζαν καὶ Ἀνθηδόνα καὶ Ἰόππην καὶ Πύργον Στράτωνος*. Jos Bell i 20, 3. *Νῦν δὲ Καίσαρος ἀγγελοῦτος κρατεῖν τῇ -ολέμῳ καὶ τεθνηκότων Ἀντωνίων καὶ Κλεοπάτρας, ἔχειν Αἴγυπτον, ἐπὶ ἐγγόμερος εἰς τὸ καίσαρι ἀπαιτᾶι, etc.* Ant xv 7, 3.

640. Egypt is reduced to a Roman province, and Cornelius Gallus, a knight of mean origin, is appointed prefect (see B.C. 26, no 669), and from this time forward Egypt is governed by one of equestrian and not of senatorial rank, that the prefect might not be too powerful. *Εκ δὲ τούτων τὴν τε Αἴγυπτον ὑποτέλλει ἐποίησε καὶ τῷ Κορινθίῳ Γάλλῳ ἐπέτρεψε*. Dion li 17. Suet Octav 18. Jul Africanus Reliq Sacra, ii 181. Eutrop vii 7.

641. Octavius founds Nicopolis in Egypt. Dion, li 1, Suet Octav 18, and in honour of the victory of Actium founds Nicopolis near

Actium, and institutes, or rather extends, the Actia, or games in honour of the Actian Apollo. *Quoque Actiæ victoriæ memoria celebratur et in posterum esset, urbem Nicopolin apud Actium condidit ludosque illic quinquennales constituit.* Suet. Octav. 18; and see Dion, lili. 1, and li. 1; Jos. Bell. i. 20, 4; Strabo, vii. 7. Dion mentions the Actia under the year B.C. 81; but he anticipates the time, for he adds, *τὰ αὐτὰ μὲν ὁσέπορ ἐγέρετο*. Dion, li. 1. According to Cassiodorus, the games were celebrated in this consulship, *C. Caesar iii.* (the consulship when he was suffectus being omitted) *et M. Crassus.* (*His cons.*), *Nicopolin Caesar construit, ludos Actiuos instituit.* The passage in Dion, lili. 1, refers only to the anniversary of the battle at Rome. As the Actia were celebrated long before the battle of Actium (Strabo, vii. 7), the recurrence of them was not regulated by the date of the battle in B.C. 81. Besides, the battle was on 2 September, which was so late in the year that the games could scarcely have been observed on that day, but would probably be celebrated, as were the other games in Greece, about midsummer. They recurred, like the Olympia, every fourth year. The only reference to the Actiads as a measure of time is in Josephus (see *post*, B.C. 24, no. 696).

642. Octavius returns from Egypt through Syria by land, *καὶ τότε χαρίζομενος* (Corn. Dolabella) *αὐτῇ* (Cleopatra) *ἐπιθελὼν κνήφα πέμψας ἐξήγγιλεν*, *ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀναζεύγνυσι περὶ τῇ Συρίᾳ*, Plut. Ant. 84; and is again escorted by Herod from Egypt to Antioch in Syria, *Ἡρώδης δὲ γενόμενος ἐν Λιγύπτῳ Καῖσαρὶ τε μετὰ πλείονας συγτυχάνει τῆς παρόρσιας, ὡς ἦεν φίλος . . . καὶ τὸν μὲν Καῖσαρα παρέπεμψεν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ*. Jos. Ant. xv. 7, 8 and 4.

643. Herod returns to Judæa, *αὐτὸς δ' ἐπ' ἀνελθὼν*, etc., Jos. Ant. xv. 7, 4; and Octavius proceeds to Asia, where he winters, *ἐς τε τὴν Ἀσίαν τὸ ἔθος, ἐπὶ τῆς Συρίας ἡλθε, κἀνταῦθα παρεχίμασε*, Dion, li. 18.

644. Octavius makes terms with Phraates, king of Parthia, but offers an asylum to Tiridates, who had been defeated and expelled by Phraates. Dion, li. 18.

645. M. Crassus, who had been sent to Macedonia and Greece, makes war upon the Dacæ and Bastarnæ. Dion, li. 23. At the

close of the year, he suffers from the rigour of winter. *Χειμῶν γὰρ ἦν*. Dion, li. 25.

The Sabbatic year.

Passover, March 30.

Pentecost, May 20.

Tabernacles, September 24.

B.C. 29. U.C. 725. Olymp. 187, 4.

C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS, V.

SENATUS AUCTOR.

EX KAL. JUL. PAUL. VALERII MÆRSALI.

EX KAL. NOV. C. FERNIUS, C. CLEUVIUS.

Augustus assumes the title of Imperator vii., as evidenced by the inscription, *infra*, 655 a.

Ninth year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

646. The 725th year *Urbis Condite*. *Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπιγραφῇ ταῦτε τε ἐνιστάμενος πέμψει τε καὶ ἐκδοσι καὶ ἐπιτακτικῇ ἐρεσι, καὶ ἐπραξαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἑταῖροι*. Dion, lii. 1.

647. In the summer, Octavius passes over to Italy. *Ταῦ δὲ ἐν θέρος ἐς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεραιώθη*. Dion, li. 21. *Idcirco Cæsar pedestribus copis in Syriam venit, deinde in Asiniam ad hiberna concessit ac post per Græciam Brundisium pervectus est.* Oros. vi. 19.

648. Octavius celebrates three triumphs. *Curules triumphos tres egit, Dalmaticum, Actianum, Alecundrinum, continens triiduo omnes.* Suet. Octav. 22. Dion, li. 21. Liv. Epit. 133. These triumphs were, according to Orosius, on 6 January. *Anno ab urbe condita DCCLV. ipso Imperatore Cæsare Augusto quinquies et L. Apuleio cons. Cæsar victor ab Oriente radians octavo Idus Januariæ urbem tripliei triumpho ingressus est.* Oros. vi. 20. But, according to Macrobius, in the month of August. *Cum Imperator Cæsar Augustus mense Sextili et primam consulatum inierit, et triumphos tres in urbem intulerit*, etc. Macrobi. Sat. i. 12. And, according to an old calendar, on 14 August, for under August we read B. xix. *F. August. Triumph.* Muratori, i. 305.

649. The temple of Janus is shut for the first time by Octavius his cons. *Παύσαν ἐν ὅμῳ ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ψηφισθέντα οἱ ὑπερήσαν, ὅτι τὰς τε πύλας τοῦ Ἰαννοῦ, ὡς καὶ πᾶντορ σφίσι τῶν πολέμων πεπαυμένων ἀντός, ἐκλείσαν*. Dion, li. 20, Liv. i. 15. Suet. Octav. 22. Vell. ii. 38.

OROS. vi. 20. *Plut. Oper. Fortun. Rom.* iii. 322 (see B.C. 25, no. 678). The temple of Janus was shut three times in all by Augustus, *Janum Quirinum . . . ter clusit*, Suet. Octav. 22; viz. once in B.C. 23, and again in B.C. 25 (see no. 678); and for the third time, according to some, in B.C. 11 (see no. 797). But though a decree was then made for it, the order was never carried out. The temple of Janus may not improbably have been shut for the third time at the close of B.C. 14 or at the beginning of B.C. 13 (see B.C. 14, no. 769). The statement of Orosius that it was shut for the third time in B.C. 2, appears to rest on no authority, and was probably fixed upon by him in aid of his hypothesis that Our Lord was born in B.C. 2. *Itaque anno ab u.c. DCLII. Caesar Augustus . . . Jani portus tertio ipse tunc clausit*, Oros. vi. 22.

650. M. Crassus wages war against the Getæ and Artacî. Dion, li. 26, 27.

651. Octavius settles the Roman constitution by the advice of Mucenas and assumes the title of Imperator or Emperor. *Ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ᾗ τὸ πέμπτον ὑπάτειον τὴν τοῦ Ἀυτοκράτορος ἐπέλαβεν ἐπ' ἑαυτοῦ*. Dion, lii. 41. (For an outline of the constitution, see Dion, lii. 20-40.)

652. All Romans of senatorian rank are forbidden to quit Italy (except for Sicily or Gallia Narbonensis) without the leave of the Emperor. Dion, lii. 42. Thus was introduced a system of passports.

653. Octavius puts to death Antiochus II., who had succeeded Mithridates I. in the kingdom of Commagene. *Τὸν τε Ἀντίοχον τὸν Κομμαγενὸν μετεπέμψατο . . . καὶ καταψήφισθέντα ἀπέκτεινε*. Dion, lii. 43 (see B.C. 38, no. 500; B.C. 20, no. 728).

654. About this time, the gladiators quartered at Daphne (see B.C. 30, no. 627) are circumvented by Messala and are slain or dispersed. *Καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μεσσαλαίου ὑστερον ἀπυτηθέντες ἐπέμφοσαν ἄλλος ἄλλοι*. Dion, li. 7. This Messala was probably governor of Syria and the successor of Quintus Didius (see B.C. 31, no. 611; B.C. 28, no. 660). M. Valerius Messala had been consul B.C. 31. He could not have remained long in Syria after this, for he was sent by Octavius into Gaul, App. B. C. iv. 38; and for his victories there had a triumph on vii. Kal. Octob., B.C. 27.

655. Herod puts his wife Mariamne to death,

at the end of this year, from jealousy, through the intrigues of Salome. This occurred a year after the return of Herod from Antioch, when he escorted Octavius thither, at the close of B.C. 30. *"Ἢ τε ἡκοῦσα τριπομένη παύειν ἐν αὐτοῦ μήκος, ἐξ οὗ παρὰ Καίσαρος ὑπὸ στράτει*. Jos. Ant. xv. 7, 4; Bell. i. 22, 5. Herod falls into a dangerous illness, in consequence, at Samaria. *Καὶ ἐκείνος μὲν (Herod) ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, τῇ κληθείᾳ Σαβαστῇ, τοῦτον τὸν τῦπον ἐνοσηλεύεται*. Ant. xv. 7, 7.

655 a.

Inscriptions.

Senatus Populusque Romanus Imp. Cesari Divi Julii F. Cos. Quinti. Cos. Desig. Sex. Imp. Sept. Republicæ concessit. Eckhel, vi. 82; Gruter, 220, 5.
L. Antonius P. F. Crassus ex Africa an. DCCXXIII. (Vatro, 725) xvii. (K. Sphenob.)
Pasti Capitol.

First year of the Sabbath cycle.

Passover, April 17.

Pentecost, June 7.

Tabernacles, October 12.

B.C. 28. U.C. 725. Olymp. 168, 1.

C. CESAR OCTAVIANUS, VI.
M. VIPSANIUS AGRIPPA, II.

Tenth year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

656. Octavius in consul for the whole year. *Quinque medios consulatus a sexto (inclusive) ad undecimum (exclusive, see B.C. 23, no. 704) annos gessit*. Suet. Octav. 26.

657. Octavius dedicates the temple of Apollo and suffers from illness. *Τῷ δὲ ἐξῆς ἡμέρᾳ ἔπειτα ἡ Καίσαρ ἤρξε . . . Νοσήσας τοῦ Καίσαρος, etc.* Dion, liii. 1.

658. A census of the Roman people is completed. *In consulatu sexto censum populi, collegit M. Agrippa, egi, lustrum post annum alterum et quadragessimum* (B.C. 70), *quo lustrum civium Romanorum censita sunt capita quadragena centum millia et sexaginta tria*. Lapis Anticyranus ad calcem Suetonii. Dion, liii. 1 (see B.C. 70, no. 79; B.C. 8, no. 828).

659. Alexandra, the daughter of Hircanus, plots against Herod at Jerusalem and is put to death. This was probably early in the year, as the plot arose from the illness of Herod consequent on the death of Mariamne at the close of the preceding year (see no. 655). *Διὰ τριβούσα ἐλ' ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἀλεξάνδρα,*

καὶ πυθαμένη τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν (Herod), ἰσπουδέκει τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν φρονῶν ἐγκρατὴς γενέσθαι . . . Ἀλεξάνδριον προσήγαγε τοὺς λόγους ὡς εἶον αὐτῇ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ Ἡρώδου παραδόνται πσιόσις, μὴ καὶ θῶν τις, ἐκείνου μετ' ἀλλήλων, ἑτέρος ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων, etc. Jos. Ant. xv. 7, 8.

660. We may assign to this year or the following the appointment of M. Tullius Cicero (the son of the orator) as governor of Syria in succession to Messala (see B.C. 29, no. 654); for Cicero was consul suffectus in B.C. 30, and he seems to have been made governor of Syria not long after. 'Ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνοις αὐτῶν (Ciceronem) ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐς ἀπολογίαν τῆς Κασάρως (the orator) ἐπέσπευ, ἱεράτε εὐθὺς (after the battle of Actium) ἀπέφηνε, καὶ ὑπατὸν οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον (B.C. 30), καὶ Συρίας στρατηγόν. App. B. C. iv. 51. There is also an old inscription in which Cicero the son is described as prefect of Syria in the time of Augustus: *M. Tullio M. F. M. N. M. P. N. Cor. Cicero Cos. pro cos. Asie Lev. Imp. Cos. Aug. in Syria Patrono.* Orellius, no. 572 (see B.C. 24, no. 697).

660 a. Inscription.

M. Licinius M. F. M. N. Crassus Pro Cos. Ex Treicia (et Gethis) a. DCCXXV. (Varro, 726) Non. Jul. Fasti Capitol.

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 6.

Pentecost, May 27.

Tabernacles, October 1.

B.C. 27. U.C. 727. Olymp. 168, 2.

C. CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS, VII.

M. V. AGRIPPA, III.

AUGUSTUS COS. VII. COS. DESIG. VIII. PONT.

IMP. VII.

AUGUSTUS is consul for the whole year. Suet. Octav. 26.

[It may here be remarked, once for all, that when the emperor assumed the consulship the number of that consulship continued on coins and inscriptions not only during the consulship itself, but through successive years, until he became consul again. Thus in B.C. 23 Augustus was consul for the eleventh time, and was thenceforth designated as Cos. xi. until B.C. 5, when he again became consul, and was thenceforth designated as Cos. xii. The same observation applies to the title of Imperator. Thus in B.C. 29 (see that

year) Augustus was saluted Imp. vii., and this title was continued until B.C. 21-22, when he was saluted Imp. viii. See B.C. 21.]

Eleventh year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

661. Octavius assumes the name of Augustus. Οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου ὄνομα καὶ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου ἐπίθετο (his cons.). Dion, liii. 16. His Cons. . . . *Cæsar Augustus cognominatus est.* Cassiodorus. Liv. Epit. 134. Censorinus, c. 21. Vell. Pat. ii. 91. The name of Augustus was conferred, according to Ovid, Fasti, i. 587, on the Ides (13th) of January (see Fasti Hellen.).

662. Augustus is constrained by the senate and people to accept the supreme power for a period of ten years. Βουλῆθις δὲ καὶ ὡς ὁ Καῖσαρ πύρρῳ σφάς ἀπαγαγεῖν τοῦ τι μονιάρχικόν φρονεῖν ἰοκτεῖν, ἐς ἔδικα ἔτη τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν καθέντων οἱ ὑπέστη. Dion, liii. 13 (see B.C. 18, no. 744). The first ten years are dated from 1 Jan. B.C. 27, and expired on 31 Dec. B.C. 18. Augustus retained the supreme power for the rest of his life by successive grants from the people for ten years or five years at a time, and the successive periods are thus given by Dion: τῆς γοῦν δεκαετίας ἐξελοῦσθης (31 Dec. B.C. 18), ἄλλα ἔτη πέντε (from 1 Jan. B.C. 17 to 31 Dec. B.C. 13), ἔτι πέντε (from 1 Jan. B.C. 12 to 31 Dec. B.C. 8), καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔτι (from 1 Jan. B.C. 7 to 31 Dec. A.D. 8), καὶ ἔτιρα ἄλλης ἔδικα (from 1 Jan. A.D. 4 to 31 Dec. A.D. 13), πεμπτάκις αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσθη. Dion, liii. 16.

663. Tiberius assumes the toga virilis on 24 April. VIII. Kal. (Mæi) Ti. Cæsar togam virilem sumpsit, Imp. Cæsare vii., M. Agripp. iiii. Coss. Fasti Verriani. Supposing Tiberius to have been born on 16 Nov. B.C. 42, he was now in his fifteenth year. But the usual time for taking the toga virilis was in the sixteenth year. See Noris. Cenot. Pis. vol. i. p. 160. And it is a question whether Tiberius was not born in B.C. 43 (see B.C. 42, no. 426).

664. Double pay is decreed to the Imperial Guard. Dion, liii. 11.

665. Octavius makes a partition of the Roman provinces between himself as Emperor and the Senate or People (his cons.). Dion, lix. 2, 12. His cons. . . . *Cæsar . . . provincias disposuit.* Cassiod.

666. The provinces were distributed, ac-

cording to Dion, lib. 12, as follows, but he adds the qualification, ταῦτα δὲ οὕτω κατελεξε, ὅτι τῶν χωρίων ἐκαστον αὐτῶι ἡγεμονεύεται, ἐπεὶ το γὰρ ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἐπὶ πολλῶ, καὶ συνδυο καὶ σύντριμα τα ἔθνη ἄμα ἥρχετο 1δ

<i>Senatorial</i>	<i>Imperial</i>
1 Ἡ Ἀφρική καὶ ἡ Νουμμία	1 Ἡ Ἰσθμία περὶ Τυβερίας
2 Ἡ Ἀσία	2 Ἡ Λυσισαμία
3 Ἡ Ἑλλάς μετὰ τῆς Ἡπείρου	3 Ἰσλαται πάντες οἱ τὴν Ἀρβώρησι καὶ αἱ Δονυζονήσιον Ἀκτιναὶ τε καὶ Κιλικίαι
4 Τὸ Δαλματικόν	4 Ἡ Συρία ἡ Κοίλη
5 Τὰ Μακεδονικὰ	6 Ἡ Φοινίκη
6 Ἡ Σικελία	6 Ἡ Κιλικία
7 Ἡ Κρήτη μετὰ Λιβύης περι τῆς Κυβερνήτης	7 Ἡ Κυπρὸς
8 Ἡ Πάφλος μετὰ τοῦ προσκειμένου οὐ Πόντου	8 Ἡ Αἴγυπτος
9 Ἡ Σαρδῶν	
10 Ἡ Βαυκία	

According to Strabo, lib. xiv c. 3, the provinces were distributed as follows —

<i>Senatorial</i>	<i>Imperial</i>
1. Ἡ Λιβύη ἀρχαῖον ὄνομα	
2. Ἡ Ἀσία τικαί, οἱ provinces governed by ex-consuls	
3. Ἡ Βιθυνία	
4. Ἡ Καππαδοκία ἡ Νορβωθία	
5. Ἡ Σαρδῶν	All the provinces of the Roman Empire not expressly assigned to the Senate
6. Ἡ Σικελία	
7. Ἡ Ἰλλυρία ἡ πρὸς τῇ Ἡπείρῳ	
8. Ἡ Μακεδονία	
9. Ἡ Ἀρχαία	
10. Ἡ Κρήνη μετὰ τῆς Κυβερνήτης	
11. Ἡ Κόπρος	
12. Ἡ Βιθυνία	

It will be observed that the Libya of Strabo comprises the Africa and Numidia of Dion. Also Strabo omits Dalmatia from the Senate's provinces, but allots to the Senate Cyprus and Galia Narbonensis, which Dion had assigned to the Emperor. The reason is, that Strabo adopts an exchange that was afterwards made between the Emperor and the Senate, and by

which the Emperor took into his own hands the upper parts of Dalmatia, and gave Cyprus and Galia Narbonensis to the Senate instead. The lower part of Dalmatia, called ἡ Ἰλλυρία ἡ πρὸς τῇ Ἡπείρῳ, the Emperor left in the hands of the Senate, and this accounts for our finding ἡ Ἰλλυρία ἡ πρὸς τῇ Ἡπείρῳ (being the remnant of Dalmatia) amongst the senatorial provinces. (For the exchange above referred to, see v c 22, no 712.)

The *Senatorial* or *Popular* Prefects were called *Λογιστάται*, or Proconsuls, and were in general annual, and took their provinces by lot. They were not girt with the sword, nor wore a military dress, but were attended in the consular provinces—viz Libya and Asia—by twelve lictors, and in the praetorian provinces by six lictors. Ἐκ τούτων παύτων μὲν αὐτοὺς τοὺς βουλευτάς ἐκατέρων (Imperial and Senatorial) τῶν ἐθνῶν, πλὴν Αἰγυπτίων, ἄρχειν κατέδειξεν ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς μὲν (the Senatorial) καὶ ἐπετησίους καὶ ἀληθινὰ εἶναι πλὴν ἐν τῇ πολυπαισίᾳ ἢ γάμον προνομία προσείη, καὶ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς γερουσίας συλλογῶν πέμπεσθαι, μίτη εἰσὸς παραζωννυμένοι μίτη στρατιωτικὴ ἐσθλήτη χρωμένους, καὶ ἀνὴντάτους καλεῖσθαι, μὴ ὅτι τοὺς δύο τῶν ἐπαυλειῶν (prefects of Libya and Asia) ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τῶν ἐσπαρτηγῶν, καὶ δοκίμους γὰρ ἐσπαρτηγῶν καὶ βασιλεύων τε σφίς ἐκατέρων (the prefects of the consular and praetorian provinces), ὅσοι τέρ καὶ ἐν τῇ ὅσῃ νερόμιστοι, χρῆσθαι Dion, lib. 13

The *Imperial* prefects were called Ἀντιστράτηγοι, Προπράτορες or Πρεσβευταί, Embassadors, and were nominated by the Emperor, and held office not for a year only, but during pleasure, and were girt with the sword, and wore a military dress, and were attended by six lictors. Ἰὼν δὲ ἐτέρων ὑπὸ τε αὐτοῦ αἰρεῖσθαι, καὶ προσβευτας αὐτοῦ ἀντιστρατήγων τε διορίζεσθαι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπαυλειῶν ὅσοι, δατάζε τῇν τε στρατιωτικὴν στολὴν φορούσας, καὶ εἰσὸς, ὡς γὰρ καὶ στρατιώτας δικαίως ἐξέστιν, ἔχοντας (Propratores καὶ δὲ) ἐκ πάντων ἡρώων οἱ ἀντιστράτηγοι χρωῖται Dion, lib. 13

Exconsuls and expraetors, who governed the senate's or people's provinces were not allowed to take any province until five years (i.e. after an interval of four years) from the expiration of their consulship or praetorship, but there was no restriction as to the imperial provinces. Κοιτῇ δὲ δὴ πᾶσι αὐτοῖς (nominees of senate) ἀπηγόρευσε, μηδέαι πρὸ πεντε ἐτάῳ,

μετὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀρᾶν, κληροῦσθαι. Dion, liii. 14 (see B.C. 51, no. 217).

For further particulars on the subject of the provinces, see Dion liii. 12-15.

667. Augustus visits Gaul with the intention of crossing into Britain, but is called away from Gaul into Spain. Καὶ ἐξώρησε μὲν (Augustus) ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν Βερρτανίαν στρατεύσων, ἐς δὲ τὴν τὰς Γαλατίας ἐλθὼν ἐνταῦθα διέτριβεν . . . κἀντεύθεν, ἐς τε τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ κατεστήσατο καὶ ἐκεῖνῃ. Dion, liii. 22. Augustus was at Tarraco in Spain on 1 January, B.C. 26, and also on 1 January, B.C. 25, and returned to Rome in B.C. 24. Suet. Octav. 26 (see B.C. 24, no. 684). But according to Orosius Augustus proceeded to Spain in B.C. 28. *Oros. ubi v. o.* DCXXVI. *Imp. Aug. Cesare series et bis M. Agrippa coss. Cæsar . . . in Hispaniis ipse cum exercitu profectus est.* Oros. vi. 21. This, however, must be a mistake.

667 a. Coins of Augustus.

Cæsar cos. vii. civibus servatis + Augustus S. C.

[This coin confirms the statement of Dion under this year. Τὸ τε τὰς ἐαυτοῦ πρὸ τῶν βασιλείων αὐτοῦ προτίθεσθαι, καὶ τὸ τὸν στέφανον τὸν ἐρῶντον ἐπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀρτᾶσθαι, τότε οἱ, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς τε πολέμιους νικῶντι, καὶ τοὺς πολίτας σώζοντι, ἐψυφίσθη. Dion, liii. 16.]

Augustus Divi F. + Imp. Cæsari Scarpus Imp.
Eckhel, vi. 88.

Inscriptions.

M. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ ΟΥΠΑΤΟΣ ΤΡΑΤΟΣ.

Muratori, i. 296, 1.

*Cos. Sept. Designat. Octavum V. . . coleherrimicis
Audie riciis consilio . . . Senatus Pop. . . (at
Arminium).* Muratori, iv. 2006, 1.

*M. Valerius M. F. M. N. Messalla Curvulus
Pro Cos. ex Gallia, a. DCXXVII. (Varro, 728)
vii. K. Oct. Fasti Capitol.*

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 26.

Pentecost, May 16.

Tabernacles, September 20.

B.C. 26. U.C. 728. Olymp. 188, 3.

Augustus, viii.
T. SEPTIMIUS TACTUS.

AUGUSTUS COS. VIII. COS. DESIG. IX. PONT.
IMP. VII.

Twelfth year of the reign of Herod, from
1 January, or 1 Nisan.

668. Augustus is consul for the whole year. Suet. Octav. 26. And enters upon the consulship at Tarraco, in Spain. *Octavum et novum (consulation) Tarracone iniiit.* Suet. Octav. 26.

669. Cornelius Gallus, Prefect of Egypt, is disgraced and kills himself. *Αὐτὸς τε (Augustus) τὸ θυγῖον σὺν τῷ Ταύρῳ τῷ Σερατῶνι ἐπάνευσεν . . . ὁ δὲ δὴ Γάλλος Κορινθῆλος . . . ἠτιμώθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου . . . καὶ ὁ μὲν περὶ αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ προκατεχρήσατο.* Dion, liii. 23. *Annian. xvii. 4, 5.* Suet. Octav. 66 (see B.C. 30, no. 640). Corn. Gallus was succeeded by Aelius Gallus. Dion, liii. 20 (see B.C. 24, no. 686).

670. Polemo, King of Pontus, is enrolled the Friend of the Roman people. *Καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει τούτῳ δ, τε Πολέμων ὁ ἐν τῇ Πόντῳ βασιλεύων ἐς τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐς τοὺς συμμάχους τοῦ ὕμνου ἐνεγράφη.* Dion, liii. 25 (see B.C. 33, no. 579; B.C. 20, no. 727; B.C. 14, no. 761).

671. Salome divorces herself from Costobarus (see B.C. 34, no. 567), and betrays the fact that the sons of Babas, partisans and kinsmen of Antigonus, were still alive, and had been secreted by Costobarus for the last twelve years, viz. since the capture of Jerusalem by Herod in B.C. 37: and Herod now puts to death the sons of Babas, the last of the family of Hyrcanus. *Πλὸν παρέχε (Salome) τοῦ λόγου τοῖς Βάβυ παῖδας, οὗτοι διασώζοντο (sons of Babas) παρ' αὐτῇ (Costobarus) χρόνον ἐνιαντων ἤδη ἑξάδεκα, τοῖτο δὲ εἶχεν οὕτως . . . Ὁ βασιλεὺς πέμψας . . . ἐκείνους τε καὶ τοὺς συγκατατιθεύτας ἀπέκτεινε, ὥστε εἶναι μηδὲν ὑπόλοιπον ἐκ τῆς Ὑκκανοῦ συγγενείας, ἀλλὰ τὴν βασίλειαν ἀντεκόμισαν αὐτῇ, μηδ' ἄλλος ὄντος ἐκ' αὐτῆς ἐμποδὼν ἵστασθαι τοῖς παρινομομένοις.* Jos. Ant. xv. 7, 10. These twelve years were no doubt current years, reckoned from 1 January or 1 Nisan, as in the reign of Herod (see B.C. 31, no. 619).

672. Herod, feeling himself secure by the extinction of the family of Hyrcanus, introduces innovations by building a theatre at Jerusalem and an amphitheatre in the plain of the Jordan

at Jericho, see Jos Ant xiv 8, 2, and institutes quinquennial games in honour of Augustus Δια τοῦτο (the security from the death of the sons of Babas) καὶ μᾶλλον ἐξαιτίας τῶν πατρῶων θῶν, etc., πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀγῶνα πενταετηρεῖδι ἀβλημάτων κατεστήσατο Καίσαρι, καὶ θέατρον ἐν Ἱερουσόλοις φιλοδόμησεν, αὐθις τ' ἐν τῇ πεδίῳ (the plain of the Jordan at Jericho) μέγιστον ἀμφιθέατρον Ant xv 8, 1

672 a Coin of Augustus

Obverse uncertain + Cos Octavo Denig 12
Eckhel, vi 80

Inscription

(Imp Cosm Dni F C N Augustus m)
T Statius (T F Taurus u)
S: Apphneus Ser F Ser N Pro Cos 12
Ἰστανά α δεκλνν (Vairo, 728) vi K
Febr Fasti Capitol

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle

Passover, April 14

Pentecost, June 4

Tabernacles, October 9

B.C. 25. U.C. 729. Olymp 188, 2.

AUGUSTUS, IS
M IUV SILANUS

AUGUSTUS COS IX COS DFIC V PONT IMP VIII

Thirteenth year of the reign of Herod, from
1 January, or 1 Nisan

673. Augustus is consul for the whole year Suet Octav. 26 He is at Tarraco on 1 January of this year Octavum et novum (consulatum) Tarracone inuit Suet Octav 26

674. Augustus again meditates an expedition against Britain, but is obliged to abandon it from an outbreak of the Salassi and Cantabri and Astyres, and Augustus falls sick at Tarraco from the fatigues he had undergone Δι' οὖν ταῦτα δ' Ἀύγουστος (ἦδη δὲ ἔτινα·ον μετὰ Μάρκου Σιλανῷ ἐπάτεινε) ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς Σαλδίσσους ἑρένησεν Οὐάβρωμα ἐπέμψας, etc. (his cos.) Dion, lvi 25 Liv Ept 136 Cassiodori See Orosius, vi 25

675. Death of Amyntas, king of Galatia and other provinces (see v c 31, no 618) Galatia, part of his dominions (see v c 36, no 551), becomes a Roman province, and the portion of Pamphylia which had been given him (see v c 36, no 551) is restored to its proper jurisdiction τοῦ δ' Ἀμύντου τελευτήσας, ἐν τοῖς παισιν αὐτοῦ τῇ αρχὴν ἐπέτρεψας, ἀλλ' ἐξ

τῇ ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ ἐσχηγασε καὶ οὗτω καὶ ἡ Γαλατία μετα τῆς Λυκαονίας Ῥωμαῖοι ἀρχόντα ἔσχε, τὰ τε χωρία τὰ ἐκ τῆς Παμφυλίας πρότερον τῷ Ἀμύντῳ προσσημειῖται τῷ ἴδιῳ ἰομῷ ἀντιδόδῃ (his cos.) Dion, lvi 26 Pisidia, or the greater part of it, seems to have gone along with Galatia, for of Sygallanus in Pisidia Strabo writes about a n 20 Σαγαλασσὶς δὲ ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τῷ αὐτῷ ἡγεμονίῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑφ' ᾧ καὶ ἡ Ἀμύντα βασιλεία πᾶσα Strabo, xii 6 And of the mountaineers of Pisidia it is said νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ τελεῖται, γαγόντασι καὶ εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ Ἀμύντα τεταγμένη προτέρων Strabo, xii 7 Cilicia Aspera, other part of Amyntas' dominions, is given to Archelaus Ἀαβῖον (Archelaus) τὴν Τραχωῦν Κόλκιαν ὅλην πλὴν Σιλευκίας, καθ' ὃν τρόπον καὶ Ἀμύντας πρότερον εἶχε καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Ἡλεσπιάτρα Strabo, xiv 5 Ἰφ' δὲ Ἀρχελάῳ καὶ ἡ Τραχεῖα περὶ Λαυιοῦσσαν Κιλικία, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ τα περατῆρεια συσσημαίει Strabo, xii 1 (see a d 18, no 1103, and v c 31, no 618)

According to Dion (ubi supra), Lycania was included in the province of Galatia, but from the coins of Antiochus, king of Commagene, it would appear that in a d 37 great part of Lycania was held separately from Galatia, and included in the gift of Cilicia Aspera to Antiochus of Commagene Eckhel, iii 255 (see a d 37 no 1505) This is the more likely as Polemo I, who had held Cilicia Aspera, was also sovereign of Iconium, the capital of Lycania, with its dependencies (see v c 39, no 480) Pliny also speaks of Iconium and fourteen towns as forming a distinct tetrarchy Datu et Tetrarchia ex Lycania, quod parte Galatiae continetur est, civitatum xiv, urbe celestina et Iconio Pliny, N H v 25 The western part of Lycania was in the time of Pliny the Elder included under the jurisdiction of Asia Lycania in Asiaticis jurisdictionem versa, cum quod continetur Philomelienses, Tymbrini, Leuothli, Petten, Tyrienses Plin N H v 25 Altes conceatus a Synnadi accepit nomen Conveniunt Lycones, etc. ib v 29 Non constat at what time the annexation was made, but probably on the death of Amyntas, at least Philomelum and Tymbrum must have been comprised in his dominions, which extended as far westward as Apolloniæ (see v c 36, no 551) If so, Strabo, in excluding the dominions of Amyntas from the province of Asia, must be understood as speak-

ing only generally. Ἀσίαν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸς Ἀλυσὶ καὶ τοῦ Τυρίου, πλὴν Γαλιλαίων καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Ἀμύντα γενόμενον ἰθύνων. Strabo, xvii. 3.

676. Amyntas was slain, in an ambush, by the Homonadenes. Διέφθεραν αὐτὸν οἱ Κίλικες ἐμβάλλουσι εἰς τοὺς Ὀμονάδες καὶ ἐξ ἐνέδρας ληφθέντα. Strabo, xii. 6.

677. Marcus Lollius (see n.c. 2, no. 963) was the first proprietor of Galatia on its becoming a Roman province. Galatia quoque sub hoc (Augusto) provincia facta est, cum antea regnum fuisset, primusque eam M. Lollius pro Pretore administravit. Eutrop. vii. 10.

678. The temple of Janus is shut for the second time by Augustus. Ἀγνοστος μὲν ταῦτα τε ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἔκραιψε, καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τεμένεισμα, ἀνοχθὲν δὲ αὐτοῦς ἔλειπει. Dion, liii. 26. *At tunc (after the war in Spain) secundo per Ctesarē—quinto post urbem conditam—clausus est Janus.* Oros. vi. 21 (see n.c. 29, no. 649; n.c. 11, no. 797; n.c. 14, no. 763).

679. Marriage of Julia, the daughter of Augustus, to Marcellus, the son of his sister Octavia. This was during the absence and illness of Augustus. Τοῦτε γὰρ γάμος τῆς τε θυγατρὸς τῆς Ἰουλίας καὶ τοῦ ἀελοφίλου τοῦ Μαρκελλοῦ, μὴ θυγηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τότε ποιήσας, δὲ ἐκείνου (Agrippa) καὶ ἀπὸν ἰώσας (his cousin). Dion, liii. 27.

680. The Jews are indignant at the innovations of Herod (see n.c. 26, no. 672) and ten men band themselves together to take his life. Τινὲς δ' αὐτῶν τῇ δυσχερίᾳ τῶν οὐκ ἐξ ἔθους ἐπετηδευμάτων, καὶ τὸ καταλύεσθαι τὰ πάτρια μεγάλων ἡρόσμενοι ἄρχην κακῶν, ὅσων ὥρθησαν ἀποκτενεύεσθαι, etc. Jos. Ant. xv. 8, 3. This illustrates the banding together of more than forty men to take the life of St. Paul. Acts, xxiii. 12.

681. Herod, to keep the people in check, fortifies Samaria. Ἡ δ' ἐπιμονὴ τοῦ πλῆθους, καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τῶν νόμων πίστεις ἀκατάπληκτον αὐτῷ ἐποίησεν τὸν Ἡρώδη, εἰ μὴ μετὰ πλείους ἰσχυρίας κρηττή, καὶ ἐγγὺς αὐτῷ τῶν περιεληφέναι τὸ πλῆθος, ὥς μὴ ρωτοερίζοντων φανερίαν γενέσθαι τὴν ἀπάσασιν. Ἐξωχυρωμένης οὖν τῆς πόλεως μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς Αἰλῆς ἐν ἡ ἱερᾷ, τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τῇ περὶ τὸ φρούριον ὀχυρώσας, τὸ καλούμενον Ἀντωνίαν τὸ κατασκευασθὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, τρίτον παντὶ τῷ λαῷ τὴν Συμαρίαν ἐπερύσσειν ἐπιταγίσαι, κατέκτισεν αὐτὴν Σεραπην. Jos. Ant. xv. 8, 4 and 5. With the same view, but at different times, he built Caesarea and

Gaba, in Galilee, and Eschonitis, in Peraz. Ant. xv. 8, 5.

682. The indignation of the people, as keeping pace with Herod's innovations, was probably at its height in n.c. 25, for the theatre began in n.c. 26 (see no. 672) was then so far finished as to have received its decorations, and the trophies or panoplies, which were mistaken for images, stirred up the people. Jos. Ant. xv. 8, 1.

683. This year a famine arises from the want of the spring rains, and then follows a plague. Κατὰ τοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τρισκαίδεκατον ὄντα τῆς Ἡρώδου βασιλείας πάθη μέγιστα τὴν χώραν ἐπέλαβεν, εἰτε δὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ μνησάντος, ἢ καὶ κατὰ περιούσιος ἀπαντήσαντος τοῦ κακοῦ. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαὶ καὶ δεινέστες ἐγένοντο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἄκαρπος ἡ γῆ, μηδ' οὐα κατ' αὐτὴν εἰσθεῖν ἡλιαστίαν φέρουσα· ἔπειτα . . . νόσος τῶν σωματῶν καὶ πάθος ἦεν λοιμὸν ἐκρίπει, etc. Jos. Ant. xv. 9, 1. It may be worth noticing that Josephus here apparently identifies the current year of his history with the thirteenth year of Herod, as if the reign of Herod was considered by Josephus as commencing with the new year, and if so, it is an argument that Josephus reckoned the reign of Herod from 1 Nisan; and this is rather confirmed by the series of events enumerated, as first the drought and then the failure of the crops, without any reference to winter during which the Roman year began. By the wrath of God, referred to in the above passage, must be meant the supposed divine wrath at Herod's innovations upon the law by the erection of a theatre, etc. And as these innovations were introduced by Herod upon the death of the sons of Abas, in n.c. 26 (see no. 672), the famine and plague may be assigned to the year n.c. 25. There were two years of famine, viz. n.c. 25 and n.c. 24 (see the latter year, no. 692), and as the first year, n.c. 25, is assigned to the thirteenth year of Herod, his reign must have commenced, according to Josephus, in n.c. 37.

683 a. Coins of Augustus.

Cæsar Augustus + *Jan.* *av.* i. e. *Templum Jani clusum* (see ante, no. 678).

Imp. Cæsar Divi F. August. Cos. etc. + *M. Acilius Glabrio Procos.* Eekhel vi. 90.

Inscription.

(*Imp.*) *Cæsar Divi F. C. N. (Augustus viii.)*
M. Juvius D. P. M. N. Fasti Capitoli.

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle
Passover, April 3
Pentecost, May 24
Tabernacles, September 28

BC 24. UC 730. Olymp. 189, 1.

AUGUSTUS, x
C NORBANUS FLACCUS

AUGUSTUS COS x COS DESIG XI PONT IMP VIII

Augustus was consul during the whole year. Suet Octav 26

Fourteenth year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan

684. Augustus, leaving Lucius Æmilius Lamia in Spain, returns to Rome, but is still in a very weak state. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἔλατον ὁ Αὐγουστος μετα Γαϊόν Νορβακού ἥρξας καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλησιάζειν τε ἦδη τῇ πόλει ἡγγέλθη (ὕπὸ γὰρ τῆς ἀρρώστιας ἐχοδίσσε) καὶ τῷ δήμῳ καθ' ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς δώσαν ὑπόχετο, etc Dion, lvi 28. According to Orosius Augustus had been absent in Spain for five years, viz, since BC 28 *Cantabico bello per quinque annos acta Cæsar Romam rediit* Oros vi 21. But see BC 27, no 667.

685. On the departure of Augustus from Spain, the Cantabri and Astures make an insurrection, but are subdued by Lucius Æmilius Lamia (his cos) Dion, lvi 29 Cassiodori His cos

686. The expedition of Ælius Gallus, prefect of Egypt, into Arabia, is in this consulship. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα (the campaign of Æmilius in Spain) ἐγένετο . . . ἐπὶ γὰρ τὴν Ἀραβίαν, τὴν Εὐδαίμοι α καλουμένην, ἣς Σαβῶς βασιλευσε, Ἀίλιος Γάλλος, ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀρχων, ἐπεστράτευσεν Dion, lvi 29 Strabo, xvi 4, xvii 1 Plin N. H. vi 82 (see BC 23, no 706)

687 Herod sends to Ælius Gallus 500 auxiliaries. Περί δὲ τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον (the famine in Judæa) καὶ συμμαχοὺς ἔπεμψε Καίσαρι πεντακισίους ἐπιλέκτους τῶν σωματοφυλάκων, οὓς Γάλλος Αἴλιος περί τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν ἦγεν εἰς πολλὰ χρησίμους αὐτῷ γενομένους Jos Ant xv 9, 3. Ἐναντηγήσατο (Ælius) σκευογυρὰν ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα, αἱ ἐπλευσεν ἔχων περί μιστοὺς πεζοὺς τῶν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν συμμαχῶν, ὧν ἦσαν Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν πεντακίσσιοι, Νυβηταῖοι δὲ χίλιοι μετὰ τοῦ Συλλαίου Strabo, xvi 4 Petronius appears to have been appointed prefect of Egypt dur-

ing the absence of Ælius on the expedition. Ἐπεμπε δ' ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου (Herod) χόρηματα, Περωνίον ἣν ἐπαρχίαν ἀπὸ Καίσαρος ἐκληρότο. Ant. xv 9, 2 (see BC 26, no 669; AD 32, no 1368)

688. Obodas was at this time king of Petra, with Syllaus for his minister. Συνέβαιε δὲ τοῦτο τοῦ μὲν βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ὀβοδά μὴ πολὺ φροντίζοιτος τῷ κοινῷ. ἀπαιτα δὲ τῇ τοῦ ἐπιτρόπου ποιουμένην ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ Συλλαίου Strabo, xvi 4 (see BC 99, no 582, BC 7, no 840)

689. The expedition of Gallus proceeds first to Λευιὴ κόμη, where they pass the rest of the summer and the following winter. Ἐναγκάσθη γυνόντε θίρος καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα διατελεῖσαι αὐτοὶ τοὺς ὄσθεν οὐνται ἀνατῶμενος Strabo, xvi 4

690 The Ethiopians, under Candace then queen, take advantage of the absence of Ælius with the Roman forces in Arabia, and invade Egypt. Οἱ Αἰθίοπες καταφρονήσαντες τῷ μερὶ τι τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δυνάμεως ἀπεσπᾶσθαι μετὰ Γάλλου Αἰλίου πολιορκούντος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀραβίας . . . ἔλόντες ἔρθεσαν τὴν τε Σιήην καὶ τὴν Ἐλεφαντίνην καὶ Φιλὰς Strabo, xvii 1

691. Petronius defeats the Ethiopians, and takes Pselche and Premmis, and then Napate (called by Dion, lvi 5, Tanape), where was the royal palace, and fortifies Premmis and leaves a garrison in it with provisions for two years, and then returns. Ἦν δὲ Ἰρῆμιν τευχίσας βελτίον, φρουραν ἐμβαλὼν καὶ τροφὴν δυοῖν ἑνιαυτῷ τετρακοσίους ἡδύρασιν, ἀπήρεν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. Strabo, xvii 1 Petronius sends 1,000 captives to Augustus, who had then lately returned from Spain (see ante, no 684). Καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλῶ-ων τοὺς μὲν ἐλαφροπώλησε, χίλιους δὲ Καίσαρι ἐπέμψε νεοστὶ ἐκ Καντὰβρων ἡκοῦντι, τοὺς δὲ νόσσοι διεχρήσατο Strabo, xvii 1 The victory of Petronius was therefore in this year, though Dion relates all the transactions at once under the year BC 22, when the war was concluded (see BC 22, no 714)

692. The crops in Judæa fail for the second time. Οὐδὲν εἰς ἐλπίδα χρηστὸν ὑπελείπετο, μάλλον ἢ κατὰ τὴν προσέλιαν ἐπείκειντο τοὺ κασὸ καὶ οὐδὲ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν μόνον (BC 25), ὡς αὐτοῖς εἶαι μὲν οὐδὲν ὑπολοιπὸν, ἀπολωλέναι δὲ καὶ τῶν περι-οιτων τὰ σπέρματα, μηδὲ το δεύτερον (BC 24) ἀνέλσας τῆς γῆς Jos Ant xv 9, 1 The year BC 25, in which they had sown, was therefore not a sabbatic year (The Sabbatic

year was B.C. 30.) This continuance of the famine was after the great outlay of Herod in fortifying Samaria, etc. (see B.C. 25, no. 681). Καὶ τὰς ἀπορίας οὐκ ἐλάττους εἶναι συνέβαιεν αὐτῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ, τῶν τε φόρων, οὐκ ἐλάμβανεν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, ἀφηνειόμενος, καὶ τὰ χρήματα διεδουλοῦντο πρὸς φιλοτιμίαν ὧν τὰς πόλεις ἐπεσκεύαζεν. Ant. xv. 9, 1 (see B.C. 25, no. 683).

693. Herod, from the continuance of the famine, becomes unpopular with his subjects, Jos. Ant. xv. 9, 1; and sends to Petronius, the prefect of Egypt and a personal friend, and procures permission to export corn from Egypt to Judæa; and Herod, when it arrives (τοῦτων ἀφικουμένων), is enabled, not only to supply the wants of his own subjects, but even to furnish seed to the Syrians. Ant. xv. 9, 2.

694. Herod also provides clothing for the people against the approaching winter. Ἐπιμέλειαν δὲ καὶ τοῦ μὴ διαχειρᾶσθαι μετὰ κινδύνων αὐτοὺς ἐποιήσατο. Jos. Ant. xv. 9, 2.

695. Herod, about this time, sends to Rome, for their education, his sons by Mariamne, Alexander and Aristobulus, and another son, who died at Rome. Jos. Bell. i. 22, 2. They were sent to Rome after the fortifying of Samaria (see B.C. 25, no. 681), ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις δὲ ὧν καὶ τῆς Σεβαστῆς ἦεν πεπολισμένης, ἔγωγε (Herod) τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ πέμπειν εἰς Ῥώμην, Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Ἀριστόβουλον, συντεταγμένους Καίσαρι, Ant. xv. 10, 1; and apparently after Augustus had returned from Spain, for he is represented as receiving them very graciously. Ἐφείτο δὲ καὶ τοῖς Καίσαρος κατὰ γαστήρ, καὶ γὰρ ἐξέξατο μετὰ πάσης φιλανθρωπίας τοὺς παῖδας. Ant. xv. 10, 1. Caesar was in Spain during the years B.C. 26, and B.C. 25.

696. About the same time, Herod's dominions are enlarged by the annexation of Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Batanæa (see B.C. 36, no. 537), which Zenodorus, who had farmed them, is deprived of for his connivance at the ravages of the banditti in Damascus. This addition to Herod's kingdom follows immediately after the mission of Herod's sons to Rome in the Antiquities, and was probably in return for Herod's confidence in Augustus by sending his sons to Rome. Καὶ δέωσαν Ἠρώδης τὴν βασιλείαν, οὗ μὲν βούλεται, βεβαιῶν τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγονότων, καὶ χώρην ἐπὶ τὸν τε Τράχωνα καὶ Βατανίαν καὶ Αὐρανίτιν. Jos. Ant. xv. 10, 1. In the wars, the grant is placed after the end of the 1 Actiad, i.e. after midsummer, B.C. 26,

(see B.C. 30, no. 641). Μετὰ δὲ τὴν πρῶτην Ἀκτιάδα προστίθησι (Augustus) αὐτοῦ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τὸν τε Τράχωνα καλοῦμενον καὶ τὴν προσηχῇ Βατανίαν τε καὶ Αὐρανίτιν. Bell. i. 20, 4. This grant to Herod did not include Panæes, the district between Galilee of the Gentiles, on the west, and Auranitis, on the east; for Panæas was still left in the hands of Zenodorus or Zenon (see B.C. 20, no. 730). The ademption of Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Batanæa from Zenon, and the transfer of them to Herod, must have been about a year before the mission of Agrippa to the East, in B.C. 23, for ὁ δὲ Ζηνοδόρος, ἀχθόμενος πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἐπαρχίας ὑφαιρέσει, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ φόβῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἠρώδου μεταληφτότος, ἀνῆλθεν εἰς Ῥώμην κλητηγορήσων αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκείνους μὲν ἀπρακτοὺς ἀναστρέφει, πέμπεται δὲ Ἀγρίππας, etc. Ant. xv. 10, 2.

697. At the time of the complaints which led to the deprivation of Zenon, Varro was prefect of Syria. Κατὰ δὲ τὰς χρόνους οἱ πλησιόχωροι Οὐάρρωνος κυρεῖσθαι τοῦ τότε ἡγεμονεύοντος καὶ γράφειν ἤξιον Καίσαρι τὴν Ζηνοδόρου τὴν ἀτιμίαν. Jos. Ant. xv. 10, 1 (see B.C. 28, no. 660; B.C. 23, no. 700). It does not appear what Varro this was. Terentius Varro was in B.C. 25 employed against the Salassi, Dion. lili. 25; and L. Licinius Varro Murena was put to death for a conspiracy in B.C. 22. Dion. liv. 3. Suet. Octav. 19; Tib. 8. Vell. Pat. ii. 91. Tac. Ann. i. 10.

697 a. Inscription.

(Imp.) Caesar Divi F. C. N. Augustus p. C. No(rbanus) C. F. C. N.) Flavus.
Fasti Capitol.

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 23.

Pentecost, May 13.

Tabernacles, September 17.

B.C. 23. U.C. 731. Olymp. 189, 2.

Augustus, xi.

Atles Terentius Varro Murena. Qui in mag. mort. est. In ejus loc. fact. est Cn. Calpurnius Piso.

Augustus Cos. xi. Post. Imp. viii. Trib. Pot. i. from 27 June of this year.

Fifteenth year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

698. Augustus has another severe illness, when Antonius Musa applies the cold-water

cine, and restores him. 'Ο δ' Ἀθγόνοτος, ἐν δε καποὶ μετὰ Καλπιουρίου Πείσανος ἤρξει, ἡβρώ-στησαν αὐτοῖς, ὥστε μηδεμίαν ἔλτιδα σωτηρίας σchein. Ἀντώνιος τις Μούσιος καὶ ψυχρο-λουσίαις καὶ ψυχροτοσίαις ἀπέσωσε. Dion, lmi 30. This year and the next are very unhealthy generally. Ὑπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ έτους (B C 24) καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πρωτα (B C 23) οὕτω ἰσοῦδου γένο-μενοι, ὥστε πῖνυ πολλοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπολέσθαι. Dion, lmi 33.

699. The Tribunician power is conferred upon Augustus for life. Ἡ γερουσία ἐμπαρ-χόν τε αὐτὸν δια βίου εἶναι ἐψηφίσατο. Dion, lmi 32. The Tribunician years of Augustus were dated from v Kal Jul (27 June). See Fasti Hellen. At the same time, Augustus is appointed Proconsul for life, by virtue of which office he exercised authority over all the pro-vinces. Τὴν τε ἀρχὴν τὴν Ἀνθύπατον ἐσσεὶ κα-θάτις εχειν. Dion, lmi 32.

700. A feeling of jealousy existing between Marcellus and Agrippa, the latter is sent by Augustus to take the command of Syria and of the East. As this was in the lifetime of Marcellus, it must have been before the close of this year. Μαθὼν τὸν Μάρκελλον οὐκ ἐπιτη-δεῖναι τῇ Ἀγορίππῃ δια τοῦτο ἔχοιτα, ἐς τὴν Συρίαν εὐθὺς τὸν Ἀγρίππαν. ἔστειλε. Dion, lmi 32 (see B C 24, no 607, B C 13 no 773). Agrippa passes from Rome to Mitylene. *Ad Lesbos quam ille (Agrippa) ex leui frigoris suspicione, et quod Marcellus sibi anteferebat, Mitylenas se, relictis omnibus contulisset.* Suet Octav. 66. *Exemplo M Agrippae, qui, M Marcello ad munera publica admoto, Mitylenas abiit.* Suet Tib 10. Πέμπεται δὲ Ἀγρίππας τῶν περὶ Ἰωνίου διύδοχος Καίσαρι καὶ τοῦτῃ περὶ Μιτυλήνην χειμάζοντι, etc. Jos Ant xv 10, 2. And, according to Dion, Agrippa never visited Syria but administered the affairs of it from Lesbos by his sub-ordinates. Οὐ μόντοι καὶ ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ἀφικετο, ἀλλ' . . . ἐκείσε μὲν τοὺς ὑποστρατήγους ἐπεμ-ψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν Λέσβῳ διέτριβε. Dion lmi 32. It thus appears that while Agrippa re-mained in the East, there was no other prefect of Syria.

701. Marcellus, on the occasion of his edili-ship, gives a banquet in the forum, which is covered over with a scene from the heat. Dion, lmi 31. The banquet was on 31 July. *Marcellus, Octavia sorore Augusti gentis, in Edulitate suā, avunculo τ. consule, u d Kal*

Augusti velis forum involubrai, ut salubritas litigates consisterent. Plin N II vii 6.

702. Soon after the banquet occurs the death of Marcellus. *M Marcellus magnifi-centissimo munere Edulitatis edito, decessit.* Vell Pat n. 93. Dion, lmi 33.

Quid genus aut virtus aut optima profuit illi.

Mutes, et amplexum Caesaris esse jocos,

Aut modo tam pleno fluitantia vela theatro?

Propert iii 18, 11.

Ἀγορανομῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων, ἐτελεύτησε νυμφίος, Καίσαρι θυγατρὶ χρόιον οὐ πολὺν (viz 20 years) συνικήμες. Plut Murell 30, and see Virg Aen vi 861. Marcellus was in his 20th year.

Occidit ut murei o steterit ut vigessimus annis.

Propert iii 18, 15.

703. Augustus appoints ten praetors, which number continued for some years afterwards. *Στρατηγους δέκα, ὥς οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλείοσι αὐ δέοντι, ἀπέδειξε, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πλείω ἔτη ἐγένετο.* Dion, lmi 32 (see B C 38, no 489, A D 11, no 1040).

704. Augustus returns to Albanum, and re-signs the consulship in favour of Lucius Sestius. *Ἀπέπε τὴν υπατείαν ἐς Ἀλβινὸν ἐλθὼν . . . καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦτῃ ἐπανὸν ἔσχε καὶ οὐ Λούκιος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Σήστον ἀνέκλετο.* Dion, lmi 32.

705. Thuidates on the one side, and a Puthian Embassy on the other, are heard (his cross) at Rome, and the standards taken from Cladius and Antony are agreed to be restored. *Ἰὸν μὲν Τηριδάτην τῇ Φρατρί οὐκ ἐξέδωκε, τὸν δὲ νῖον αὐτῇ, ὃν προτερον παρ' ἐκείνου λαβὼν εἶχεν, ἀπεπέμψεν, ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦτε αἰχμηλάτοισι, καὶ τὰ σημεῖα στρατιωτικὰ, ταῖ τε τῇ τοῦ Κράσσου καὶ ἐς τῇ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου συμφορᾷ ἄλονται, κομισασθαι.* Dion, lmi 33 (see B C 20, no 725).

706. Milius Gallus, in the spring, sets out from Aeneia Kώμη, and enters the country of Aetia, the kinsman of Obodas, king of Petra. *Πάλιν ἐκ τῆς Λευκῆς Κώμης ὁ Γάλλος ἀναξύν-εως τῇ στρατιᾳ . . . πολλαὶς ἡμεραις ἦεν ἐν τὴν Ἀρεία γῆν, συγγενεὺς τῷ Ὀβόδα.* Strabo, xvi 4. Gallus spends six months in the advance. *Ἦ β' ἔζη, ἣν ἐπρε, Νομάδων ἦ, ἐρημος τα πολλῇ ὥς ἀληθῶς, ἐκλεῖστο δὲ Ἀραρηγὴ βασιλεὺς δ' ἦν Σάβος, etc, ἐξ δὲ μηνὸν χρόνον ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς κυριεψέ, φαύλως ἀγόμενος.* Strabo, xvi 4. *Ἀναλώσας ἔξ μηνας ἐς τῇ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁδῷ.* Pl. And sixty days, or two months, are then spent on the retreat to Νερὴ Κώμη, on

the Red Sea. *Τὴν δὲ πᾶσαν ἰλὸν ἐξυκοσάτοιο ἐξήρσε κατὰ τὴν ἐκάνοιον. Ib.* He then crosses, in eleven days more, to Myus Hormis, and thence to Coptus, and so to Alexandria, at which he must have arrived in the last quarter of the year. *Ἐνταῦθεν δ' ἐπεράωσε τὴν στρατῶν ἐνδεκατάτοιο εἰς Μυὸς Ὀρμιν, εἰδ' ὑπέρθεος εἰς Κοπτὸν μετὰ γούν τῶν ὠνηθῆναι δομαμένων, κατῆκεν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. Strabo, xvi. 4 (see B.C. 24, 686).*

707. This year there is an abundant harvest in Judaea, and Herod employs 50,000 men to gather it in. *Καὶ τοῦτ' (the supplying seed to the Syrians) ὤησεν οὐκ ἦσαν αὐτῶν, εὐστοχουθείσης εἰς εὐφορίαν τῆς χάριτος, ὥς ἴπαιον ἴκανα τὰ περὶ τὰς τρυφὰς γενέσθαι. Τὸ δὲ σύμπαι, ἡμῶν περὶ τὴν γῆν ἐπιφανέτος, οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ πέντε μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων, οὐς αὐτὸς ἐθροῦσε, εἰς τὴν χώραν (see Ant. xiv. 13, 4) διέπεμψε, καὶ τοῦτω τῷ τρόπῳ κικωθεῖσαν αὐτῇ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπὶ πάσης φιλοτιμίας καὶ σπουδῆς ἀναλίσκων οὐκ ἦκιστα καὶ τοὺς περὶ ἐν ταῖς αἰταῖς κακοθυμίας ὄντας ἐπεκουφίσεν. Jos. Ant. xv. 9, 2.* As this year was the Sabbatic year, from 1 Nisan, B.C. 23, to 1 Nisan, A.C. 22, it results from the above passage that the law of the Sabbatic year did not forbid the gathering of the harvest, but only the cultivation of the ground. The way in which Josephus usually refers to the Sabbatic year agrees with this view (see B.C. 37, no. 525). It may be said, however, that the harvest alluded to in the passage cited above was not that of the Jews but of the Syrians, to whom he had supplied seed. But this interpretation is very forced, as *περὶ τὴν γῆν* and *εἰς τὴν χώραν*, without qualification, refer almost necessarily to Herod's own dominions. The year of plenty was B.C. 23, and not any earlier or later year, for the two years of famine and the one of plenty were certainly consecutive; and if the year of plenty could not be a Sabbatic year because the harvest was gathered in, then neither of the two years of scarcity could be a Sabbatic year, for in each of them the land was cultivated, and a harvest expected, though the earth yielded none. If, then, these three years were previous to B.C. 23, the first of them must have been B.C. 26; but how could this be, as Josephus refers the year when the famine began to the thirteenth year of Herod, and according to our reckoning the year B.C. 26 was the twelfth of Herod? and though, by counting from the actual

commencement of his reign at the close of B.C. 37, it might be made the eleventh, it could by no computation be the thirteenth. Again, if the third year in question be placed later than B.C. 23, then, as no one of the three consecutive years could by the hypothesis be a Sabbatic year, the first of them would at the earliest be B.C. 22, and this year could not by any possibility be the thirteenth of Herod. The conclusion, therefore, seems inevitable, that if the harvest of the year of plenty applies to Judaea, the observance of the Sabbatic year did not prevent the Jews from gathering the harvest. We may add the remark, that if neither sowing nor reaping were allowed in the Sabbatic year, there would in fact, as the corn was sown in one year and reaped in another, have been two Sabbatic years out of every seven—a very improbable supposition.

708. Herod pays a visit to Agrippa at Mitylene during the winter. *Καὶ τοῦτω (Agrippa) περὶ Μιτυλήνην χειμάζοντι συντυχὼν Ἡρώδης, ἦν γὰρ εἰς τὰ μέγιστα φθιός καὶ συνήθης, εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀναστρέψει. Jos. Ant. xv. 10, 2.*

709. Coins of Augustus.

Augustus Cos. xi. + M. Agrippa Cos. Tert. Cossus Lentulus.

Augustus Cos. xi. + Pacī perp.

Augustus Tr. Pot. + P. Sesto ill. vir.

Augustus + L. Caninius Gallus ill. vir Augustus Tr. Pot. Eckhel, vi. 92.

Coin of Sinepe.

Ann. XXIII. Head of J. Caesar + Head of Augustus, I. e. in the twenty-third year of the Sinopian era, dating from B.C. 704.

Eckhel, ii. 392.

Coin of Herod.

On the obverse, *ϕηρὶ quatuor in orbem dispositi*; and on the reverse, *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΗΡΩΔΕΩΣ ΓΑΛΕΑ ΒΗ ΑΡΕΩΣ, B. I. i. e. in the fifteenth year of his reign, and therefore in B.C. 23.*

Eckhel, iii. 450.

Inscription.

(Imp.) Caesar Divi F. C. N. Augustus xi. abd. In ejus loc. fact. est (L. Sestius P.) F. Fili N. A. Trecentius Varro) Murena. (In mag. mort. est) Du. e. L. f. e. (Cn. Calpurnius) Cn. F. C. N. Piso (Imp. Caesar Divi F. August. postq. Dictator appellatus) e. abdic. Tribun. Pot. Fasti Capitol.

The Sabbatic year.

Passover, April 10.

Pentecost, June 1.

Tabernacles, October 6.

B C 22 U C 732 Olymp 189, 3

M. CALPURNIUS PISO
L. AURELIUS

AUGUSTUS TRIB POT II FROM 27 JUNE COS XI
PONT. IMP. VII

Sixteenth year of the reign of Herod, from
1 January, or 1 Nisan

710. A plague and famine in Italy Dion, liv 1.

711 Conspiracy and death of L. Calpurnius
Varro Murena Dion, liv 3 Suet Octav
10 Vell Pat II 21

712. Cyprus and Galia Narbonensis, which
had been Imperial, are now made Senatorial
or Popular Provinces. *Ἰουρὶ δ' οὖν καὶ τὴν
ἑσπερίαν καὶ τὴν Γαλιαν τὴν Ναρθωνοῦσαν
ἀπέδωκε τῷ δήμῳ* (his cons.) Dion, liv 4 (see
B C 27, no 686). Cyprus and Cilicia had
anciently gone together as one province, but
as Cyprus only is here mentioned as delivered
over to the senate, of course Cilicia remained
with the emperor, and from this time Cilicia
(though governed, perhaps, like Judaea, by a
procurator) was comprised within the pro-
fecture of Syria (see B C 51, no 191, B C 4,
no 955, A D 15, no 1071, A D 57, no 1832)

712 a. Augustus dedicates the Temple of
Jupiter Tonans. *Τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Βροντῶντος
ἐγκαλουμένον καθήρωσε* Dion, liv 4 Suet
Octav 29

713 Augustus visits Sicily. *Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα
ἔγειτο, ο Ἀυγούστος ες Συκελίαν ἦλθεν, ὥπως
καὶ ἔκεινεν καὶ τὰλλα, μέχρι τῆς Συρίας, κατα-
σίστηται* (his cons.) Dion, liv 6

714. The Ethiopians attack the garrison at
Prennis, which had been left there by Petro-
nius two years before, when Petronius suc-
cours it and drives the enemy back, and
strengthens the garrison with a greater force.
*Κῆν τούτῳ τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν τοῖς φρουροῖς ἐπιθε-
μειω, αὐτοὶ τε ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐστράτευσαν καὶ τοὺς
σφετεροὺς ἱρῆνσαντο, καὶ τὴν Κανδάην συμβῆναι
οἱ ἠνέγκυσεν* (his cons.) Dion, liv 5 Περ-
τρίων δ' ἐξεβόηθησε, καὶ φθάσει προεισελθὼν εἰς
τὸ φρούριον, καὶ πλείοσι παρασκευάσαι ἐξασφαλι-
σμένοι τὸν τόπον, etc. Strabo, xvii 1 There
were two Ethiopian invasions, and two vic-
tories of Petronius, but both are related by
Dion under the year B C 22, though the first
invasion and his victory were in B C 24 (see
that year, no 690, and B C 21, no 722)

715 Herod rebuilds his palace in the upper
city, and, intending to marry Mariamne the

daughter of Simon, he removes Jews the son
of Phabos from the high-priesthood, and ap-
points Simon in his place, and then marries
Mariamne. All this was after the recovery,
which was in B C 23, from the famine and
plague. *Πάλιν οὖν αὐτῷ τῶν πραγμάτων τρὸς
ἐπίδοσιν εὐθηνουμένων, βασιλεῖον ἐξουδομεῖ
περὶ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν προσελάμβανε δὲ καὶ
γάμον αὐτῷ. αὐτίκα τοῦν Ἰησοῦν τὸν τοῦ
Φάβητος ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν Ἀρχιερωσύνην, Σίμωνα
δὲ καθίστησιν ἐπὶ τῆς τιμῆς, καὶ τὸ ἡῆδος πρὸς
αὐτὸν συνάπτεται* Jos Ant xv 9, 3 (see B C
33, no 560, B C 5 no 896)

716. After the marriage, he builds a fortress
called Herodium, seven miles and a half from
Jerusalem, in honour of his victory over Anti-
gonus. *Τελεσθέντος δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ γάμου, προ-
παιστικυλάσαςτο φρούριον ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων, ἐν οἷς
ἔτεκε Ἰουδαίους, οὗτε, τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκπεσόντος,
Ἀιτίγονος ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἦν. Γούτο δὲ
τὸ φρούριον ἀπέχει μὲτ' Ἱεροσολύμων περὶ ἑξή-
κοντα σταδίων* Jos Ant xv 9, 4 Herodium
is now known as the Frank mountain

717. Next after this in the order of the nar-
rative of Josephus, and therefore probably in
B C 21 (see that year, no 723) Herod founds
Caesarea. *Πάντως δὲ αὐτῷ προεχωρηκότων εἰς
δεῖον, ὡν ἡλικίαι περιεβάλλετο δὲ τὴν ἡῆθεν
ἀσφάλειαν. Κατιδὼν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῇ θαλάσῃ
χωρίον ἐπιτηδεύσαντο λησασθαι πόλιν, ὃ παλαι
Στράτωνος ἐκαλεῖτο πυργος, τῇ τε διαγραφῇ μεγα-
λοπρεπῶς ἐπεβάλλετο, etc* Jos. Ant xv. 9, 5
and 6

717 a Coins of Augustus

Caesai Augustinus + Jovs Toni or Jovis Tun (see
antl, no 712 a) Eckhel, vi 92

Inscriptions

*I. Aruntius L F Cos. xv vir Sacris faciundis
Viam Senilis faciund Lavacrum M reficiund
S D S P R C* (at Atina)

Muralori, i 290, 2

*I Aruntius L F Cos v vir Sacris faci-
undis Viam Senil faciund Cloacani faci-
undam D S C* (at Atina)

Muralori, i 290, 2

*J O M et Iulius Phil Cos C Ap Flavianus
(ED Cur cum Bas et Hyrobasi D D de-
dicatum L Aruntius et C Cludio Marcello
Cos (at Puteoli)* Muralori, i 290, 3

First year of the Sabbatic cycle

Passover, March 31

Pentecost, May 21

Tabernacles, September 25

B.C. 21. U.C. 733. Olymp. 189, 2.

M. LOLLIVS.

Q. ÆMILIUS LEPIDVS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. III. FROM 27 JUNE. COS. XI. POST. IMP. VIII. (The title of Imp. viii. commenced some time between 27 June of this year, and 27 June of the following year, as appears from the inscription *infra*, 723 a.)

Seventeenth year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

718. Augustus, while in Sicily, summons Agrippa from Asia, in order that Agrippa may marry Julia, the daughter of Augustus. Agrippa arrives, and proceeds to Rome, and the marriage is celebrated. *Μετ' ἐπιψατο αὐτὸν (Agrippam) καὶ καταγαγίσας τὴν γυναῖκα . . . ἀπαλλάξαντα, τῇ 'Ιουλίᾳ συνοικίσας, ἐς τὴν Ὑόμην παραχρῆμα καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως διαχειρίσει ἐπεμψε.* Dion, liv. 6 (see B.C. 23, no. 700; B.C. 16, no. 754).

719. Agrippa at Rome prohibits the practice of Egyptian rites within a certain distance from the city. *Τὰ τε ἱερὰ τὰ Αἰγύπτια ἐπεισόντα αὐθις ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἀνίστασιν, ἀπεικὼν μνηεῖνα μὲν ἐν τῇ προαστείῳ αὐτὰ ἐντὸς ὁγδόου ἡμισταδίου ποιεῖν (his coss.).* Dion, liv. 6 (see A.D. 19, no. 1123).

720. Augustus constitutes Syracuse a Roman colony, and passes over to Greece, where he honours Sparta, and deprives Athens of Egina and Eretria, for having favoured M. Antony. Dion, liv. 7 (see B.C. 42, no. 422).

721. Augustus crosses to Samos, where he winters. *Ἐς Σάμον ἐπλευσε ἐνταῦθ' αὖτε ἐχειρμασε (his coss.).* Dion, liv. 7.

722. While he is there, the Ethiopians, in consequence of their defeat by Petronius (see B.C. 22, no. 714), send an embassy to Augustus. *Ἦγον εἰς Σάμον, ἐνταῦθα τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄντος, καὶ μέλλοντος εἰς Συρίαν ἐντεύθεν προΐναι, Τιβέριον εἰς Ἀρμενίαν στέλλοντος.* Strabo, xvii. 2, 1.

723. Herod commences the building of Caesarea. The preceding course of events would place it in this year (see B.C. 22, no. 717), and it was certainly some time before the arrival of Augustus in Syria, B.C. 20, as it precedes it in the narrative of Josephus. Compare Ant. xv. 9, 6; xv. 10, 3. It occupied

twelve years, by which current years must be meant, *ἡ μὲν δὲ, πολλὰς αὐτῷ ἐξῆς Νέστης δωδεκάτῃ χρόνῳ*, Ant. xv. 9, 6; and it was finished in the twenty-eighth year of Herod, i.e. B.C. 10 (see that year, no. 805). In another passage in the *same work* it is stated to have been completed in ten years, *δεκάτῳ μὲν ἔτει*, Ant. xvi. 5, 1; but *δεκάτῳ* is clearly a mistake for *δωδεκάτῳ*. The transcriber could easily have written *δεκάτῳ* for *δωδεκάτῳ* by omission, but not so easily *δωδεκάτῳ* for *δεκάτῳ*.

723 a. Coin of Augustus.

Augustus Divi F. + Sicil. Imp. viii. (see *ante*, no. 718). Eckhel, vi. 93.

Inscriptions.

Imp. Caesari Divi F. Augusto Cos. xi. Imp. viii. Triumvic. Potestat. iiii. P. Rabirius M. F. Maclurba (In monte Casino).

Muratori, i. 220, 8.

L. Senpronius L. F. L. N. Atratinus Iyo Cos. ex Afridi. A. DCCCXXII. (Vatno, 738) iiii. Idus Octob. Fasti Capitol.

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 20.

Pentecost, May 10.

Tabernacles, September 14.

B.C. 20. U.C. 734. Olymp. 190, 1.

M. APPULIVS.

P. SILLIVS NERVA.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. IV. FROM 27 JUNE.

COS. XI. POST. IMP. IX.

Eighteenth year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

724. Augustus in the spring traverses Asia and Bithynia. *Καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐν τῇ ἡρὶ ἐν ᾧ Μάρκος τε Ἀπολλίος καὶ Πούπλιος Σίλιος ὑπάρευσαν, πάντα τὰ τε ἐκεῖ καὶ ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ διέταξεν.* Dion, liv. 7. And is accompanied by Livina, or Julia, his wife. *Quotiens D. Augustum in occidentem atque orientem transisse comite Liria!* Tac. Ann. iii. 34.

725. The Roman standards taken by the Parthians from Crassus and Antony, and which had been demanded in B.C. 23, are restored by Phraates his coss. *M. Appuleius et P. Silius. His coss. aquilas et signa Crassiana de Parthis Caesar recepit.* Cassiodorus. *Κἄν τούτῳ ὁ Φραάτης φοιηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐπιστρατεύσῃ οἱ δι' ἡγεῖται τῶν συγκεκριμένων ἐπεποιήκει τι, τὰ τε*

σημῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, πλὴν δολιγῶν, οἱ ὑπ' αἰσχύνῃς σφᾶς ἐθνεῖραν, ἢ καὶ καταχώραν λαθόντες εἰσιναι, ἀπέπεμψε Dion, liv 6, and see Liv Egit 189, Suet Octav 21, Tib 9, Strabo, xvi 1, vi 1, Eckhel vi 24, and Monumentum Ancyranum (see v c 23, no 705) N B The delivery of the hostages to Titus was a separate and later transaction (see v c 10 no 810)

726. Augustus visits Syria, and deprives the Tyrians and Sidonians of their liberty on account of their fictions καὶ τοῦτο (the deprivation of their freedom) καὶ τοὺς Τυριοὺς τοὺς τε Σιδωνίους, δια τὰς στάσεις ἐποίησε, ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ γενόμενος Dion, liv. 7 (see a d 33, no 1424)

727. Augustus appoints Jamblichus II, son of Jamblichus I, to his Arabian patrimony, viz Emesa and Arethusa in Coele Syria (see v c 31, no 616), and Tarcondimotus, son of Tarcondimotus, to his Cilician patrimony, viz Cilicia Armenia (see v c 31, no 608, a d 17, no 1088), except some parts of the coast, which, with the Lesser Armenia, vacant by the death of its king Medus (see v c 33, no 579), are bestowed on Archelaus, king of Cappadocia (see v c 31, no 618, a d 17, no 1087) Δυναστείας δὲ τῇ, Ἰαμβλίχῳ τε, τῷ Ἰαμβλίχῳ, τὴν Ἀρμενίαν τὴν πατρῴαν, καὶ Ταρκονδιμότῳ, τῷ Τυρκονδιμότῳ, τὴν τῇ Κιλικίᾳ, ἣν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἔσχε, πλὴν τῶν παραθαλάσσιων τιμῶν, ἔδωκεν ἑκείνῳ γὰρ τῷ Ἀρχελάῳ μετὰ τῇ μικροτερᾷ Ἀρμενίᾳ ἐχρήσατο, ὅτι ὁ Μῆδος, ὁ πρὶν αὐτῆς βασιλεύων, ἐβελήκει (his sons) Dion, liv 9 When Strabo wrote, about a d 20, Sampsigeramus I was king of Emesa and Arethusa jointly with his son Jamblichus III Ἀρεθουσα ἢ Σαμψιέραμον καὶ Ἰαμβλίχῳ τοῦ ἐκείνου παῖδος, φυλάρχων τοῦ Ἑμεσηνῶν ἔθνεος Strabo, xvi 2 (see a d 41, no 1024) Medus is broken of in the passage from Dion as having died king of the Lesser Armenia but in v c 33 the Lesser Armenia had been given to Polemo (see v c 33, no 579) However, the Lesser Armenia experienced frequent changes, and it cannot be doubted that the Lesser Armenia did at one time or other come into the possession of Archelaus as Suabo, a native of Pontus, and who must have known the truth, testifies to the fact Τὴν μὲν οὖν Μυριαν Ἀρμενίαν, ἄλλοι ἄλλων ἔχοντων ὡς εἰβούλοιο Ῥωμαῖοι, τὸ τελευταῖον εἶχεν ὁ Ἀρχελαός Strabo, xii. 3 (see a d 38, no 1538)

Strabo refers also to the transmission of Tarcondimotus's dominions to some members of his family καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ κατέστη μέρος ἀπαιτων (the parts about Mount Amanus) αἱ ἡμᾶς ἀξιόλογος καὶ βασιλεῖς, ὅς τ' Ῥωμαίων ἀνομιήσῃ δια τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας Ταρκοι δέμοτος, καὶ τὴν διαδοχὴν τοῖς μετ' αὐτοὺς παρέδωκεν Strabo, xvi 5

728. Commagene is bestowed on Mithridates II, though still a minor Μαθριδάτῃ τινὶ τὴν Κομμαγενήν, ἐπειδὴ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῆς ἀπεκτόνει, καὶ τοὶ παῖδες ἔτι οἱ τε ἐπέτρεψε (his sons) Dion, liv 9 (see v c 29, no 653) He was succeeded by Antiochus III (see a d 17, no 1088)

729 Augustus is at Antioch, where Herod defends himself successfully against an accusation by the Gadarnes, when his enemies throw themselves into the Orontes Jos Ant xv 10, 3

730. Zenodorus, or Zenon, who had before been deprived of all his provinces except Paneas, dies at Antioch, when Augustus bestows Paneas, as he had the rest, on Herod Ὁ γὰρ Ζηνοδωρὸς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας ἐκλείπει τὸν βίον καὶ σαρ δὲ καὶ τὴν τουτου μοῖραν, οὐκ ὀλίγην οὖσαν, Ἡρώδῃ δίδωσιν, ἢ μετὰ τοῦ Τράχωνος καὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἦν, Οὐλάθαν καὶ Πανιάδα καὶ τῆς περιῆ χώραν Jos Ant xv 10, 3, Bell i 20, 4 Οὐλάθαν was the district about the lake Οὐλη or Merom Οὐλη is the Greek form of Huleh, the name by which the lake has been called from that day to the present Stanley's Palestine, 387, 2nd ed This grant to Herod is placed by Dion also in the present year Τῷ τε Ἡρώδῃ Ζηνοδωρὸν τοῦδε τετραρχίαν ἐπέτρεψε (his sons) Dion, liv 9 The grant did not include the Tetrarchy of Abylene, which lay to the north of Paneas, and was still held by one of the Lymanus family (see v c 24, no 696, v c 4, no 950)

731. Herod obtains from Augustus the appointment of his brother Pheroras to the Tetrarchy of Peraea. Τοιαυτῆς δὲ ἐσχέρμης παρήστας, τῷ μὲν ἀδελφῷ Φερώρῳ παρα Καίσαρος ἤθησεν τετραρχίαν, αὐτὸς ἀντιένειμι ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας πρόσθεν ἑκατὸν ταλάντων Jos Ant xv 10, 3

732. Augustus appoints Herod perpetual joint Procurator of Syria Ῥωμαῖοι γίνουσι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς ἐτιροπτεύουσιν τῆς Συρίας ἐντελέμειοι μετὰ τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃς τα πάντα ποιεῖν Jos Ant xv 10, 3, Bell i 20, 4

733. These proceedings were during the visit of Augustus to Syria, which is placed by Dion in a.c. 20. And Josephus agrees in this date, for he places it in the tenth year after the former visit of Augustus in a.c. 30. *Κατέστηρε δ' αὐτὸν (Herod) καὶ Συρίας ὅλης ἐπιτροπὸν. ἔπει δεκάτῳ πάλιν ἔλθων εἰς τὴν ἑπαρχίαν, etc.* Bell. i. 20, 4. The arrival of Augustus in Syria was certainly therefore in a.c. 20; and it is important to observe that, according to Josephus the seventeenth year of Herod had then expired. *Ἦν δ' αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπτακοσέκτου παρελθόντος ἔτους, Καίσαρ εἰς Συρίαν ἀφίκετο.* Ant. 15, 10, 3. Josephus in respect of *place* usually employs *παρελθόν* in the sense of having arrived; but, in respect of *time*, it denotes being past, as in the following chapter of the same book. *Ἐστ' αὖθις τῆς ἐποτρῆς παρελεύσεως, etc.* Ant. xv. 11, 4. Unless the word be read in this sense, Josephus would be at variance with himself, as he attributes the spring of a.c. 31 to the seventh year of Herod (see a.c. 31, nos. 604, 619); so that the spring of a.c. 20 would be the eighteenth year of Herod. If a.c. 20 was the eighteenth year, Josephus must have computed the reign either by consular years from 1 January, a.c. 37, or by Jewish years from 1 Nisan, a.c. 37; and as the close of the seventeenth year is made contemporaneous with the arrival of Augustus, which was in the spring, it may be argued that Josephus considered the eighteenth year as commencing on 1 Nisan rather than on 1 January. Had Josephus reckoned from the time of Herod's accession (which was certainly in the last quarter of a.c. 37), the arrival of Augustus in the spring of a.c. 20 would necessarily have fallen in the seventeenth year of Herod (see a.c. 37, no. 528; a.c. 31, no. 619; a.c. 25, no. 683; a.c. 10, no. 805; a.c. 4, no. 925).

734. While Augustus is in the East, the Armenians, dissatisfied with their king—called by Josephus and Tacitus, Artaxias, and by Dion, Artaxes, xlix. 39, and Artabazus, liv. 9, and by Vell. Pat., Artavasdes, ii. 94—invite Tigranes, his brother, who was at Rome, to ascend the throne, when Augustus sends for Tiberius from Italy to seat Tigranes on the throne. Tiberius proceeds to Armenia by way of Philippi; and Artaxias having been assassinated, Tigranes succeeds without opposition. Dion, liv. 9. *Occiso Artaxiā per dolum propugnorum, datus a Cesare Armeniis Tigranes,*

deductusque in regnum a Tiberio Nerone. Tac. Ann. ii. 3. (Tiberius) ducto ad Armeniam exercitu regnum Artaxiā Tigranē restituit, Suet. Tib. 9. *Ἀρμενίας δ' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀρταξίας ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν ἐκείνου (Artavasdes) πατρὶων διατρίψας ἐν τῷ τότε καὶ τούτων Ἀρχέλαος καὶ Νέρων Καίσαρ (Tiberius) ἐλθούσας Τυγράνην τὸν νεώτερον ἀνελθόν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν κατήγαγον.* Jos. Ant. xv. 4, 3. *Ἀρμενίαν τὴν μέγιστον, ἀναστήτους τοῦ βασιλείου, ἐνέδμενος ἐπαρχίαν ποιῆσαι, πολλοὺς ἐξουλοῦσθαι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἡμῶν ἰδὼν βασιλείαν Τυγράνι ἢ Ἀρταξιδέου νόθῳ, νικῶν δὲ Τυγράνον βασιλεύς ἐ... ἐπὶ Τυβερίου Νέρωνος δεσπότου μόνον ἡγήσατο.* Lapis Ancyrr. Fasti Hellen. iii. 301. *Cum legionibus ingressus Armeniam (Tiberius), redacti ad in potestatem populi Romani, regnum ejus Artavastis filio Tigrani dedit. Quin ex quoque Parthorum, tanti nominis fund terribus, liberos ejus ad Caesarem misit obsecres.* Vell. Pat. ii. 94. (The latter event, the delivery of the hostages, was ten years later; see a.c. 10, no. 810.) Tigranes did not reign long, and his children could not maintain their power. *Nec Tigrani diuturnum imperium fuit, neque liberis ejus, quoniam sociis more exterratis in multitudine regnumque.* Tac. Ann. ii. 3 (see a.c. 33, no. 889; a.c. 6, no. 850).

735. Tiberius, on his way back from Armenia, passes some time at Rhodes. *Amanitate et salubritate insula (Rhodes) joca inde captus, quum ad eam ab Armeniā rediens appropinquaret.* Suet. Tib. 11.

736. Herod escorts Augustus to the seaside (probably Seleucia) on his departure from Syria, and then returns to Judaea. *Κατασπάζει ἐπὶ θάλασσαν πρόπεμψας (Herod), ὡς ἐπαγγέλει, etc.* Jos. Ant. xv. 10, 3.

737. Herod, on his return to Judaea, erects a temple to Augustus in Panens, Jos. Ant. xv. 10, 3; Bell. i. 21, 3; and remits to his subjects one third of their taxes, Ant. xv. 10, 4; in order ostensibly that they might recover themselves from the dearth. *Ἡρόδωσαν μὲν ὅς ἀνελάβους ἐκ τῆς ἀφροσύνης, ἰδ.* The great famine had been in a.c. 25 and a.c. 24, and it would appear from this passage that the effects of it were felt for some years afterwards. This is the more likely as a.c. 23 was a Sabbatic year, when the land was allowed to rest, i.e. could not be cultivated, so that there would be no crops in a.c. 22.

738. Herod now conceives the design of re-

building the Temple of Jerusalem. This was certainly after Herod's return from Antioch, toward the close of B.C. 20, for Josephus connects the undertaking with Herod's aggrandisement, in consequence of the honours received from Augustus. "Τὸν ἐπὶ πλείστον μὲν εὐταμονίᾳ προέκοθεν, εἰς μείζον δὲ ἐξήρθη φρόνημα, καὶ τὸ πλεον τῆς μεγαλοσύνης ἐπέτεινεν εἰς εὐσεβίαν." Jos. Bell. i 20, 1. And Herod, in his address to the Jews on the subject of rebuilding the Temple, thus alludes to the favour of the Romans: "τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, φίλοι καὶ δι' εὐνοίας οἱ πόλιντες, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, κρατυῦντες." Ant. xv 11, 1.

Herod, according to Josephus, opened his plans to the Jews either in the eighteenth or the nineteenth year of his reign according to the interpretation to be put on the word *γεγονότος* in the following passage: *τοτε γοῦν ὁπτακαίδεκάτον τῆς βασιλείας γεγεῖν ὁ ἴστος ἐναντιοῦ, μετὰ τὰς προσηρμείας πράξεις ἔργον οὐ τὸ τῆς ἐπιβάλετο τὸν πλεον τοῦ θεοῦ δι' αὐτοῦ μετασκευάζεσθαι.* Ant. xv 11, 1. If *γεγεῖν* means 'being current' then the design was in the eighteenth year, but if it mean 'being past,' then it was in the nineteenth year.

1 It may be thought that the more simple interpretation of the word is 'being current,' and if so, the public announcement of Herod's intentions must be placed at the close of B.C. 20 or the beginning of B.C. 19. As the first year of Herod's reign was reckoned either from 1 January or 1 Nisan, B.C. 37, the eighteenth of Herod's reign would begin from 1 January or 1 Nisan, B.C. 20, but Herod did not return from his attendance on Augustus until the departure of the latter for Samos, in the autumn of B.C. 20, and the scheme of the Temple must therefore have been propounded at the very end of the year B.C. 20, or the beginning of B.C. 19. The actual commencement of the Temple was at the Pasover, B.C. 18, and it is not inconsistent with this hypothesis that Herod should have first promulgated his intentions and begun the preparations so early as in the last quarter of B.C. 20, or the first quarter of B.C. 19 which would allow more time for the preparations.

2 The words *ἐπιτελειούτων γεγονότος* appear to correspond with the preceding words *ἐπιτελειούτων παρελθόντος*, Ant. xv 10, 3, and may therefore be very well rendered 'the eighteenth year having fallen or being past.'

As Josephus had already said that the seventeenth year was past, it would be an idle repetition to say afterwards that the eighteenth year was current, which of course was the case if the seventeenth year had expired. The intention also of rebuilding the Temple was certainly subsequent to the presence of Augustus at Antioch in the autumn of B.C. 20, and yet Josephus tells us that Herod, on his return to Judaea from Antioch, was first of all engaged in erecting a temple to Augustus near Panium, in the district just added to his dominions by the liberality of the Emperor, and then, in order to appease the resentment of his countrymen at this and other infringements of their laws, Herod remitted one third of their taxes, and after these proceedings, *μετὰ τὰς προσηρμείας πράξεις*, Ant. xv 11, 1, and scarcely, therefore, before 1 January or 1 Nisan, B.C. 19 (the commencement of Herod's nineteenth year), he announced his plans for rebuilding the Temple.

In the Wars the date of the undertaking is referred by the mistake of the transcribers to the fifteenth year of Herod's reign, *πεντεκαίδεκάτῳ γοῦν ἐταί τῆς βασιλείας αὐτὸν τὸν πλεον ἐπεσεύασε, καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀντετίχαστο χώραν, τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐν-λασιαν*, Bell. i 21, 1, but the original word was probably *ἐντεκαίδεκάτῳ*, the nineteenth year, which might glide by an easy mistake into *πεντεκαίδεκάτῳ*. In the preceding paragraph in the Wars, Josephus had spoken of the visit of Augustus to Syria in B.C. 20, i.e. in the eighteenth year of Herod's reign, and then ascribes the plan of rebuilding the Temple to the confidence which the Emperor's favour had inspired, so that the narrative itself assumes that the year in question was, at all events, later than in the fifteenth year of Herod, and not earlier than in the eighteenth year of Herod (see further, B.C. 18, no 745).

739 Augustus sails to Samos, where he winters. "Ὁ δὲ Λάγιστος ἐξ ἐτὸς Σάμον ἐπαῆλθε, καὶ ταῦθα αὐτῷ ἐχέμασε." Dion. lrv 9. As Augustus left Syria by sea, the voyage was probably before the winter months, if not before the equinox.

740 Birth of Caius, son of Agrippa and Julia (his cons.). Dion. lrv 8. It is mentioned by Dion between the dedication of the temple of Mars which, according to Ovid's Fasti, v 545, *et seq.*, was on 12 May, and the

birth of Augustus, which was on 23 September. A yearly sacrifice for ever on the birthday of Caius was decreed by the Senate; and as Ovid's *Fasti*, written in the reign of Augustus, do not allude to the sacrifice, it may be fairly concluded that the birth of Caius was after 1 July, when the *Fasti* end, and before 23 September (see B.C. 5, no. 889).

740 a. Coins of Augustus.

Augustus + Signis Receptis.

Cæsar Augustus + Signis Receptis (see ante, no. 725). Eckhel, vi. 94.

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 8.

Pentecost, May 29.

Tabernacles, October 3.

B.C. 19. U.C. 735. Olymp. 190, 2.

C. SENTIUS SAPIENTINUS.

Q. LUCRETIUS V. F. PELLO

ex Kal. Jul.

M. VINCIUS.

VIPERANTIS AGRIPPA IV.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. V. FROM 27 JUNE. COS. XI.

PONT. IMP. IX. (see coins *infra*).

Nineteenth year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

741. Augustus proceeds on his way from Sadios, where he had wintered, to Rome. *Kai autòs ἐκ τῆς Πόλεως ἦρχετο*. Dion, liv. 19 (see B.C. 20, no. 739).

742. Agrippa, having settled affairs at Rome, proceeds to Gaul and thence to Spain. *Ἀγρίππας δὲ, ὡς τότε, ἐκ τῆς Πόλεως ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας περὶφθεῖς, διέκρινε τὰ κατεπείγοντα, ταῖς Γαλατίας προσετέλθη . . . καταστήσας δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνα, ἐς Ἱβηρίαν μετέστη*. Dion, liv. 11.

743. Augustus reaches Rome this year. *C. Sentius et Q. Lucretius. (His cons.) Cæsari ex provinciis redeunti currus cum coronâ aureâ decoratus est, etc.* Cassiodorus. And the day of his arrival was decreed to be kept sacred and called the Augustalia. *Ἐψηφίσθη . . . τὴν ἡμέραν ἢ ἀφ' ἧς ἐφύετο, ἢ τε ταῖς ἡμερησίαις ἀφιγμέναις, καὶ ἀπονοστήσαισι ἀιογάζεσθαι*. Dion, liv. 10. The arrival was on 12 October, for *iv.* (Eid. Octob.) *August. N. Lud. in circ. Fer. E. S. C. q. e. d. Imp. Cæs. Aug. ex transiur. Provinc. urbem intravit Ariq. Fort. Reduci Consul. P.* Old calendar cited Muratori, i. 151; Eckhel, vi. 109. Augustus entered Rome with the honours of an ovation for having recovered

the standards from the Parthians, and to commemorate that event he erects the temple of Mars Ultor, and a triumphal arch is decreed to him, Dion, liv. 8; and an altar *Fortunæ Reduci*. Dion, liv. 10 (see B.C. 20, no. 725).

743 a. Coins of Augustus.

Head of Augustus + Fort. Red. Cæs. Aug. S. P. Q. R.

Q. Rontius Fortune Antiat. + Cæsari Augusto Ex S. C. For. Re.

Augustus Cos. xi. or Imp. ix. Tr. Po. V. + S. P. Q. R. or S. P. R. Signis receptis.

Imp. ix. Tr. Po. V. + Mart. Urb.

Imp. ix. Tr. Po. V. + Com. Aelio Rom. et

August. i. e. Communibus Asiae Romae et

Augusto (see Dion, li. 20; Suet. Aug. 52; Tac.

Ann. iv. 37).

Augustus Divi F. + Sicil. Imp. ix.

Eckhel, vi. 109.

Inscription.

L. Cornelius P. F. Balbus ex Africa An. DCCXXXIV. (Varro, 735) ex K. April.

Fasti Capitol.

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 28.

Pentecost, May 18.

Tabernacles, Sept. 22.

B.C. 18. U.C. 736. Olymp. 190, 3.

CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

P. CORNEL. LENTULUS MARCELLINUS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. VI. FROM 27 JUNE.

COS. XI. PONT. IMP. IX.

Twentieth year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

744. The supreme power is renewed to Augustus for five years. Augustus also procures the tribunitian power to be conferred on Agrippa for the like period. *Πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς πέριτε τῆς προστασίας ἔτη, ἐπειγόμενος ὁ δεκάτης χρόνος ἐξήκων ἦν, προσέθετο' ταῦτα γὰρ Πουπλίου τε καὶ Γναίου Λεντούλου ὑπατευόντων ἐγένετο. Ἐπειτα δὲ (his cons.) καὶ τῷ Ἀγρίππῃ ἄλλα τε ἐξ ἴσου πη ταῦτα, καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν ἐμαρτυκίην ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον (five years) ἐτίθει. Τούτῳ γὰρ σφίσιν ἔτι τότε ἐπαρτίσκειν ἔφη' ὑπερὸν γὰρ οὐ πολλὰ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῆς αὐτοκράτορος ἡγεμονίας ἔλαβεν, ὥστε αὐτὰ δέκα αὖθις γενέσθαι*. Dion, liv. 12. The first period of ten years of the supreme power, as it was dated from 1 January, B.C. 27, had not actually expired at this time, but was only running out.

Ἐξήκω ηῖ It would end on 31 December, B C 18 (see B C 27, no 662, B C 8, no 820)

745 The preparations for the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem having been completed (see B C 20, no 783), Herod commences the work itself. The Temple comprised two things. 1 The *Ιερὸν*, or outer temple, which was open to Herod as to all Israelites, and the building of which was under the superintendence of Herod himself, and occupied eight years. Καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐργοῖς τα περὶ τὰς πτοίαι, καὶ τοὺς ἔξω περιβάλλους ἐπραγματεύετο (Herod), καὶ ταῦτα φιλοδόμησεν ἔτεσιν οὕτω Jos Ant xv. 11, 5. — 2 The *ναός*, the inner temple or sanctuary, which Herod, not being a priest, might not enter, and the building of which was therefore committed to the priests, and which was opened for public service in a year and a half. Ἰούνῳ εἰς οὐτέρα τῶν τριῶν (the inner temple, the sanctuary, and the altar) ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης παρήλθεν. ἐκεῖνόντο γὰρ οὐκ ὦν ἱερεῖς. Ἰού δὲ παύει τῶν ἱερῶν οἰκοδομηθεῖται ἐτεσὶ καὶ μηνὶ ἐξ ἑπτασὶν ὁ ναός ἐπληρωθὲν χωρὶς Ant xv. 11, 5 and 6.

The preparations spoken of by Josephus were the collection of one thousand waggons, ten thousand workmen, and one thousand priests instructed as carpenters and masons, and this would occupy some time, not less than a year or a year and a half. Supposing the preparations to have been commenced towards the close of B C 20, or in the spring of B C 19, the building of the temple itself (as not a stone of the old structure was to be removed until the preparations were completed) may be placed about the Passover B C 18. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἡρώδης ταῦτ' εἶπει, ἐξέπληρτε δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὁ λόγος, παρὰ δὲ τὰν ἐμπεσῶν, καὶ τὸ μὲν τῆς ἐλπίδος ἀπιστοῦν οὐκ ἐτήγχερον αὐτοὺς, ἡδεμόνουν δὲ μὴ φθάσας καταλύσαι τὸ πᾶν ἔργον οὐκ ἐξαιρέσει πρὸς τέλος ἀγαγεῖν τὴν συνειρήσιν, ὅτε μὲν νοι αὐτοῖς μιλῶν ἐφαίνετο, καὶ δυσεργηροῖτο ἐδόκει τὸ μεγαλὸς τῆς ἐπιβολῆς. Οὕτω δ' αὐτῶν διακειμένων, παρεβύβρουν ὁ βρασιλεὺς, οὐ πρότερον καθαιρήσειν φαινομεν τὸν νεῶν, ἢ πάντων αὐτῶ τῶν εἰς τὴν συντέλειαν παρεσκευασμένων. Καὶ ταῦτα προεπὼν, οὐκ ἐψεύσατο χολίας γὰρ εὐπρεπίσας ἀμύδης, αἱ βυστινιστοὶ τοὺς λίθους, ἐργάτας δὲ μυρίους τοὺς ἐμπεροτάτους ἐν-λιεδομένους, καὶ ἱερεῖς τὸν ἀριθμὸν χιλίους ἱερατικῆς ἀντιστάμενος στόλας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν διδάσας οἰκοδόμους, ἑτέρους δὲ τεκτονᾶς, ἡπτετο τῆς κατασκευῆς, ἀπ' αὐτῶν αὐτῶ προθύμως

προεπρε-ισμεῖων ἀνελών ἐξ τοῦ ἀρχαίου θεμελίου, καὶ καταβαλλόμενος ἑτέρον ἐπ' αὐτῶν τοὺς ναὸν ἡγερε φιλοδόμησεν δὲ ὁ ναός, ἐκ λίθων μὲν λευκῶν τε καὶ κρατερῶν, εἰς Ant xv. 11, 2. In the above passage it is distinctly stated by Josephus that between Herod's first publication of his plans and the actual commencement of the undertaking an interval elapsed, though the length of it does not appear. The language of the historian rather negatives the conjecture, which would otherwise be probable, that Herod immediately after the communication of his plans commenced the *Ἰερὸν*, or outer temple, the building of which was under his own superintendence, and that the compact with the Jews, not to begin the new edifice until all the preparations were completed, applied only to the *ναός*, the inner temple or sanctuary, the building of which was committed to the priests.

Josephus remarks that the opening of the *ναός*, or sanctuary, for public worship coincided with the day kept as the anniversary of Herod's accession to the throne. Συνεπιτετέωλε γὰρ τῇ προθεσμίᾳ τοῦ περὶ τὸν ναὸν ἔργον καὶ τῇ ἡμερᾳ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἣν ἐξ ἑθῶς ἐώρταζεν, εἰς ταῦτόν ἐλθεῖν Ant xv. 11, 6. Herod must have observed as this anniversary either the day of his appointment to the kingdom by the Romans, in the last quarter of B C 40 (see nos 465, 469), or the day of his assumption of the crown, on the death of Antigonus, in the last quarter of B C 37 (see no 528). It was most likely the day of his appointment to the kingdom by the Romans, for it is particularly mentioned by Josephus that this event was originally celebrated by a banquet at Rome at the house of Antony Ant xiv. 14, 5, Bell i. 14, 4. In either case, however, as the temple, or *ναός*, was finished in a year and a half, and the conclusion fell in the last quarter of the year, the commencement of it must have been about the time of a Passover, and if so, it was probably the Passover of B C 18, by which time the preparations may be presumed to have been completed.

The embellishment and further improvement of the Temple continued long after the completion of it substantially. The building of the Temple had been going on for forty-six years when Our Lord was present at Jerusalem at the Passover, A D 29, for the Jews exclaimed, Ἰεσσαράμοντα καὶ ἔξ ἔτεσιν φιλοδόμηθ' ὁ ναός,

John ii. 20 (see A.D. 29, no. 1205); i.e. "forty and six years has this temple been building." It will be observed that the expression of the Jews, *δοκομένη ὁ ναός*, is exactly that of Josephus, *δοκομένη ὁ ναός*, Ant. xv. 11, 3; where the historian opposes the actual commencement of the Temple to the previous preparations for it. The Jews, therefore, were speaking of the time which had elapsed from the laying of the first stone, and not from the preparations. From the Passover B.C. 18 to the Passover A.D. 29 would be just forty-six years. The expression, however, that the Temple had been building for forty-six years may mean forty-six years in round numbers, i.e. forty-six years plus or minus by a few months; and if so, the statement would be correct even if the period be dated, not as we have supposed from the actual commencement of the fabric, but from the preparations for it; for supposing Herod to have projected the reconstruction of the Temple in the nineteenth year of his reign (see B.C. 20, no. 738), then, as Josephus reckons the reign of Herod either by consular years from 1 January, or by Jewish years from 1 Nisan, the nineteenth year of Herod would be either the consular year from 1 January B.C. 19 or the Jewish year from 1 Nisan B.C. 19; and if Herod promulgated his intentions at any time in that year *after the Passover* (which the series of events renders probable), the interval from such communication of his plans to the *Passover* A.D. 29 would be forty-six years complete and some months over.

746. The Temple was not absolutely and finally perfected in all its parts until the year A.D. 65 (see that year, no. 1978), being five years only before its destruction by the Romans. Jos. Ant. xx. 9, 7.

747. About this time—viz., after the commencement of the Temple—Herod sails to Rome and brings back with him his sons Aristobulus and Alexander. *Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ καὶ τὸν εἰς τὴν Ἰσραὴλιν πλοὺν ἐποιήσατο, Καίσαρι τε συντυχὲν ὁρμηθεὶς, καὶ θεύσασθαι τοὺς παῖδας ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διατρέψοντας. Καίσαρ δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα φιλοφρόνως αὐτὸν ἐδέξατο, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας, ὡς βῆθ' ἐκτελειώσας ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν, ἀπέδωκεν ἵκειν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν.* Jos. Ant. xvi. 1, 2; Bell. i. 23, 1. This voyage is related by Josephus after the undertaking of the temple and before the voyage of Herod to Agrippa in Asia, in A.C. 16 (see no. 754).

748. Herod, shortly after his return from Rome with his sons by Mariamne, which was either at the close of this year or at the beginning of the next, banishes Antipater, his son by Doris, his first wife, but permits him to attend the public festivals at Jerusalem. *Δὲ ἦν (Μαριάννη) αὐτῷ στασιασθῆναι συνέβη τὸν οἶκον, καὶ τάχιστα μὲν, μάλιστα δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Ῥώμης ἀφίκν'· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Δωρῆδος υἱὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκ Μαριάμνης ἐργαζόμενος τῆς πόλεως, μόνους ταῖς ἐσπέραις ἡφείς κατέειπεν.* Jos. Bell. i. 22, 1.

748 a. Coin of Augustus.

S. P. Q. R. Imp. Caesaris Aug. Cos. xi. Tr. Po. xi. + *Obv. et sign. milit. et Turh. vesp.* Eckhel, vi. 101.

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 16.

Pentecost, June 6.

Tabernacles, October 11.

B.C. 17. U.C. 737. Olymp. 190, 4.

C. PONTUS.

C. JENIUS SILANUS.

AUGUSTUS TRJ. POT. VII. FROM 27 JUNE.

COS. XL. POST. IMP. IX.

Twenty-first year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

749. Birth of Lucius Cæsar, the son of Julia and Agrippa, and the adoption of both Caius and Lucius by Augustus. *Ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τοῦ Γαίου τε Φαυμπίου καὶ Γαίου Σιλανοῦ ὑπάτων, υἱὸν αὖθις ὁ Ἀγρίππας ἀνέλετο τὸν Λούκιον ὀνομασθέντα, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐθόξ' ὁ Αὔγουστος μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Γαίου ἐποίησατο, μὴ δυναμένους αὐτὰς ἀνδρωθῆναι, ἀλλ' αὐτόθεν ἡαδέχοντο τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀποδείξας.* Dion. liv. 18. At the time of this adoption Agrippa was at Rome. *Latro declarabat illam Cæsare Augusto audiente et Agrippæ, cuius filius, nepotes suos, Cæsar Lucium et Caium adoptaturus diebus illis celebratur. Erat Agrippa inter eos qui noui nati sunt nobiles sed facti. Cum diceret partem adolescentis Latro, et tractaret adoptionis locum, dixit 'Non isti adoptione nobilitati fuerunt.' Senec. Controv. 12, p. 193, cited Fasti Hellen.*

750. Ludi Seculares for the fifth time. *Τὰ τε παικουλάρια τὰ πεμπτα ἐπετέλεσε (his cons.).* Dion. liv. 18. *Eodem anno Ludos Seculares Cæsar ingenti apparatu fecit, quos centesimo*

quoque anno (as enim terminus sæculi) fiesi mos
Liv lib 136, cited Censorinus, c 17

751. Advocates at Rome are restricted from taking fees *Καὶ τοὺς ῥήτορας ἡμισθεὶ συναγορεύειν, ἢ τετραπλάσιον, ὅσοι ἂν λάβωσιν*, *ἐκταῖεν ἐλθέουσ* Dion, liv. 18 (see A D 47, no 1713)

752. Herod marries his son Alexander to Glaphyra the daughter of Archelais, king of Cappadocia, and his son Aristobulus to Beronice the daughter of Salome. This was before the mind of Herod had been poisoned by calumnies against his sons. *Ἐν μετὰ τῷ ῥοτε, πάσης ὑποψίας καὶ διαβολῆς μείζονι χρόμειος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῇ τοῦ γεγενημένου φιλοστοργία, καὶ τιμῇ, ἥς εἶδε, μετέδιδου, καὶ γυναικὰ ἐι ἡλικίας γεγοισσι ἐξέγινε*, *Ἀριστοβούλῳ μὲν τὴν Σαλώμης θυγατέρα Βιρενίκη, Ἀλέξανδρῳ δὲ τὴν Ἀρχελάου, τοῦ Καππαδοκῶν βασιλέως, Γλαφύραν* Jos Ant xvi 1, 2, Bell i 23, 1. These marriages are placed in the narrative of Josephus before the arrival of Agrippa in Asia, b c 16, and the events, therefore, occurred either in this year or early in b c 15

752 a Coins of Augustus

Augustus T Pof vii + Imp Cæs Aug Ind
See (Inscriptum eppojuncta) XV S F (In
oibm) L Messenius Rufus vi vi
M Sanguinius vi vi + August Divi F Indos
See (see ante, no 750)

Augustus Divi F + C Marius Tio (i e
Thymis) vi vi Eckhel, i 102

Coin of Archelais, king of Cappadocia

Ἀρχαίου, Ἰσχυίου Φιλοστράτους του Κτιστοῦ A
i e in the twentieth year of his reign (see
b c 86, no 551) Eckhel, iii 201

Sixth year of the Sabbath cycle

Passover, April 5

Pentecost, May 26

Tabernacles, Sept 30

B C 16 U C 738. Olymp. 191, 1

CM DOMITIVS ANNOBARDUS
P CORNELIVS SVPHO
EX Kal Jul L TATIVS RVFVS

Augustus T Pof vii FROM 27 JUNL
COS VI POSI IMP IX

Twenty-second year of the reign of Herod,
from 1 January, or 1 Nisan

753. Augustus sets out for Gaul, having previously dis-puted Agrippa into Syria, to

regulate that province and the affairs of the East. *Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν, Δουρίου τοῦ Δομνίου καὶ Πουπλίου Σεπίωνος ὑπατευόντων, ὤρμησε* (Augustus) *καὶ οὕτως τὸ μὲν ἄστυ τῷ Ταύρῳ μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας διοικεῖν ἐπιτρέψας (τόν τε γάρ Ἀγρίππαν ἐς τὴν Συρίαν αὐθὺς ἐστάλει, καὶ τῷ Μαυλίῳ διὰ τὴν γυναικὰ οὐκ ἐπὶ ὁμοίως ἔχειρε), τὸν δὲ δὴ Τυβέριον, καὶ οὐ στυμμεγνόντα, παραλαβὼν, ἐξώρμησε* Dion, liv 19 (see b c 23, no 700, b c 13, no 773)

754. Agrippa arrives in Asia, and Herod, on receipt of the intelligence, pays him a visit, and invites him to Judea (see b c 15, no 760). *Γαῖα διοκίσας* (Herod) *επεῖδὲ καὶ Μάρκον Ἀγρίππαν ἐπιβέτη κατεπελκεύει πάλιν ἐς τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐπεχθεις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡέωσαν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῷ παρελθεῖν καὶ τυχεῖν ἂν ἔξει παρ' ἄνδρος ξένου καὶ φίλου* Jos Ant xvi 2, 1

755. About this time dies Asander, king of Bosphorus, ὁ Ἀσανδρος ἐτεθνήκει, Dion, liv 24, at the age of 93. *Ἀσανδρος δὲ ὁ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ Σαβαστοῦ ἡντι ἐθὶ ἄρχων βασιλεὺς ἀναγορευθεὶς Ποσπόρον ἐτελεύτησε βίους ἔτη τρια καὶ ἐννήκοντα* Lucian Macrob 17 (see b c 47, no 804). Scribonius married Dynamis, Asander's widow, a descendant of Mithridates the Great, and sets himself up as king of Bosphorus Dion, liv 24 (see b c 14, no 761)

756. Disturbances, but of little importance, break out in the Alpine nations and in Pan-nonia, Noricum, Dalmania, Syria, Macedonia, Thrace, Germany, and Gaul. Dion, liv 20

757. Augustus is employed this year and the next in calming these disorders. *Τῷ μὲν οὖν ὅτλων οὐδὲν διὰ ταῦτα οὐ λυγόντος ἐδέχθη, τα δὲ δὴ ἄλλα ἀβυστάμενις τοῦτον τε τὸν ἐκινυτον ἰατηνάλωκε, καὶ τον ὑπάρων, ἐν ᾧ Μάρκος τε Ἀλιβων καὶ Καλαπόρνιος Ἡελων ἐπάτησαν* Dion, liv 21

757 a Coins of Augustus

S P Q R Cæsar Augusto + Pof T Suec
Pro Sal et Red J O M Saci
Head of Augustus + Jov Pof Suec pro Sal
Cæsar Aug S P Q R
Head of Augustus + S P Q R V P Red
Cæs L Messenius Rufus
Cæs Aug Cons S C ob R P Cons + S P Q
R V S pro S et Red Aug
C Antistius Vetus vi vi + Pro Valentinus Cæs-
saris S P Q R (see ante, no 753)
Imp Cæs Augu Cæsar Cons (i e consensu
cæsarum) + J O M S P Q R P S Imp

Cæ. Quod per eu. R. P. in anp. ult. tran.
S. E. (i. e. in asphore etque tranquillore
statu est.)
Imp. Cæsar Augus. Tr. Pot. iix. or viii. +
Apollini Actio or Fictus P. R. cum Gabiuis.
C. Antistius Vetus iiii. vir.
C. Antistius Vetus iiii. vir. + Imp. Cæsar. Augus.
Cos. xi.
Augustus Tr. Pot. viii. or Epactidion Figure of
Augustus + S. P. Q. R. Imp. Cæ. Quod
V. M. S. ex ea P. Q. Ia ad Æ. De. L.
Vincius L. F. iiii. vir (i. e.) Quod vie mu-
nile sunt ex ea pecunia quam is ad Æbrianum
dehilit (see Dion. lili. 22).
S. P. Q. R. Imp. Cæ. + Quod vie mun. sost.
S. P. Q. R. Imp. Cæsari or S. P. Q. R. Cæsari
Augusto + Quod vie mun. sust.
 Eckhol, vi. 103.

The Sabbatic year.
 Passover, March 25.
 Pentecost, May 15.
 Tabernacles, September 19.

B.C. 15. U.C. 739. Olymp. 191, 2.

M. LIV. DULSTUS LIMO.
 L. CALPURNIUS PISO CÆSONIENS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. IX. FROM 27 JUNE.
 COS. XI. PONT. DIP. IX.

Twenty-third year of the reign of Herod,
 from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

758. Drusus and Tiberius overthrow the
 Rhæti. Dion. liv. 22.

759. Payhos suffers from an earthquake, and
 Augustus lends his aid, and calls the city
 Augusta. Παφίος τε σεισμῷ παρῆσσαι καὶ χοή-
 ματα ἐχρησίσατο, καὶ τὴν πόλιν Αὐγουσταν κα-
 λῆν κατὰ ἐδάμην ἐπέτρεψε (his cos.). Dion.
 liv. 23.

760. Agrippa visits Judæa, and is conducted
 by Herod over Casarea, Alexandrium, Hero-
 dium, and Hyrcania, and finally Jerusalem,
 where the people receive Agrippa in state,
 Agrippa sacrifices in the temple, and, on the
 approach of winter, sails for Ephesus. Καὶ ἔν-
 τε πλείους ἐπιμενίας ἡμέρας, ἐν τῶν καιρῶν
 ἡλείετο, τὸν γὰρ πλοῦν, ἐπιβαίνοντος τοῦ χει-
 μῶνος, οὐκ ἐνόμizen ἀσφαλῇ κομίζομεν πάλιν ἐκ
 ἀνάγκης εἰς τὴν Ἰωδαίαν. Jos. Ant. xvi. 2, 1.
 This visit was in B.C. 15, for Josephus expressly
 states it to have occurred the year before the
 expedition of Agrippa against Bosphorus.
 Ἐκείνος μὲν οὖν (Agrippa) ἀπέπλει, πολλὰτε

αὐτὸν ὁρῶντες τετραμήσιος Ἡρώδου, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ
 τοὺς ἐπισμηνοτάτους· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς (Herod)
 χειμῶστος ἐν τοῖς αἰετίαις, ἔαρος ἡλείετο
 συνεχθῆν αὐτῷ τὴν εἰς Βόσπορον εἰδὼς στρατιῶν
 προσηρμένον. Ant. xv. 2, 2. And Dion places
 the expedition to the Bosphorus in B.C. 14.
 Dion. liv. 24 (see B.C. 14, no. 761).

760 a. Coin of Sinope.

An. xxvi. Head of Augustus + Heads of Coins
 and Lucius Cæsar, i. e. in the thirty-first
 year, dating from B.C. 70a.

Eckhel, ii. 792.

First year of the Sabbatic cycle.
 Passover, April 15.
 Pentecost, June 3.
 Tabernacles, October 8.

B.C. 14. U.C. 740. Olymp. 191, 3.

M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
 C. CANTILLI LENTULUS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. X. FROM 27 JUNE.
 COS. XI. PONT. DIP. IX.

Twenty-fourth year of the reign of Herod,
 from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

761. Agrippa sends Polemo, king of Pontus,
 against Scribonius, who had set himself up as
 king of Bosphorus (see B.C. 16, no. 755).
 Scribonius is assassinated, and Agrippa, on
 arriving at Sinope, bestows Bosphorus on
 Polemo, who marries Dynamis, the widow of
 Alexander, and afterwards of Scribonius. Οὕτω
 δὲ τὰ τε ὅπλα κερθεύοντο (the Bosphorians) καὶ
 τῷ Πολέμῳ παρεδόθησαν, ἥ τε γυνὴ ἡ Δύναμις
 συνήγαγεν αὐτῷ (his cos.). Dion. liv. 24 (see
 B.C. 26, no. 670 : B.C. 2, no. 966 a.). Polemo
 married for his second wife Pythodoris (see
 B.C. 2, no. 966 a.).

762. Herod, in the spring of this year, sails
 by way of Rhodes and Cos to Chios, where he
 stays several days, and thence to Mitylene;
 and not finding Agrippa there, he follows him
 into the Euxine, and overtakes him at Sinope.
 Ἐκείνος μὲν οὖν (Agrippa) ἀπέπλει (from
 Judæa, see B.C. 15) . . . ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς (Herod)
 χειμῶστος ἐν τοῖς αἰετίαις ἔαρος ἡλείετο συνε-
 χθῆν αὐτῷ τὴν εἰς Βόσπορον εἰδὼς στρατιῶν προ-
 ηρμένον. Καὶ πλείους ἐν Ῥόδῳ καὶ Κῷ προσ-
 ἔσχεν περὶ Λέσβου, οὐ μένος ἐκεῖ καταλήξασθαι
 τὸν Ἀγρίππαν . . . ὁ δὲ (Herod) ἐπέδραμεν
 ἡμέρας πλείους ἐν τῇ Χίῳ . . . αὐτὸς δὲ λη-

ἔμιστος τοῦ πεινέματος εἰς Μιυάλην ἐκείθεν εἰς Βυζάντιον παρικομισθεῖς, ὡς ἤκουον ἐνδοτῶν Κουανίων ἔξῃ πεπλευκέναι τὸν Ἀγρίππαι, μετέπειθεν ὡς ἐνῆν, καὶ περὶ Σισώπην τῆν ἐν τῇ Πόντῃ καταλαβών, etc. Ant. xvi. 2, 2.

763. Agrippa proceeds to Amisus, where Herod, undertaking the cause of the Ilrians, who had offended Agrippa, obtains their pardon, and entrusts to Nicolas Damascenus, who was about to sail to Chios, a letter to the Ilrians to that effect. Nicolas sails to Byzantium, and thence to Troas, and, going up to Ilion, leaves the letter with the Ilrians. Τίλος δ' οὖν ἀναδεξιμένος ὁ ἀνὴρ (Herod) τὴν προστασίαν εὐρίσκειται αὐτοῖς τὴν ἄρεαν τῆς ζημίας, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ ταύτης ἐπιστολήν, ἣν ἐπ' ἀπελευθέρω (the Ilrians) ἤλθ' εἰς τὸ ἀπογγύναι τὴν ἀπόλυσιν, Νικολάῳ δέδωκε πλείους ἐπὶ Χίου καὶ Ῥόδου, ἐνθα ἦσαν αὐτὰ οἱ υἱεῖς, αὐτὸς γάρ (Herod) ἐπὶ Παφλαγονίας ἦν σὺν Ἀγρίππῃ. Νικόλαος δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀμίου πλεύσας ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου, ἐκείθεν εἰς τὴν Τρωάδα γῆν, ἀνέβη εἰς Ἴλιον, καὶ τὴν τῇ ἀπολύσει τοῦ χόου ἐπιστολήν ἀποδοὺς ἀνέμειν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰλίων αὐτὸς τε, καὶ ἔτι πολλὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἐμνήθη. Nicolas Damascen. Muller's Fragm. Hist. Græc. iii. 350.

764. Agrippa and Herod, having passed through Cappadocia and Phrygia, arrive at Ephesus, and then cross to Samos. Διαμειψόμενοι τὴν τε Παφλαγονίαν καὶ Καππαδοκίαν, ἐκείθεν ἐπὶ τῆς Μεγάλης Φρυγίας ἐλεύσαντες εἰς Ἐφέσον ὑφίσκοντο, σάδιν δὲ ἐξ Ἐφέσου διέπλευσαν εἰς Σάμον. Jos. Ant. xvi. 2, 2.

765. Agrippa, at the request of Herod, confirms the Jews of Asia in their various privileges, viz. immunity from attending the Law courts on the Sabbath, and from serving in the army. Jos. Ant. xvi. 2, 3.

766. Agrippa, about this time, writes also to Silanus, the proconsul. Ἐγραψά τῷ καὶ Σιλανῷ τῷ Σεραργῷ. Jos. Ant. xvi. 9, 1. This was no doubt M. Junius Silanus, who had been consul a.c. 25, and was proconsul of Asia, one of the two consular provinces. Josephus also mentions as proconsuls of Asia, at one time or other, C. Norbanus Flaccus, who had been consul a.c. 24; Julius Antonius, who had been consul a.c. 19; and C. Marcus Censorinus, who had been consul a.c. 8. Ant. xvi. 6, 2 and 3, and 6, and 7 (see a.c. 59, no. 105; A.D. 21, no. 1131).

767. Herod sets out on his return to Judea, and, landing not many days' after at Coesarea,

proceeds to Jerusalem, where he remounts his services to the nation, and remits one fourth of the year's taxes. Ἀπὸ δὲ Σάμου πλῆν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπ' οἶκον ἐξέρχεται, καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππαι παρικομισθεὶς, ἀνέχθη κατὰ γέρα εἰς Καίσαρειαν, οὗ πολλοὶ ὑπηρετοὶ ἡμῶν, περιμνησθέντες τῶν τεχνῶν, ἐκείθεν ἔλθον εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα, etc. Jos. Ant. xvi. 2, 5.

768. Herod, on his return, and at the time of his address to the Jews, is assailed by the calumnies of Salome and Pheroras against Alexander and Aristobulus, his sons by Mariamne. Ταῖτα (the dissensions in Herod's family) προήει μαζῶναι, κυρίως ἐχούσης τῆς στάσεως ἐν Ἀποβημῇ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς ἔ' ἐπαμύνηθη Ἰρὼδης, καὶ τῷ πλήθει διελέξατο, προσέειπεν εὐδὲς οἱ λόγους παρὶ τε τοῦ Φερόρου καὶ τῆς Σαλώμης, etc. Jos. Ant. xvi. 3, 2. This, therefore, was in the last quarter of a.c. 14.

Herod recalls his son Antipater (see a.c. 18, no. 718), and restores Doris, the mother of Antipater, to favour. Jos. Ant. xvi. 3, 3; Bell. i. 23, 2.

769. An inscription, no. 3, *ad calcem Suetonii*, refers to a closing of the temple of Janus (see a.c. 23, no. 649; a.c. 25, no. 678). *Imp. Cæsar Divi f. Augustus Pont. Max. Cos. xi., Tribunic. Potest. x., Imp. viiii., orbis mari et terrâ pacatâ, Templo Jani cluso, et Rep. P. R. optimis legibus et sanctissimis institutis reformatâ, viam superior, eos, tempore inchoatam, et multis locis intermissam, pro dignitate Imperii P. R. latibrem longioraque (cadeis usque) promovit.* This was the tenth year of the Tribunician power (see a.c. 23, no. 699), and the last previous consulship of Augustus was for the eleventh time, which style would continue until the next, the twelfth, consulship, which was in a.c. 5. According to this inscription, therefore, the temple of Janus is found closed during this year; but when it had been first closed *non constat*. According to Orosius, but whose statement must be mistaken, as evidently prompted by his own theory as to the date of the Nativity, the temple of Janus was closed by Augustus for the third time in a.c. 752. *Itaque anno ab urbe condita DCCLII., Cæsar Augustus ab oriente in occidentem, a Septentrione ad meridiam, ac per totum Oceanum circumcinctis gentibus una pace compositis, Jani portas tertio ipse tunc clausit.* Oros. vi. 22.

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle.
 Pasover, April 2.
 Pentecost, May 23.
 Tabernacles, September 27.

B.C. 13. U.C. 741. Olymp. 191, 4.

TIB. CLAUDIUS NERO
 P. QUINTILIUS SEX. VARUS.

AUGUSTUS THIR. POT. XII. FROM 27 JUNE. COS.
 XI. PONT. IMP. IX.

Twenty-fifth year of the reign of Herod, from
 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

770. Augustus, having composed Gaul, and Spain and Germany (where he leaves Drusus), returns to Rome. 'Ὁ γοῦν Αὐγούστος . . . ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Τιβηρίου καὶ ἐπὶ Κουιντίου Οὐάριου ὑπάτων, ἀνεκρίσθη. Dion., liv. 25.

771. Herod, early in the year, sails with his son Antipater, whom he advances with the view of depressing the sons of Mariamne, to Asia to meet Agrippa. 'Αγρίππᾳ μὲν οὖν ἀναίτι εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀναστῆ γεγενημένων, πλείους (Herod) ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ συντηγγάντων, μόνον τε τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἐπηγάγετα, καὶ παρέδωκε εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνάγειν. Jos. Ant. xvi. 3, 3. In this passage the ten years of Agrippa's administration are dated from his arrival in Asia, B.C. 23. In the interval he had visited Rome, but had retained the administration of Asiatic affairs in his hands (see B.C. 23, no. 700).

772. Agrippa, taking Antipater with him, sails for Rome. Jos. Ant. xvi. 3, 3; Bell. i. 23, 2. Dion., liv. 28. Antipater remained at Rome till Herod arrived there in B.C. 11, and during the interval was employed in defaming the sons of Mariamne by letters from Rome. 'Αλλὰ κρείσσειν, ὅτε ἀνύσειν τε καὶ παραξύνειν ἡλαπίσει τὸν πατέρα κατὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, συνεχῶς ἐπέσπελλεν. Ant. xvi. 4, 1.

773. It is probable that, on Agrippa's departure from the East, M. Titius was appointed prefect of Syria (see B.C. 23, no. 700; B.C. V, no. 816). During the interval between B.C. 23 and B.C. 13 there was no special prefect of Syria; but Agrippa himself, as having the command of the East, discharged the duties. M. Titius had been consul suffectus B.C. 31.

774. Agrippa, on arriving at Rome, receives a renewal of the Tribunitian Power for five years more, the former grant of five years in

a.c. 18 having expired. This also identifies the year of Agrippa's arrival with B.C. 13. Agrippa proceeds to Pannonia, but so late in the year that he did not open the campaign till the beginning of the following year. Κἔν τούτῳ τὸν Ἀγρίππᾱν ἐκ τῆς Συρίας ἰδόντα τῇ τε δημαρχίᾳ ἔκοντά αὐδὶς ἐς ἄλλα πέντε ἔτη πίντε διατάλναι (Augustus), καὶ ἐς τὴν Παννονίαν πολεμῆσαι οὖσαν ἐξέπεμψε . . . καὶ ὅς τὴν μὲν στρατείαν, κατὰ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐν ᾧ Μάρκος τε Οὐαλέριος καὶ Ποῦπλος Σουλπίκιος ὑπάτευσαν (B.C. 12) ἐνεστηκότος, ἐπαύσατα, etc. Dion., liv. 28.

774 a. Inscription.

F. K. Jul. N. (1 July).

G. vi. (2 July) N. Fer. Ex S. C. quod ara Pacis Aug. in camp. Mart. constit. Pac. S. (loge T.) Nerone & Vero Cos. Old calendar.

Muralori, i. 169.

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Pasover, March 22.

Pentecost, May 12

Tabernacles, September 16.

B.C. 12. U.C. 742. Olymp. 192, 1.

M. VALERIUS MESSALLA BARBATUS AMILIANUS, qui in mag. mort. Eum excepit C. Valgius Rufus qui ab ille. et cum excepit C. Caninius Rebilus, qui in mag. mort. - - -

M. SEVERUS QUINTIUS. Quem excepit L. Volusius Saturninus.

AUGUSTUS THIR. POT. XII. FROM 27 JUNE. COS.

XI. PONT. MAX. (see *infra*, no. 775). IMP. X. XI.

Twenty-sixth year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

775. Augustus succeeds Lepidus as Pontifex Maximus. Τοῦ Λεπίδου μεταλλάξαντος (Augustus) ἀντεδείχθη (his cos.). Dion., liv. 27.

This was on 6 March, for *Prid. Non. F.* . . . *Imp. Caesar August. Pont.* . . . *no et Valgio cos.* Fasti Verriani in Martio; and again, *Prid. Non. Mort. Hoc die Caesar Pontif. Maxim. fact. est.* Old calendar. Cited Fasti Hellen. B.C. 12.

Sectus ibi Oceanus effusus semitit Olympum Phoebo, et alutis aethera carpit equis, Quisquis ades, caveque colis penetralia Vestae, Cratera Iliacis thuraque pone focis. Caesaris innumerus, quem mutati ille merenti, Accessit titulus Pontificis honos.

Ovid, Fast. iii. 415. And see Suet. Octav. 31.

776 M. Agrippa returns from Pannonia to Italy, and dies in Campania in the month of March, for Augustus hears of his illness at Rome, at the Panathenaea (19th—23 March, see Ovid, *Fast* iii 809), and, on reaching Campania, finds him dead. *Πυθόμενος δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Αὐγουστος (ἐντεῖα δὲ ἴν τοῖς Παναθηναίοις ὑπὸ μαχίας ἀγώνας τῇ τῶν παίδων διόματι -θείε) ἐξωμνήθη, καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτὸν τεθνηκότα ἐς τὸ ἄστυ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐσκεορίσε* Dion, liv 28. Agrippa, at his death, was in his 51st year. *Quinquagesimo anno aetatis anno* Plin N II vii 6.

777. A comet was visible at Rome about the time of the death of M. Agrippa. *Τότε ἄστρον ὁ κομήτης ὠροσμενός ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἰστίου αἰωριθείς, ἐς λαμπράδας διελέθη* Dion, liv 29.

778. The birth of Agrippa, a posthumous son of M. Agrippa. Dion, liv 29.

779. Asia (Lydian) suffers from earthquakes. Dion, liv 30.

780. Augustus, on the death of M. Agrippa, leans on Tiberius, and sends him to Pannonia. Dion, liv 31.

781. Victories of Tiberius, upon which the Senate decrees public rejoicings, but they are not celebrated, nor the mourning for Agrippa. *καὶ αὐτῇ (Τιβέριω) διὰ ταῦτα ἡ μὲν βουλὴ τά γε ἐπιβουλὰ ἐψηφίσαντο, ὁ δ' Αὐγουστος ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν ἐορτάσαι, τὰς δὲ τιμὰς τὰς ἐπιμνηστικὰς ἀπέκωκε* Dion, liv 31.

782. Victories of Drusus in Germany. He returned to Rome at the beginning of the next year, but had no triumph from the mourning for Agrippa. *Τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τῇ Δρόσω συνίβη. "Διεχώρησε (χειμῶν γὰρ ἦν) καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλθὼν ἀστυνόμος, ἐπὶ τῇ Κνίδιον Αἰλίου καὶ Παύλου Φαβίου ἐτάτω (B.C. 11) καὶ περ τὰς στρατηγίας τιμὰς ἔχων, ἀπέδειχθη* Dion, liv 32.

783. Syllaeus, the chief minister of Obodas, king of Petra (see B.C. 24, no 688), while on a mission to Herod, falls in love with Salome, and, two or three months after his departure to Arabia, returns to Jerusalem, and makes an offer of marriage, but Herod forbids it, unless Syllaeus would consent to adopt Judaism. *Συλλαῖος ὑπὸ χροαίας οὐκ ἐν τῇ ἐλθὼν ὡς Περσίαν, συνδιδασκὼν ἔδειν τῇ Σαλώμῃ, καὶ τὸν τοῦν ἰσχυρὸν πρὸς αὐτὴν διαλατῶν δὲ οὗο μῆρας ἡ γρῆς, ἔρχεται πάλιν ὡς ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, καὶ λόγους Ἡρώδῃ προσηφέρειν, ἀξιῶν αὐτῇ τὴν*

Σαλώμῃ δοθῆναι πρὸς γάμον, etc. Jos Ant xvi 7, 6. This was just before Herod's voyage to Rome in B.C. 11, for the Trachonites who rebelled, and were detained during the absence of Herod at Rome, were harboured by Syllaeus, out of resentment from Herod's having refused him the hand of Salome. *Συλλαίου δεξαμένην μετὰ τὴν ἀποτυχίαν τοῦ Σαλώμης γάμου* Ant xvi 9, 1.

783 a Coins of Augustus

Augustus Divi F + Imp r Act

Augustus Divi F + Imp r Seal on Imp r

Aug Divi F Imp r + Salus Genus Humanum

S P Q R + Salus Genus Humanum

Eckhel, vi 107

Inscriptions

V T Iatunus Tr L Dori

e Agnusia Tr L Rufa.

Ioc Mansum Veni m K Sept

P Sulpicio C Valgio Rufo Consulibus (Flo-

rentiae) Muratori, i 297, 2

Imp Caesar Divi F Augustus Imp r Ti-

berius Potestate a a a a (pcaei forum July)

Muratori, i 442, 6, iv 2005, 3

Imp Ces Divi Fi Aug Tiberius Pot a

Consuli r Pon Maximo P Patrice

Posteritas Sedamum Patrono (Sedum in Va-

lencia) Muratori, i 1060, 4

(C Valgus C F) Rufus abbe In c l f e

(C Caminus C F) C N Rebl In mag

m e Testa Capitol

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle

Passover, April 10

Pentecost, May 31

Tabernacles, October 5

B.C. 11. U.C. 743. Olymp. 192, 2.

PACIUS LABIUS MAXIMUS

Q AELIUS TIBERIO

AUGUSTUS TRIB POT XIII FROM 27 JUNI COS XI PONI MAX IMP XI (see Dion, liv 33)

Twenty-seventh year of the reign of Herod

1st Jan. 1, or 1 Nisan

784. Drusus, in the spring, is again employed upon the war in Germany, ἀμα ἐξ τῇ ἡρὶ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον αὐθις (Drusus) ἀρμήσε, etc., Dion, liv 33, and is so employed till the commencement of winter, καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἐπέστη, Dion, liv 33.

785. Drusus, while in Germany, is nominated praetor, and the banquet which should

have been given by him on his election is celebrated at Rome during his absence; and the Augustalia, or festival of Augustus's birthday, 28 September, are celebrated this year, for the first time, by a decree of the Senate. 'Εν ᾧ δ' ὅν δ' Δραῦδος ταῦν ἐπρυτταν, ἡ τε πανήγυρις ἡ τῇ στρατηγίᾳ αὐτοῦ προσηκουσὶ πολυτελεσμένη ἐποσίθη' καὶ τὰ γενέθλια τῷ Αὐγούστου . . . ἐτιμήθη . . . Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, καίτοι μὴ ψηφισθῆν, ἐν πᾶσι ὡς εἰπεῖν τοῖς ἔτεσι, πρὸς τινος τῶν ἀπὸ στρατηγούτων ἐγίγνετο, ταῖς δὲ τῇ Αὐγουστούλῳ, ἡ καὶ τῶν ἡγετινῶν, τότε πρῶτον ἐν ἑορταστικῇ ἐτελέσθη. Dion. liv. 34. Drusus was praetor elect in the latter part of this year, for he was full praetor in a.c. 10, the year before his consulship in b.c. 9. *Post Praetorium, confestum iusto consulatu, atque expeditione repetita, supremum diem obiit.* Suet. Claud. 1.

786. The Dalmatians and Pannonians revolt, and Tiberius is engaged this year in carrying on the war against both (his cons.). Dion. liv. 31.

787. Augustus, during the pressure of this double conflict, posts himself near the seat of war, at Milan, or Ravenna, or Aquileia. *Reliqua (belli) per legatos administravit, ut tamen quinquedum Pannoniis atque Germaniis non interveniret aut non longo abesset, Ravennam, vel Mediolanum, vel Aquileiam usque ab urbe progrediens.* Suet. Octav. 20.

788. Dalmatia and Pannonia are both subjugated, and Dalmatia, as a turbulent province, is transferred from the Senate to the Emperor, and is thenceforth an Imperial Province. *Καὶ τούτων καὶ ἡ Δαλματία τῇ τοῦ Αὐγούστου φρονεῖ, ὡς καὶ ὅπλων τινῶν ἀπὸ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὴν καὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν Πανωνίων γειτονίαν δεομένη, παρεδόθη.* Dion. liv. 34 (see b.c. 27, no. 666).

789. Herod sails to Rome, to accuse Alexander and Aristobulus, his sons, before Augustus; and, not finding him at Rome, follows him to Aquileia. 'Ὡς δὲ αἰσθάνει τὴν 'Ρώμην, ἐγένετο μὲν μέχρι τῆς Αὐκλήας πόλεως Καίσαρι συνεχθῆναι ἐπιγύμναστος. Jos. Ant. xvi. 4, 1. 'Ἐκ τούτων πλὴν εἰς 'Ρώμην ὡς Καίσαρα 'Ηρώδης, ἐπήγχετο τὸν Νικόλαον ἑμὸς ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς νῆος, καὶ κοινῇ ἐφιλοσόφουν. Nicolaus Damasc. Muller's Fragn. Hist. Græc. iii. 351.

790. The cause of Herod against his sons is heard by Augustus, when a reconciliation is effected by the Emperor's interference. Jos. Ant. xvi. 4, 1; Bell. i. 23, 3. It does not appear

whether the hearing was at Aquileia or after Augustus's return to Rome, but not improbably the latter, for ἀγωνία τε τοῖς πυροῦσιν ἐνεπεπτόκει καὶ περὶ τῆν υἱάλην ἡ λόγος εὐδοκίᾳ ἐκίφλοντο ἰσχυροὶ τὸν βασιλέα, Ant. xvi. 4, 4; and see Bell. i. 23, 3, where no mention is made of Aquileia.

791. Alexander, on this occasion, refers thus to the building of the Temple at Jerusalem by Herod: ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀρχιτέκτων ἐπέβηκε καὶ θεοσκεπία τοῦ παντός ἔθνεος, ἐνίσχυτο ἢ πατροκτόνου ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων εἶναι, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἁγίωτατον ὑπὸ τοῦ κατασκευασθέντα ναὸν εἰσελθῆναι. Jos. Ant. xvi. 4, 3. The ναὸς, if begun at the Passover, b.c. 18 (see that year, no. 745), would, as it occupied a year and a half, have been finished in a.c. 17. The outer temple occupied eight years; and as Josephus most likely means, not complete years, but current years, it would be finished in b.c. 11; and thus the allusion of Alexander to the temple at this particular period would be peculiarly appropriate. It will be observed, however, that in the passage cited Alexander speaks not of ἱερὸν (the Temple in the large sense), but τὸν ἁγίωτατον ναόν (the Sanctuary or Holy edifice) (see b.c. 20, no. 738; b.c. 18, no. 745).

792. Herod, before quitting Rome, bestows 300 talents on Augustus towards the expenses of the games which he was then celebrating, and Augustus in return bestows on Herod one half of the copper mines of Cyprus and farms out to him the other half. 'Ἐν ταῖς ὑστερίαις ἡμέραις 'Ηρώδης μὲν ἑωρῆετο Καίσαρα τριμυσιόσις τάλαντοισι, θάλας τε καὶ διανομὰς ποιούμενον τῷ 'Ρωμίων ἔθρμῳ. Καίσαρ δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ μετάλλου τοῦ Κυπρίων χαλκοῦ τὴν ἡμισίαν πρόσδοσεν, καὶ τῆς ἡμισίας τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔδωκεν. Jos. Ant. xvi. 4, 5. The games which were now being celebrated may have been either those exhibited in the name, but in the absence, of Drusus, or the Augustalia, on Augustus's birthday, or the rejoicings for the victories in Germany, or Pannonia, or Dalmatia. Herod, accompanied by Antipater and Aristobulus, and Alexander, returns to Judaea by way of Cilicia, and is entertained at Eleusis by Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and is escorted by him as far as Zephyrium. The homeward voyage of Herod, as it took this direction and not by way of Egypt, was probably when the Etesian winds had ceased, and, therefore, late in the year. 'Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπανήκει πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν. . .

Ἡρόδῃ δὲ πάλιν αὖν τοῖς τιμαῖν, ὡς ἐγένετο κατὰ Κελαιναίην ἐν Ἐλευσίῃ, τῇ μετακινήσασθαι τὸν Σελοαστῆν, καταλαβάναι τὸν βασιλεῖα τῆς Κικασίας ἐκ τῆς Ἀρχαίας, etc. Ant. xvi. 4, 6. It appears from Strabo that Archelaus had a palace at Eleusis. Εἰθ' ἡ Ἐλευσίου εἴησε μετὰ Κωρκοῖν, ἢν ἀνέκειντο Ἀρχέλαος καὶ κατασκευάσαντο βασιλεῖον, Strabo, xiv. 5; and that he chiefly resided there, καὶ τὸ πλεον ἐνταῦθα (Archelaus) διαμένειν. Strabo, xii. 2.

793. It has been thought by some that the voyage of Herod to Rome occurred in B.C. 12, and that it was during the voyage in B.C. 12 that he was present at the Olympia mentioned Jos. Bell. i. 21, 12. But that the voyage was in B.C. 11, and not in B.C. 12, will appear from the following considerations: 1. Antipater had only reached Rome at the close of B.C. 13, and the voyage of Herod to accuse his sons was in great measure occasioned by the calumnies communicated by Antipater from Rome by constant letters, συνεχῶς ἐπίσπελλεν, Ant. xvi. 4, 1; and if Herod was at the Olympia on 1 July B.C. 12, there was not sufficient time for this correspondence. 2. Herod, when dragging his sons to the bar of justice, could not, in common decency, have gone by the way to the Olympia to join in the celebration of the games. In B.C. 8, on the contrary, Herod had been reconciled to his sons, and his visit to Rome was one of mere ceremony. 3. When Herod reached Italy, Augustus was at Aquileia; and though Augustus might have been there in B.C. 12, it is much more likely that he was so in B.C. 11, when Pannonia and Dalmatia were both in revolt, and when, in particular, Dalmatia from its turbulence was placed under his especial care. 4. When Herod left Rome, Augustus was celebrating games; and it is impossible that this could have been the case in B.C. 12, as, from the general mourning observed for the death of Agrippa, even the usual rejoicings for the victories of Drusus and Tiberius were not allowed to take place. In B.C. 11, on the contrary, were numerous games at Rome, those, for instance, in the name of Drusus and the Augustalia (see *supra*, no. 785).

794. While Herod is at Rome, the Trachiniae, taking advantage of his absence, rebel, but are put down by Herod's generals. Ἀποδημόντες δὲ (Herod), οὐ μισθὸν μίρον ἀπέστη τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ περὶ τὸν Τράχωνα. Jos. Ant. xvi. 4, 6.

Βλυσάσιντο δὲ (Herod) εἰς τῇ. Τόρην, ἥτις καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου κατηγήται, καὶ παραθησόμενος Ἀντίπατρον τὸν υἱόν, παρελθὺντα ἰκασαί, λόγον, ὡς ὑπολαβὼς εἶναι, διασπείροντες οἱ τὸν Τράχωνα κερήμενοι, τῆς τε ἀρχῆς ἀπέστησαν καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ συνήθη τοῦς πλησιοχώρους ἄδικα ἐπρίποντο. Ant. xvi. 9, 1. But about forty of the ringleaders take refuge with Hylaeus, who gives them protection. Ant. xvi. 9, 1.

795. Herod, on his return from Rome, invests Antipater, Alexander, and Aristobolus with nominal royalty and permits them to wear royal robes, but gives precedence to Antipater as the elder brother. Jos. Bell. i. 23, 5; Ant. xvi. 4, 6.

796. The wars in Germany, Pannonia, and Dalmatia being concluded, Augustus avails himself of the opportunity to institute a census. Τῷ δ' οὖν ἐκείνα ἐγένετο (his cons.), Αὐγουστος ἀπογραφὰς τε ἐποιήσατο, πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα οἱ καθέκαστα τις ἰδῶντος ἀπογραφόμενος, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν κατελέξατο. Dion, liv. 35. The meaning may be either that Augustus made a census of Roman citizens only, or that he caused a survey to be made of the whole empire as if it were his private property. If the latter be intended, it may be argued that these ἀπογραφαὶ (not one ἀπογραφὴ) included the census in Judaea as part of a general measure at the time of the birth of Our Lord, for the edict must have been carried into effect in different countries at different times. The census of Rome was completed in B.C. 8 (see that year, no. 828), and it might have been still going on in Judaea at midsummer B.C. 6. Indeed, Tertullian tells us that these censuses in the East were still in operation in the time of Saturninus, and, therefore, some time between B.C. 9, when Saturninus entered upon office, and the latter part of B.C. 6, when Saturninus was succeeded by Varus (see the latter year, no. 873). Tertullian advers. Marcian. iv. 19.

797. About the same time, and at the conclusion of the wars in Germany, Pannonia, and Dalmatia, a decree is made for closing the temple of Janus, but before it is carried into effect, the Dacæ and Dalmatians rebel (see B.C. 10, no. 801). Ἐψηφίσθη μὲν οὖν τὸν Ἰανὸν τὸν Ἰάνουρον, ὡς καὶ πεταμένον τῶν πολέμων (ἀνέκοντο γὰρ) εὐκλεισθῆναι· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκλείσθη. Dion, liv. 36 (see B.C. 25, no. 676).

798. Augustus gives Julia in marriage to

Tiberius, and Octavia, the sister of Augustus, dies. 'Ἐν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ (B.C. 11) τήν τε 'Ιουλιαν τῇ Τιβηρίῳ συνήκασε, καὶ τὴν 'Οκταβίαν τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀποθανούσαν προέβλετο ἐπὶ τοῦ 'Ιουδίου 'Ηρώδου. Dion, liv. 55. The death of Octavia must have been at the very end of the year, for Drusus was engaged in Germany at the commencement of the winter, and yet Drusus was at Rome at the time of the death. Καὶ ὁ Δρούσος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος (ἐγμώσιον γὰρ τὸ πένθος) ἀλλοξήμενος τὴν ἐσθῆτα τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐγένετο. Dion, liv. 55. Suetonius places the death of Octavia in the 54th year of the age of Augustus, i.e. some time between 23 September, B.C. 10, and 23 September, B.C. 9. *Sororem Octavianam omnium quinquagesimum et quartum agens statim annum.* Suet. Octav. 61. But this is probably the mistake of the transcriber, in writing lili, for liii.

799. Lucius Piso is this year prefect of Pamphylia. Λούκιος Πείσων ἐκ Παμφυλίας, ἥς ἥρχε, προετίχθη σφίσι. Dion, liv. 34. Pamphylia, under the republic, was governed by a propretor, and comprised Pamphylia proper, Pisidia, and Phrygia Minor. Cicero in Verrem, ii. 1, 38. But when Pompey reduced all Asia Minor to subjection, Pamphylia was attached to the province of Cilicia. Under Augustus, Pamphylia appears to have been again subject to a propretor of its own, appointed by the Emperor (see B.C. 51, no. 191).

800. Birth of Agrippa, son of Aristobulus, and afterwards king of Judæa, in the latter half of this year or the first half of the next, for in A.D. 41 he was in his 54th year (see A.D. 41, no. 1678).

800 a. Coin of Augustus.

Augustus Divi F. + Imp. xi. Eckhel, vi. 103.

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 30.

Pentecost, May 20.

Tabernacles, September 24.

B.C. 10. U.C. 742. Olymp. 192, 3.

JULIUS ANTONIUS AFRICANUS.

Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS.

ATREVS CES. TRIB. POT. XIV. FROM 27 JUNE.

COS. XI. PONT. MAX. IMP. XII.

Twenty-eighth year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan.

801. Augustus is in Gaul when the Daci and Dalmatians revolt, and Tiberius is sent,

and subdues them. Καὶ τοῦτους μὲν ὁ Τιβήριος ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας, εἰς ἣν μετὰ τοῦ Διογέστου ἐλθὼν ἦν, καὶ ἀπερριπτοὺς ἀπέσφατο. Dion, liv. 36.

802. Drusus subdues the Chatti; and Augustus, who had been sojourning at Lyons to watch the war, returns to Rome, and with him Tiberius and Drusus. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν Γαίην συν τῷ Διογέστῳ συνεικισμένους (Tiberius and Drusus), ἐν γὰρ τῇ Λυγώνι ἐκ τα πολλὰ, οὕτως ἐγγυθεν τοῖς Καλτοῖς ἐφεβρίων, ἐκέρχθη. Dion, liv. 36.

803. Birth of Claudius on 1 August of this year. *Claudius natus est Julio Antonio, Fabio Africano cons. Jul. Augustis, Lugduni, eo ipso die, quo primum ara ibi Augusti dedicata est.* Suet. Claud. 2.

804. Herod, on his return from Rome, not being able to lay hold of the Trachonitis who had been harboured by Syllaes, puts to death their relatives in Trachonitis. Ἡρώδης δὲ ἐπαλεθῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Γάμης . . . τῶν μὲν ληστῶν ἐγκρατῆς οὐ ἐνδύμενος γενέσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, ἣν ἐκ τῆς τῶν Λυβίων προστασίας ἐορσισαντο, χαλεπῶς δὲ ἔχων αὐὸς τῶν ἀσκημάτων, περὶελθὼν τῶν Τράχωα τοὺς ἐκείνους ἀντὶν ἀπέσφαξεν. Jos. Ant. xvi. 9, 1 (see B.C. 11, no. 794).

805. Caesarea is completed in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Herod, and in the 192nd Olympiad, i.e. in the second year of that Olympiad which ended on 1 July, B.C. 10. Ἡπὶ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τούτον (the return of Herod) συντελεσθαι ἰδοῦμεν ἡ Καισαρίαν Σεβαστῇ, ἣν φεκοῦμεν, ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἔτει πρὸς τέλος ἐκδοῦσης αὐτῇ τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς, ἐκπεσοῦσης δὲ τῆς προθεσμίας εἰς ὄψον καὶ αἰκοσθὸν ἕως τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπ' Ὀλυμπιάδος δευτέρας καὶ ἐνενηκωστής πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν. Jos. Ant. xvi. 5, 1. For ἐκείνῳ in this passage should clearly be read ταῦτάκις, for in the same work, the Antiquities, Josephus had previously stated that the building of Caesarea occupied twelve and not ten years current. Ἢ μὲν δὴ πόλις οὕτως ἐτετέλεστον ὡδεκικεῖν χρόνῳ. Ant. xv. 9, 6 (see B.C. 21, no. 723). Josephus invariably computes the reign of Herod from 1 January, or 1 Nisan, B.C. 37; and if so, the completion of Caesarea, as it fell in the twenty-eighth year of Herod, must be assigned to this year. From B.C. 21 to B.C. 10 would be just twelve years current. In the passage cited above from Ant. xvi. 5, 1, the completion of Caesarea is referred

to the 192nd Olympiad, and the same thing is stated in the *Wars* καὶ πενταετημεροῦ ἀγῶ-
νας κατασημαίμενοι ὁμοῦς ἐκάλεσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ
Καίσαρος, πρῶτος αὐτοῦ ἀθλοῦ μέγιστα πρῆξις
ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκπαιδείᾳ εἰρησότης καὶ δευτεράς
Ὀλυμπιάδος Bell 1 21, 8. And some, un-
derstanding by this the *first* year of the 192nd
Olympiad, assign the completion of Caesarea to
B.C. 12, and reckon the twenty-eighth year of
the reign of Herod from his appointment to the
kingdom in B.C. 40. But this cannot be, for
Josephus *never* reckons the reign of Herod
from B.C. 40, but always from B.C. 37, when
Herod became king *de facto* (see B.C. 31, no
619). Nor is it the invariable practice of
Josephus, in mentioning a particular Olympiad,
to intend the first year of it. Thus the cap-
ture of Jerusalem by Herod and Sosius is
placed by him in the consulship of M. Agrippa
and Camillus Gallus, i.e. B.C. 37, and in the
185th Olympiad, but this consulship was not
in the first year, but in the third year of that
Olympiad. Ὑπατεύοιτο ἐν Ῥώμῃ Μάρκου
Ἀγρίππας καὶ Καμπίου Γαλλοῦ ἐν τῇ ῥπ᾽
Ὀλυμπιάδῃ. Ant. xiv 16, 4.

806. Herod, having exhausted his resources
by the building of Caesarea, opens the tomb of
David, in the hope of finding treasure. Jos.
Ant. xvi 7, 1. The dissensions in the family
of Herod break out after this more than ever.
Ἡρώδης δὲ οὕτως ἐν τῇ ἐπιχειρήσει, ἥ ἐποίησεν τῷ
τάφῳ, χεῖρον ἔδωκεν πρᾶττειν ἐν τοῖς κατ' οἰκίαν.
Ant. xvi 7, 2.

807. Herod administers a sharp rebuke to
his sons by Mariamne, and there is a short
calm. Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα τότε μὲν ἐπιπληθεῖ τοῖς
παῖσιν, ἀπολοφθαλμίων, ῥῆσις εἰς τὸν καιρὸν
ἐγένετο Jos. Ant. xvi 7, 3. In the correspond-
ing passage in the *Wars*, the less perfect work,
the rebuke is said to have been administered as
Herod was setting out on a voyage to Rome.
Αὐτὸς ταῦτα, καὶ τοὺς τὸ φορητὸν τῶν νεοῖσι
ὑποδείξας ὅμως οὐκ ἀπέστη τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς
διελεύσεως, ἀλλὰ προσκαλεσάμενος αὐτοὺς (καὶ
γὰρ εἰς Ῥώμην ἐκπελευσεν ἔμελλε)
ῥητὴν μὲν ἡτελίθει οἱ βουλιεῖς, τὰ πολλὰ
δὲ ἐνυθέτησεν ὡς πατὴρ Bell 1 24, 4. But
as Herod had sailed to Rome in the preceding
year, and was again at Rome in B.C. 8, and as
the *Antiquities* the later and more correct work
omits all mention of a voyage to Rome at this
time, the fact itself may be questioned, though
of course it is possible. Whoever compares

the *Wars* with the *Antiquities*, and observes
the laxity of the narrative in this part will
have little doubt that the allusion to a visit to
Rome in the *Wars* has crept in through in-
advertence.

808. Pheroras is convicted of an intended
escape with his wife to the Parthians, but is
forgiven. Jos. Bell 1 24, 6, Ant. xvi 7, 3.

809. Salome also is convicted of holding
intercourse with Syllaeus the Arabian, the
enemy of Herod but is also forgiven. Jos.
Bell 1 24, 6. Ant. xvi 7, 6.

810. It was probably in this year that the
Parthian hostages were delivered to Titius,
then prefect of Syria. Φραγῆται τοσοῦτον ἐσπό-
δισε περὶ τὴν φιλίαν τὴν πρὸς Καίσαρα τὸν
Σελῦσσιν, ὥστε καὶ τὰ πρόπαια ἐπεμψεν (viz. in
B.C. 20), ἀκαταρῶν ὡς ἴσθηται Παρθουαῖοι
καὶ καλεσας εἰς σύλλογον Τίτιον τὸν νῦν ἐστα-
ταῖντα τότε τῆς Συρίας (see B.C. 13, no 773),
τίτταρος παῖδας, γησάσις ἐνεχείρησεν ὁμοῦ
αὐτῷ, Σερασσαδῆτη, καὶ Ῥαδάσπη, καὶ Φραγῆτην,
καὶ Βοιῶνην, καὶ γυναῖκας τοῦτοις ἔθε, καὶ νῦν
τίτταρος, ῥέδωκε τὰς σάσεις, καὶ τοὺς ἐν-
τιθε-
μίους αὐτῷ. Siliaco xvi 1. Livy, accord-
ing to his epitomizer, appears to have placed
the delivery of the hostages in this year (B.C.
10), for he records the events between the
subjugation of Dalmatia and Pannonia in B.C.
11 (see no 788), and the death of Drusus in
B.C. 9 (see no 813), as follows. *Dalmatas et*
Pannonios Nero, frater Drusi, subegit. Pax
cum Parthis facta est, signs a rege eorum quae
sub Claudio et postea sub Antonio capti erant,
redditis. Bellum adversus Germaniosum trans
Rhenam civitates gestorum. Druso refertur. Ipse
ex fractu equo equis erus ejus collapsos, trice-
nimo die quam id acciderat, mortuus est. Lib.
139, 140. The restoration of the standards,
however, is here conjoined with the delivery
of the hostages. The standards had been re-
stored in B.C. 20 (see no 725), but the delivery
of the hostages was in this year. In the Fasti
Veriani in mense Januario is the inscription
in Kal. Feb. Febr. et S. C. quod eo
die in a Pacis Augusta (in Campo Martio de-
dicata) est Druso et Germanico (cos.) (n. e. 9),
and see Ovid Fasti 1 709, and Fish Hellen.
This allu. may refer to the peace made with
the Parthians in the preceding year.

810 a Coins of Augustus

Augustus Imp. F. et Imp. cu

Augustus Dni I + Imp vi Act
 or Imp vii Sicil
 Eckhel, vi 110

Coin of Sinepe

A XXXV Head of Augustus + Heads of Cneus
 and Lucius Caesar, 10 in 30 year, dating from
 v c 700 Eckhel, ii 302

Inscription

Imperator Caesar Dni F Augustus Pontifex
 Maximus Imp vii Cos vi Trib Pot vii
 Aegypti in Ptolemaem Populi Romani Re-
 ducta Soli domum dedit (at Rome) Inscriptio
 ad calcem Suetonii

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle

Pasover April 16

Pentecost, June 6

Teternacles October 11

B.C 9. v c 745 Olymp. 192, 4

CLAUDII NERO DRUSUS GERMANICUS
 TITUS QUINCTIUS CRISPINUS

Augustus Trib Pot xv from 27 JUNE
 Cos xi Pont Max Imp xiii

Twenty-ninth year of the reign of Herod,
 from 1 January, or 1 Nisan

811. Augustus appears to have been absent
 from Rome on new-year's day of this year (see
 Inscription, *infra*, no 818a)

812. The Dalmatians and Pannonians are
 again in arms, and are subdued by Tiberius
 Dion. lv 2

813. Death of Drusus, in his 30th year, in
 his consulship in the Castra Aestiva thence
 called Castra Sceleata between the rivers
 Salas and Rhine. *Sed illum (Drusum) fitorum,
 iniquitas, consulum, agentem annuum tricesimum,
 servavit Vell Pat ii 97 Σάλας ποταμός, οὐ
 μετὰ καὶ τοῦ Ἐβρου ποταμοῦ, καὶ ἀποθνήσκει
 Δρούσος ἐντελέσσειεν ο Γερμανικός* Strabo, vii
 1 *Post protinus am confestim into consilatu, at-
 que expeditione repetit, supervenit item nonbo
 obit in castris castris, quae ex eo sunt appellata
 Sceleata* Suet Claud I Dion, lv 1 Plin
 N H vii 20 *Inter sept 140* Augustus, at
 the time of Drusus's last illness, was not far
 away, and sent Tiberius, then at Ticinus, to
 Drusus. *Προστυθήμενος δ ὁ Ἀλβανός οὐκ ἐπὶ
 (Drusus) (οὐ γὰρ ἦν παρῶν) τὸν Ἰβήριον κατα-
 τάχος ἐπέμψε* Dion, lv 2 *Tantum enim anno-
 rem Princeps patiensque noviter* (Tiberius) in-

*situam unimo fatis Drusus habuit, ut, cum Ticini,
 quo victor hostium ad complectendos patientes
 venerat, gravi illum et periculosa valetudine in-
 Germani fluctuante cognosset, protinus inde,
 metu attonitus, eumperet* Valer Max v 5, 2
 Augustus, as he had taken the field, could not
 enter the city, without a breach of religious ob-
 servances, and, therefore, pronounced the fune-
 ral oration in the Klauianum Way, without the
 limits of the city. *Οὔτε γὰρ Ἰβήριος ἐνταῦθα
 (in the forum) αὐτὸν ἐπέσειε, καὶ ο Ἀλβανός
 ἐν τῇ Φλαμινίῳ ἐκποδρόμῃ (ἐξεστράτευτο γὰρ
 καὶ οὐκ ἦν οἱ θῆσιον μὴ οὐ γὰρ καθήκοντα ἐπὶ τοῖς
 κατεργασμένοις ταῖς αὐτὴν τὴν εἰσὼ τοῦ πωμ-
 μίου εἰσεῖν ἐπιτελεσαι)* Dion, v 2 And
 Augustus did not enter the city till the follow-
 ing year. *Ὅμως δ' ὅν τοι' οὐκ ἠθέλησεν εἰς τὴν
 πόλιν δια τὸν τοῦ Δρούσου θάνατον ἐσελθεῖν
 τῷ δὲ ἔτις ἔτει, etc* Dion, lv 4

814. A hiatus in the family of Herod from
 the unfounded charge of Alexander against
 Herod of an impious familiarity of the latter
 with Alexander's wife. Jos Ant xvi 7 ±
 Alexander, in return, is accused of having cor-
 rupted the confidential eunuchs of Herod
 Ant xvi 8, 1, Bell i 24, 7 And Herod puts
 him in bonds Ant xvi 8, 1, Bell i 24, 8

815. Archelaus, king of Cappadocia the
 father-in-law of Alexander, hastens to Jerusa-
 lem and reconciles Herod to his sons. *Ἐγὼ γὰρ
 (Archelaus) ἠπειγομένη ἀπὸ Καππαδοκίας* Jos
 Bell i 25, 1, Ant xvi 8, 6

816. Herod escorts Archelaus back as far as
 Antioch, where he reconciles Archelaus with
 M Titius then prefect of Syria (see v c 13, no
 778, and *infra*, no 817) (Herod and Archelaus
 undertake, on the advice of Archelaus, to sail to Rome
 to explain matters to Augustus, who had been
 written to upon the subject. This intended
 voyage may be placed in the following year,
 v c 8 Herod certainly did not set sail for
 Rome immediately after putting from Archelaus,
 as it is expressly mentioned that he re-
 turned from Antioch to Judea. *Εποήσαντο δὲ
 (Herod) καὶ συνίθμας εἰς Ῥώμην ἐλθεῖν, ἐπειδὴ
 περὶ τούτων ἐγγέγραπτο Καίσαρι, καὶ μετὰ
 Ἀιτωχείας ἐπὶ το αὐτὸ (Herod and Archelaus)
 παρήλθον ἐκεῖ καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα Συρίας Γρίσιον,
 καὶ διαφόρους Ἀρχιελεῶν κωιδὸς ἔχοντες, ἐμύλλαν
 Ἡρώδης, καὶ πάλιν εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἐπιστρέψαι
 Γειρομένη δ ἐῖς τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ἀπέειθε ἐπανήλκεται
 συνιστῇ πόλεμος, πρὸς τοῦ Ἀραβίας etc* Jos
 Ant xvi 8, 6, xvi 9, 1 *Δεῖ μὲν οὖν πάσι τας*

ἔφη (Archelaus) πέμπειν αὐτοὶ εἰς Ρώμην, Καίσαρι διαλεξόμενοι· γεγραφέαι γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐκείνῳ περὶ τούτων Bell. i 25, 5

817. Titus, soon after this, was succeeded by C Sestius Saturninus (see B C 6, no 873) for Herod sailed for Rome in the second quarter of B C 8, and before doing so he had held more than one conference with Saturninus. The province of Syria was always bestowed upon a person of consular dignity, and C Sestius Saturninus had been consul B C 19

818. The Trachonites, whose relatives Herod had put to death (see B C 10, no 804), had never ceased to invade the territories of Herod, and on Saturninus taking the command of Syria, Herod lodges a complaint against them with Saturninus, when the Trachonites become more bitter than ever. Εὐκτεῖος δὲ (Herod) ἐπέλεγεντο περὶ τοῦτων ἡγεμονὶν Σατανουίῳ τε καὶ Ουολομνίῳ, ἐπὶ καλῶσαι τοὺς ἄρστας ἐξαιτούμενος Jos Ant xxi 9, 1

818a Inscriptions

Imp Caesaris Augusto Fili I Pontifici Maximo Titimio Potestatis av Imp viii M Julius Equus Domi F Cottius Praefectus censuratum quae subscriptae sunt Scorigionum, Syngionum, Belacorum, Canturionum, Medullarum, Tebariorum, Admatium, Saracatum, Egidium, Vennicorum, Fencicorum, Jemricorum, Vesbanorum, Oicacatum et censurates quae sub eo Praefecto fuerunt (Secunare)

Munster, n 1005

Imp Cae Divi F Augustus Pontifex Maximus Imp viii Cos ii Trib Potest vi Ex stipe quam Populus Romanus Anno nono aperiit contulit Nonae Claudio Druso T Quintio Crispino Cos Toleano (Romae) Inscriptio ad calcem Suetonii

III Kal Feb . ei S C quo die As Pucis Augusta (in campo) Natio dedicata est Druso et Crispino C Fasti Veriani in mense Ianuario cited Fasti Romani And with this date agrees Ovid. —

Ipsam nos caenen deducti Pauci ad Aram Haec est a mensis fuit secunda dies
Ovid Fast i 700

The Salubatio year
Passover, April 5
Pentecost May 26
Tabernacles, September 30

B.C. 8. U C 746 Olymp 193, 1.

C MARCIUS CENSORINUS

C ASINUS GALLUS

AUGUSTUS TRIB POT XVI FROM 27 JUNE

IMP XIV COS XI POST MAX

Thirtieth year of the reign of Herod,
from 1 January, or 1 Nisan

819. Augustus who the year before had kept the field, now enters the city Τῷ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἔτει, ἐν ᾗ Ἀσιὸς τε Γάλλοι καὶ Γάιος Μάρκιος ὑπάτησαν, τὴν τε ἀφ᾽ ἐν ἐποιήσαντο, etc (Augustus) Dion, lv 5

820. The supreme power is conferred on Augustus for ten years more ἡν τε ἡγεμονίαν (καίπερ ὀφείδᾳ ὡς ἔλεγεν), ἐπειδὴ τὰ δέκα ἔτη τα δεύτερα ἐξηλῶθει, ἅων δὴν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῷ Dion, lv 6 (see B C 18, no 744, A D 3, no 986) Dion speaks of the second ten years as having already expired, but in strictness they were only about to expire, viz on 31 December, B C 8

821. Augustus and Tiberius proceed, but at what time does not appear, to Gaul, when Augustus remains in his own territory, perhaps at Lyons, but Tiberius crosses the Rhine καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Κέλτους (Augustus) ἐστράτευσεν, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν (Augustus) ἐπὶ ᾗ οἰκίᾳ ὑπῆρκεν, ὃ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος τὸν Πῆνον διέβη Dion, lv 6 His cross *Inter Albin et Rhenum Germani omnes Trib Neroni dedit Per Sex Appuleium Pannoni subacti Censiod*

822. Carus, the grandson of Augustus, is introduced, in his thirteenth year, to the army τὸν Γάιον ἐν ταῖς γυμνασίαις τότε πρῶτον συνιζευαζόμενον σφῖνιν (the troops) ἔσχοι Dion, lv 6

823. Games are decided to be for ever observed on Augustus's birthday (23 September) Αὐτὸς γὰρ (Augustus) ἐκείνῃ μὲν (ἐπινίκιᾳ) οὐκ ἠβέλησεν πεμψαί, ἐς δὲ δὴ τα γελῶντα ἱπποδρομίαν αἰδῶν ἐλαβε Dion, lv 6

824 The month Sextilis is called August, in honour of Augustus Τὸν μῆνα τὸν Σεπτελίου ἐπικαλούμενον Ἀύγουστον ἀνῴωσεν (his cross) Dion, lv 6

825 Augustus advances Tiberius to the rank of Imperator, and nominates him consul for the ensuing year τὸν δ' οὖν Τιβέριον ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Αυτοκράτορος ἀρχήν, ἀντὶ τοῦ Δροίσου, προωγαῖν, τῇ τε ἐπιλήσει ἐκεῖν ἡ ἐγαθάρωσεν, καὶ ὑπατον αὐτὸν ἀπεδείξε Dion, lv 6

826. Death of Maccenas Dion, lv 7 Maccenas besides his political eminence and patronage of letters, was also the inventor of a kind of shorthand. Πρώτος σημεία τινὰ γραμμάτων προς τάχος ἐξέτρεξε Dion, lv 7

827. Augustus and Tiberius return to Rome toward the end of the year, for Tiberius holds a senate on the first day of the new year, and the festival for the return of Augustus was celebrated soon after. Τιβέριος δὲ ἐν τῇ ἰουμυρίῃ ἐὶ ᾗ ὑπατεύει μετὰ Γναίου Πείσωτος ἤρξατο ἐς τὸ Ὀκτωβέσιον τὴν βουλὴν ἡθροισε τὴν δὲ δὴ παιήγυριν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκανάδου τοῦ Ἀνγούστου γειομεῖν ὁ Γναίος ἀνθ' αὐτοῦ (Tiberius, who had returned to Gaul) σὺν τῷ Πείσωτι διαθήκε Dion, lv 8 (see bc 7, no 823)

828. A census is concluded by Augustus. *Nuper Instrum solus fuit Censu (iusto et As)imicus Quo iusto censa sunt civium Romanorum (capita) quadragiens centum milia et decem et triginta tria* Lapis Ancyri ad calcem Sueton (see bc 28, no 658, ad 14, no 1051)

829. Herod again complains to Saturninus of the ravages of the Trachonites, under the encouragement of Syllæus (see bc 9, no 818), and Herod and Syllæus have a meeting before Saturninus, the prefect, and Volumnius, the procurator of Syria, at Berytus, and Syllæus undertakes within thirty days to deliver up the Trachonites, and to discharge the loan which had been advanced by Herod to Obodas. *Περὶ δὲ (the outrage of the Trachonites) ἐπεὶ ῥε Σατουρνίου καὶ, Οβολομίου τῶν Συρίας ἐπιστατούντων ἐγχείοντο λόγους τίλος δὲ συνίδητο (Syllæus) εἰ' ἐκείνῳ, εἰ τὸς ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα, τὰ τε χρήματα τὸν Ἡρώδην ἀπολαβεῖ, καὶ τὸν ἄλλῃλῳ ἐν ἐκαστέρῃ τῇ βασιλείᾳ* Jos Ant xvi 9, 1 *Γελευταῖοι δὲ ἐν Βηρωτῷ τούτων ἐναντίοι, Σουλλείου τὴν σὴν (Augusti) τύχην ἐπομοσσαι τοῦ ἡμῶν ἐν-ὗς ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα παρέξιν τα χρήματα, καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Ἡρώδου πεφευγότας* Ὡμολογήσε δὲ (Syllæus) καὶ τούτους (the Trachonites) ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὅμοις ὑποδώσεν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ βασιλεῖος προθεσμίαν Ant xvi 10, 8

830. Herod, probably before the expiration of the thirty days, sails (as previously arranged with Archelaus) to Italy Jos Ant xvi 8, 6, xvi 9, 1, Bell i 23, 5 (see bc 9, no 816) This must have been the voyage in the course of which Herod visited the Olympia which

were celebrated this year. Τοι γὰρ μὴν Ὀλυμπιασιν ἀγῶνι, πολλὴ τῆς προσηγόρου ἀδοξότερον ὅτ' ἀρχηματίας διατεθειμένη, τιμιώτερον ἐποιεῖ, χρημάτων προσόδους καταστάσας, καὶ πρὸς θίσιαις καὶ τὸν ἄλλον κόσμον ἐσεμαιοποιήσεν τὴν παιήγυριν Διὰ δὴ ταύτην τὴν φιλοτιμίαν διηρηκὲς ἐγνωσθέντος παρα τοῖς πλείστοις ἀνεγράφη Ant xvi 5, 3 Ἀγῶι οὐθεντος, ᾗς ἐπέτυχε περὶ τειρητῆρος, εἰς Ρώμην παραπλεων ἐγένετο Bell i 21 12 There is no other Olympiad at which Herod could, consistently with other events, have been present in Greece on his way to Rome At the Olympia bc 12 Herod was in Judæa, and corresponding with Antipater, then at Rome (see bc 13, no 772, bc 11, no 793) In bc 16 (see that year, no 754) Agrippa arrived in the East, and Herod was in attendance upon him in Asia In bc 20 (see that year, no 726) Augustus himself was in the East, and Herod waited upon him from time to time In bc 24 (see that year, nos 687 and 693) was the famine in Judæa, and Herod dispatched 500 auxiliaries to Albius Gallus, and procured coin from Petronius in Egypt, and sent, but did not accompany, his sons by Mariamne to Rome In bc 28 (see that year, no 659) Herod was, at least at the beginning of the year, suffering from illness, and no mention is made of any voyage to Rome about that time In bc 32 (see that year, no 591) Herod was engaged in war with the Arabians In bc 36 (see that year, nos 541, 544) we find Herod in Judæa, employed in negotiations, first with Cleopatra, and then with Antony In bc 40 (see that year, nos 450, 463) Herod was in Jerusalem, from the feast of Pentecost till the approach of winter, and could not have attended the Olympia at midsummer It may be added, that in the narrative of Josephus the generosity of Herod to foreign peoples and cities, including his gift in aid of the Olympia, is related as occurring subsequently to the costly buildings in his own country, and therefore in the latter part of his reign, and so not earlier, at all events, than bc 20

831. Assuming Herod to have been at the Olympia at midsummer, bc 8, he would reach Rome in the third quarter of the year, and Augustus at that time was probably in Gaul, but he returned before the end of the year, and Herod might either have followed Augustus to Gaul, as before to Aquileia (see bc 11, no

757), or have waited for the return of Augustus at Rome.

832. Syllaus, at the expiration of the thirty days, and some time after the departure of Herod from Judaea, calls himself for Rome, without having performed his engagement to Herod *Ἀιελθαίῳ δὲ τῆς προθεσμίας, ὁ Σουλ-
λαῖτος, οὐδὲν τῶν δικαιῶν πεποιθώς, εἰς Ῥώμην
ἕλκεται* Jos Ant vii 4, 2

832 a Coins of Augustus

Augustine $D_{112} F + Imm$ 1000

22 01 + Γ Pot τ τ

Eckhel, v 110

Instructions

C. Marcio I. F. Censorino Cos. Augur. Patrono D. D. (Aquini)

L. Pubius Viscer Lib. Aniodotus Burgino votum.
C. Asinio Gallo, C. Marcio Censor Cos. L.
Salvio Apro C. Pont. vi. tria Quinquennialibus (Annum).

C Marcus L F L N Censorinus, C Asinaus
C F Gallus Coz. ex S C Termini Creatoris
Ripari un quo prius fuerunt ex S C restituti
R R Ptoz Cippi P l r (Romae)

Maraton, 1 207, 3, 4, 5

Inp Caesaris Augusto Divi F P M Tribuno
Potestatis xv Inp riv The fifteenth year
was from 27 June, B C 9, to 27 June, B C 8,
and Eckhel refers the inscription to the latter
year, *Eckhel*, vi 143

C Marcus L F L N. Censorinus, C Aemius
Gallus Cos T₁ S C Fin Pom termin
(Romae) Gruter 196, 2

C Marcus L F L N Censorinus, C Asinius
Gallus Cos Tr S C A R P o i Ped ΔLV
Id 198. 1

*Imp Caesar Divi F Augustus Pontifex Ma-
ximus Tribunus Potestatis et S. C. Tu-
minavit R. Prox Cipp. Ped. cliv. (Romæ)*
Id 196.3

C Asinus C F Gallus, C Marcus I, F L N
Censorius Cos ea S, C Termin Curatores
Raparii qui pruni faciunt Et S C Resti-
tus R P Prior Cipp P clm S (Romae)
Id 107, 2

First year of the Sabbath cycle

Passover, March 25

Pentecost, May 15

Tabernacles September 19.

BC 7 UC.747⁵ Olymp 193, 2.

TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS NERO 11

CN CAIPURNIUS PIRAI, II

AUGUSTUS TRIL POI XVII FLOW 27 JUNE

COS M PONT MAX IMP XIV

Thirty-first year of the reign of Herod, from
1 January, or 1 Nisan

833 Tiberius ἦλθ. αὐτ. Rome on new-year's day, but proceeded to Germany soon afterwards, and before the celebration of the festival for the return of Augustus to Rome (see *ut* 8, no 827). Ἰβέρους δὲ ἐν τῇ οὐραμῇ ἐν ᾧ ὑπατεύουσιν μετὰ Γαίῳ Πισσῶνι ἥρξεντο, ἐν δὲ Ὀκτασίνων τῇ βουλῇ ἤρροσαν καὶ πολλὰ ὑστερον, κηλήθων τινῶν ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ, ἐξωμήθη. Τὴν δὲ δι' πανόγμων τῇ ὑστέρῃ τῇ ἑπαιούσῃ του. Λυγροῦτον δὲ Γάιος (ὡς αὐτὸς σὺν Πισσῶνι ἐβόηκε. Dion, I 6

834. A conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn on 29 May, in the morning before sunrise, in Pisces, the dominant Sign of the Jews. Wieseler's Chronol 65, and see Ideles's Handb 11 401

835. Herod, having found on his return from Rome that Syllaeus had not performed his engagement, now obtains leave from Saturninus, the prefect, and Voluminus, the procurator of Syria, to raise, and he accordingly raises, Raeptra, where the Trachonites maintained themselves, and Nabuccus, an Arabian general, is slain. Syllaeus at this time was at Rome, and Obodas, king of Petra, was ill of the malady of which he soon after died. Herod sends an embassy to Rome to explain these proceedings, and Augustus, on the misrepresentations of Syllaeus that Herod had, without Roman sanction, levied an army and made war on Aretas, is extremely wroth, and refuses the envoys an audience, and writes to Herod that henceforth he was to rank not as an independent prince, but as a subject of the emperor. *Γνωστω γὰρ δὲ (Herod) ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, κατέθετο ἐπειρήσεις, συνέστη τοδεμόν, πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρβητας.* And then, after some explanatory matter which he tells the wai, δελοῦσθαι δὲ τῆς προσημαίας ὁ Σύλλαιος οὐδὲν τῶν δικαίων πεποιθὼς εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπερχομένη ῥύσει δὲ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἐκείνους ἡγομένων. *Ῥωδοὺς ἐπέκτιστο, καὶ τῶν τῶν τῶν Σαυωυριανῶν καὶ Οὐδαρόμων ἐπιτρέπονται ἀγρονομιοῦντας ἐπέκτιστο, στρατιᾶν - εἶχον προσημαγεῖ ἐν τῇ Ῥωαζίαν.* Πανδύλιος (Syllaeus)

λέγειν ὡς αὐτὸν (Augustus), ὅτι πολέμῳ τῷ περὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν εἶη κεκαυμένῳ . . . καταπαύσασθαι δὲ τὴν τὸ ὕψος, ἡδὲ ἀσφένδεον ἀεὶ ἀρσενίου τῷ πολέμῳ. Ἰνὸς τὸ μὲν ἄστυ (Syllabus) μέτε τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐδόσαν παρὶναι . . . ὁρμή τε μέζων ἐγένετο τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ γράφει πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην τὰ τε ἄλλα χαλεπῶς, καὶ τοῦτο τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τὸ κεφάλαιον, ὅτι πάλαι χρόνιους αὐτῷ φίλῳ, ἐν ἐπηκόῳ χρίσται . . . οὐδὲ τῷ περιφαιτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς (Herod) πρεσβείαν ἀπολογισμὸν ἐκ καίτοι δισχεῖται ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν συνηθῶς ἀποδιδόναι ἀπέπεισεν. Jos. Ant. xvi. 9. 1-3; and see Ant. xvi. 11, 8. Ἐπαρτίευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν Ἡρώδης, οὐ συντόκουσιν Καίσαρι, ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἐξ ἑταίρῳ φωνῆς, καὶ ὁρμὴν εἶχε χαλεπὴν εἰς τὸν Ἡρώδην, καὶ τοὺς ἡκανοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ . . . πρέσβεις οὐ κατὰ κύριον ἀπέλυσεν. No. 1. Damasc. Muller's Fragm. Græc. II. c. 13. 551. The threat that Augustus would henceforth treat Herod as a subject seems to have been followed up, either now or soon after, by an order for a census of Herod's dominions, in part and parcel of the Roman empire. *Ἐγένετο ἔργον παρὰ Καίσαρος Ἀγρούσιον ἀπαγορεύσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην.* Luke, ii. 1. Although Herod was still king, the edict for the survey was from Augustus. That the Roman census was enforced against dependent princes is evident from the instance of the Clitæ mentioned by Tacitus, Ann. vi. 41. See 1 Lardn. 287. *Τὴν οἰκουμένην* has been translated in the English version 'all the world,' but it should be rendered 'all the land' (viz. the dominions of Herod, as in Luke, xxi. 26; Acts, ii. 28; Ant. viii. 13, 4). That Luke had in his mind Judea only is evident from the context, 'and all went to be taxed every one in his own city,' a remark applicable not to the whole Roman empire, but to Judea only. Lardner takes the words *τὴν οἰκουμένην* in this restricted sense, Lardn. i. 268; and Kuinoel, the eminent critic in loc., has not the least doubt of it. The word *πάντα* is added to explain why it extended to Galilee, in which Nazareth was situate, as on Herod's death, while Judea was given to Archelaus, Galilee was separated from it and given to Herod Antipas. Josephus speaks of οἱ περὶ Πεδιώνων πρέσβεις (not *πρεσβευταί*, the lieutenants of the prefect) as present at the council in the spring of a.c. 6 (Bell. i. 27, 2); and Pedanius may have been the commissioner sent to take charge of the census.

It could not proceed in the winter, and as there was not time to carry it out in the summer of this year, it was not executed until the summer of the following year.

336. The vision of Zacharias in the Temple, Luke, i. 5; about 16 May of this year. The particular season is arrived at as follows. The Temple was burnt by Titus, according to the Rabbins, on Saturday (the Jewish Sabbath), 9 Ab, or 1 Aug. a.d. 70, the very day that the course of Jehoiarib, the first of the twenty-four courses, entered upon its office. Mishna, iii. 298, 3. The courses served *scritim* for a week at a time, and entered upon their office on the first day of the week; and it was the statement of the Rabbins, that if the first courses began on the first day of the seventh month, at the first year of Cyrus (see Ezra, i. 1; 2 Es. 6), found by calculation to be 24 Sept., a.c. 536, the first course would again commence its duties on 1 August, a.d. 70. See Browne's Ord. Secl. 33. Zacharias was of the course of Abia or Abijah, Luke, i. 5, which was the eighth course, 1 Chron. xxiv. 10. During the interval from a.c. 7 to a.d. 70, there occurred nothing to interrupt the order of the courses; and if so, then, as the course of Jehoiarib began on 4 August, a.d. 70, the course of Abia began on 16 May, a.c. 7, and ended on 22 May, a.c. 7. The conception of John the Baptist was at the close of the course, Luke, i. 23, and therefore about 22 May, a.c. 7. The announcement at this time that John was to be the forerunner of the Messiah, Luke, i. 17, who was to sit on the throne of David, and of whose kingdom there was to be no end, Luke, i. 32, 33, would naturally create a great sensation at Jerusalem, and the rumour of it would of course be carried to the Jewish population, which was extremely numerous in Babylonian.

337. The Annunciation to the Virgin Mary at Nazareth was in the course of the sixth month current from the conception of John the Baptist, and therefore in November, a.c. 7. *Πρόσκεινεν ἑαυτῇ (Elizabeth) μήτρας πέτρε . . . ἐν δὲ τῷ μηνὶ τῷ ἕκτῳ ἀπεστάλην ὁ ἀγγελὸς Γαβριὴλ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, etc.* Luke, i. 24-27. Οὗτος μὲν ἔκτος ἐστὶν αὐτῇ τῇ καλομένην στείργῃ. Luke, i. 36.

338. Mary quits Nazareth on a visit to her cousin Elizabeth, in the hill-country, *εἰς τὴν ὄρεν τὴν μετὰ πουνθὲ ἐκ πόλεως Ἰούδα*, Luke,

39 and see v 67, and remains there three months, or during the winter, and returns home a little before the birth of John the Baptist "Ἐμειν ἐξ Ἐλισάβετ σὺν αὐτῇ (Elizabeth) ὡπὶ μῆνας τρεῖς, καὶ ὅστερ' ἐβεν εἰς τοὺς οἶκον αὐτῆς 1ῃ ἐξ Ἐλισάβετ ἐκλήσθη ὁ χροῖος τοῦ τεκεῖν αὐτῇ) καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν νύκτι" Luke, i 56. It is evident from the above that the conception of John the Baptist preceded that of Jesus, not by six months complete, but five months and part of another month. As the conception of John was about 22 May, B.C. 7, that of Jesus would be in November, B.C. 7. The words of Luke, τὸν Ἰούδα, may mean either a city of Judah or the city Juda. Many adopt the latter opinion, and identify it with Jutta (now Yotia), a city a little to the south of Hebron and therefore in the hill-country. See Robinson's *Palast* 1888, n. 200.

839. A conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn on 1 October and again on 5 December of this year in Pisces, the dominant Sign of the Jews Wieseley's *Chronol* 65. See Ideley's *Handb* 405.

840. While Syllæus is at Rome, and in high favour with Augustus, and calumniating Herod, Obodas dies (see p.c. 21, no. 688), and Aneas, called after wards Aretas, takes possession of the throne "Ἦν δ' οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀθροῖα καὶ ἴσος (Ἡρώδης), ὅτε Συλλάειος οὐ μετρίως ἐλόπει, πιστευθεὶς τε καὶ πόρων ἐν τῇ Ῥωμῇ, τότε ῥ' ἐκ καὶ μεζύνει ἀποτομῆς, ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ὀβόδας ἐπεβίβηκε, πυριλαμβάνει τε δὲ τὴν τῶν Ἀράβων ἀρχὴν Αἰλαιαί, ὁ μετανομασθεὶς αὐθις Ἀρετας" Jos. Ant. xvi. 9, 4.

841. Herod sends another embassy to Rome under Nicolas Damascenus to endeavour to make his peace with Augustus. Ἦρως δ' οὐδὲ ὅπως τῶν περιστάσεων κακῶν, ἴγιω (Herod) πάλιν εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποστέλλειν εἶπε δύναται μετρίωτερον εἰρεῖν, διὰ τε τῶν φίλων, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν Καίσαρα τὴν ἐντυχὴν κοινησάμενος. αὐκὴ μὲν δ' Ἀρμενικὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Νικόλαου. Jos. Ant. xvi. 9, 4. Ἀφαιρέσεις δ' ὡς Καίσαρα Νικόλαος οὐ μόνον τῷ ἐγγλημάτων ἱέρωστος Ἡρώδης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ὀργῇ ἀπέρριψε. ἐπὶ τοῖς κατηγόροις Nicol. Damasc. Muller's *Fragn. Hist. Græc.* iii. 351.

842. In the course of the year Eurycles, the Lacedæmonian (with whom Herod had probably become acquainted at the Olympia of the preceding year), pays a visit to Herod and actually foment the family dissensions. Jos. Ant.

xvi. 10, 1, Bell. 1, 26, 1. This was about the same time with the displeasure of Augustus at Herod's invasion of Arabia (see *supra*, no. 835). Ἐξέταρακτο δὲ τα πρὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ πολλὸ χεῖρος ἐσχηκότες κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνῳ (the time of the dispatch of Herod's embassy by Nicolas Damascenus to Augustus) Ant. xvi. 10, 1.

843. An ambassador also comes from Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, to Herod, apparently by accident and not with reference to the family dissensions. Κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἤλυντο ἀπὸ Καππαδοκίας πρεσβευτοῦ πάνα Ἀρχελάου, Μηλατιδι, etc. Jos. Ant. xvi. 10, 6.

844. Herod being enraged against his sons Alexander and Aristobulus, but not daring—more especially now that he was regarded as a subject prince—to take violent measures without the sanction of Augustus, sends Olympius and Voluminus to Rome on the matter. Jos. Ant. xvi. 10, 7. This embassy was dispatched not long after that under Nicolas Damascenus, and would arrive at Rome soon after it for Olympius and Voluminus were to regulate their proceedings by the success of Nicolas. Ἀπὸ ἐβρωνίων ἀνδραγαθῶν Νικόλαος, ὡς μηκέτι αὐτῷ (Herod) ἐνσχεμαίνων Καίσαρι, ἐξόμει ὅτι ἐπιστολὰς καὶ τοὺς ἐλέγχωνας αὐτῷ κατὰ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ κατὰ σκευασμένων ἀποστείλειν. Ant. xvi. 10, 7.

845. Nicolas at Rome, being aided by some of the Arabian, who were partisans of Aretas, accuses Syllæus and by this channel indirectly justifies Herod. Syllæus is condemned to death, and sent back to Arabia to make reparation, and then to be executed. Ἰδὲ δὲ σύμμιον μὲν Συλλάειος ἀνεμπετο, τὰς δικαίας καὶ τὰ χυμὰ τοῖς δέδοικε δόξαι ἀποδύσων, εἶτα οὕτω κολασθησάμενος Jos. Ant. xvi. 10, 9. Syllæus was eventually put to death, as Nicolas Damascenus relates, καὶ ὕστερον ἐβρωνίων (Augustus) κρίμαστον ἀπέκτεινε, Nicol. Damasc. Muller's *Fragn. Hist. Græc.* iii. 351, not however in Arabia, but at Rome, as Strabo testifies. ἔτιος δὲ καὶ ἐκας (Syllæus) ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃ ἀποκίθηται τὴν κεφαλὴν Strabo, xvi. 1. But Syllæus returned to Arabia on this occasion, and afterwards made another voyage to Rome, as will be seen hereafter, upon the subject of the old disputes with some additional charges against him.

846. Olympius and Voluminus, Herod's subsequent envoys, arrive at Rome soon after Nicolas had been heard and Augustus gives Herod a qualified power over his sons, i.e. he

authorises a council to be held at Beirut to try Herod's sons on the charges made by Herod Augustus at the same time confirms Aietas in the kingdom of Arabia, which had been previously intended for Herod Ἀποκομισθέντες (Olympius and Voluminus) ἔσχον τε καὶ ῥόν ἐπιδόσαι τὰ γαίμματα τῷ Καίσαρι, δι' ἡλαγγμῶν εὐρόντες Ἡρώην Jos Ant xvi 10, 8 Ἀρετὰ δὲ οὐκ εὐμενὴς ἦν Καίσαρι, ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ δι' ἐκείνου καθ' αὐτὸν ἔλαβεν* ἐγνώκει γὰρ καὶ τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ Ἡρόδῃ δίδόναι διεκώλυσε δὲ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου πεμφθέντα γαίμματα (by Olympius and Voluminus) Τοῖς γὰρ περὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπιον καὶ Ὀσολόμνιον, εὐμενῇ Καίσαρι πυθομένησι, εὐθὺς ἔδοξε ἐξ ἐντολῆς Ἡρώδου τὰ περὶ τῶν παιδῶν γαίμματα καὶ τινες ἐλεγχον ἀντιδιδόναι Καίσαρ δὲ ἀγαγὼν τὸ μὲν ἀρχὴν ἰλλήν προτιθεὶν γέροισι, καὶ καλῶς πρῶτον τι τὰ περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς οὐκ ῥήθη καλῶς ἔχειν Δεδίμενος δὲ τὸν περὶ Ἀρετάν . . τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐβεβαίωσατο Ant xvi 10, 9

847. Though Nicolas Damascenus, whom Josephus follows, magnifies the effects of his diplomacy at Rome, it is evident that Herod, though allowed to proceed with the sanction of a council against his sons, is not restored to favour nor his degradation to the rank of a dependent prince recalled 1 The power over his sons was not that of a sovereign, but by the special permission of Augustus, and extended no further. Ἀντῶ γὰρ ἐφ' ἡναι ταύτην τὴν ἐξουσίαν Περιχαρὴς δὲ καὶ τῷ πάλαι ἐξῆναι κατὰ τῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ Τῇ Καίσαρος δούσει τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτὸς ἔχει Jos Ant xvi 11, 1 and 2. 2 The council was to consist amongst others, of αὐτὸ κατὰ τὴν ἐταρχίαν ἡγεμόνων, Bell 1 27, 1, which rather implies that Herod's dominions were regarded as part of the province of Syria 3 Not only was Arabia not bestowed upon Herod, as had been once intended, but Augustus seems to have appointed a procurator to superintend the imperial interests in Judaea Bell 1 29 3 4 Syllaeus, on his return home again, set Herod at defiance and plotted against his life 5 Antipater was sent by Herod to Rome upon the same mission that Nicolas had gone before, i.e. to conciliate Augustus Περί ὧς πρότερον Νικόλαος Ant xvi 8 2 6 When the guilt of Antipater was discovered, Herod, though morbidly bent on the death of Antipater, Bell 1 33, 1, could not put him to death without the leave of Augustus, and was not a little pained at ob-

taining it Γ'ταυρωμένος καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ τῇ ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ τιμωρίας Ant xvi 7, 1 7 Herod could not nominate a successor to his kingdom without the sanction of Augustus

847 a Coin of Augustus.

Augustus Divi F + P Pot tui

Lekhel, xi 111

Inscriptions

Ti Claudius Ti f Neri o Pontifex consul iterum Imp iterum, ludos volens pro salute Imp Caesaris Divi f Augusti Pontificis Maximi Jovi Optimo Maximo fecit ei S C (Rome) Inscription ad calcem Suetonii, and Gruter, 11, 1

Imp Caesar Divi F Augusti Pont Max Imp iterum Titulius Potestati xvi S P Q R quod eius iuncta antiquaeque Gentis Alpinæ comes quæ a sua i supero ad inferna pertinebat sub imperio P R reducta sunt Gruter, 226, 7 see Plin N H iii 24

Imp Caesar Divi F Augusti Pontifex Maximus Titulius Potestati xvi S C Titulius Potestati restitutus est (at Rome)

Murator, i 442

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle

Passover, April 13

Pentecost June 3

Tabernacles October 8

B.C. 6. U.C. 748. Olymp 193, 3.

C ANTIPIETUS VETUS

D LELIUS BALBUS

Ex Kal Jul L Mantius, Q Nonius Aspinatus Torquatus

AUGUSTUS TRIB POT XVII, FROM 27 JUNE
COS XI COS DESIG XII PONT MAX IMP XIV
TIBERIUS TRIB POT I (see no 849)

Thirty-second year of the reign of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan

848. Cains, in his fifteenth year (see no 820, no 746), is Consul designatus, but not to enter upon office until after five years, and the senate decrees his admission to the councils of state so soon as he should assume the toga virilis, and the Equites elect him Princeps Juventutis The same honours were awarded, three years after, to Lucius in his fifteenth year Ποσειδωνος καὶ Σενατος populusque Romanus annuum quartum et decimum agentes (Cainus et Lucium) consules designavit, ut cum magister annu unent post quinquennium Ex eo die (quo) deducti in (eorum ut) interissent consules publis decessit Senatus Equites autem Romani numerum principem (Juventutis utiunque) hostis agen-

teis donatum appellas erunt. Lapis Ancyran ad caecum Suetonii. *Genios Agrippae Caium ac Lucium in familiam Caesarum inducunt, necdum posita puella praeterit, Principes Iuventutis appellati, destinant consules, specie ieiunantis flagrantissime cupiunt.* Tac Ann 1 3. And Dion, under the year n c 6, refers to other honours now conferred on Caius, as follows. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἱερουσύνην μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ συνέδριον συμφετησάν, τὸ τε συνθεῶσθαι τῇ βουλῇ ἔθηκε Dion, iv 9. And in an ancient inscription Caius is designated as Pontifex. *C. Caesaris Augusti P. Pontificis cons. designato Principis Iuventutis. Nois Conot. Pis 1 167.* That Caius was not to undertake the duties of the consulship until five years after this, viz until his twentieth year, appears from Dion. Ὑστέρων τὸν Γάϊον μὲν ἐς ἐφήκου τελευτῶντα προεχειρίσαστο καὶ προσεπύχετο (Augustus) μηδεμίαν ταύτην κειρὼν ἡλικίαν, ὅποια ποτε οἱ τοῖς κατέλαβε, γεισθῆαι, ὥστε τινα νεώτερον εἰκοσιετῶν ὑπαγεύσασαι Dion iv 9. The twentieth year of Caius would commence in the latter half of b c 1, and he was still consul in a d 1 (see that year). Dion describes Caius and Lucius, the one in his fifteenth and the other in his twelfth year (see n c 17, no 749), as full of presumption and audacity. Ἰδὼν δ' Ἀδύναστον τὸν τῷ Γαίῳ καὶ Λούκιῳ συταῖς τε μετὰ πῦριν, οἷα ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ τρεφεμένοι, ταῖς ἐκείνου ἡθῆς ζηλοῦντας, οὐ γὰρ ὅτι ὑβριστικοὶ διήγον, ἡλλά καὶ ὑβρισθύνοντο, etc. Dion iv 9.

849. Tiberius receives the Tribunician power for five years next after his own second consulship (n c 7). Τῷ δὲ ὁσπερ, ἐν τῷ Γαίῳ τε Ἀριστῶσι καὶ Δαλρίῳ Βάλλῳς ὑπάγευσται ὁ Αὐγουστος τῷ Τιβερίῳ τῇ τε ἑλευσίαν δημοκρατίαν ἐν πέντε ἔτη ἔειπε, etc. Dion, iv 9. *Magistratus et maturius nichoant et prae iunctum percipiunt, quatuor anni praetorian, consulatum, inter praetoribus tempore consul iterum, etiam tribuniciam potestatem in quinque annis accepti.* Suet Tib 9 (see a d 4, no 903).

850. Tigranes, king of Armenia (see n c 20 no 734 and infra, no 852) dies, when a contest arises between another Tigranes, the candidate for the throne in the Parthian interest and Artavasdes, or Artabazus, the candidate in the Roman interest and Tiberius is sent to Armenia to settle affairs there, but, instead of going to Armenia, he retires to Rhodes. Ὁ Ἀδύναστος τῷ Τιβερίῳ ἐς περὶ τὴν τῇ δημοκρατίαν ἑλευσίαν ἀπέειπε καὶ τῇ

Ἀρμενίαν ἀλλοτριουμένην μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Τιβερίων θάνατον προσελήρωσε. ὁ δὲ Τιβερίος τὴν ὁρμὴν ἡντῶν (Cui ei Lucien) εφοβήθη διὸ ὡς ἐπ' Ἀρμενίαν ἀτελεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπ' Ῥόδον ἀφίκετο Zonaras, x 538 d. Τῷ Τιβερίῳ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀλλοτριουμένην (Augustus) προσῆκε ἀρμελεῖν καὶ ἐς Ῥόδον ὡς καὶ παιδεύσασθαι τοῖς δέδομενος ἐστίλῃ, Dion, iv 9, and appears to have passed by the way through Pautum. τῇ τε ὑδρὶ ἰδιωτικῶς ἐποίηστος, πλὴν καθοσοῖ τοῦς Παρσιῶς τὸ τῆς ἰστίας ἀγαλμα τωλῆσαι οἱ ἡγήσαντες Dion iv 9. He remained at Rhodes seven years complete. Tiberius. *Deci duobus consulatibus totidemque triumphis actis, tibi uicaria potestatis consociatione armatus. Augustus μοι δ' ἡσυχίαν ἐν τῇ ἀδελφῇ πτῳ μεναι αὐτὸν πύλοτε (causae causae mor detectae sunt) cum C. Caesari adiuvaret, iam uident togam, Lucius item maturus esset uentus ne pulgus suis orientum praemum obstat ut uicinis, dissimulata consilia sui, conuentionum petuit. Septem annos Rhodi μοι αὐτῳ Vell Pat 1 99. Reddit octavo post secessum anno. Suet Tib 14.*

851. Tiberius, at Rhodes was an auditor of Theodorus of Gadara. *Theodoros Gadarens quem studiose audisse, cum in eam insulam secessisset, dicitur Tiberius Caesar. Quint Instit 11 1.*

852. Artavasdes, or Artabazus, the Roman candidate for the throne of Armenia, appears to have been set at naught by Tigranes, the Parthian candidate. *Deni iussu Augusti impotus Artavasdes, at non sine claudis nostrat deiecit.* Tac Ann 11 4 (see ante, no 850 a d 1, no 975).

853. The birth of John the Baptist about 22 February, being nine months from the conception, about 22 May, b c 7 (see that year, no 836). Zacharias prophesies that the child should be called the Prophet of the Highest (the Messiah), who should save Israel 'from the hand of all that hated them.' Luke, i 76, 71 and the hill-country of Judaea is now in expectation of the coming Saviour, Luke i 65.

854. Syllenus who had returned from Rome to Aithia, makes favour with Fabatus, the procurator of Augustus, πείσας δὲ πολλοῖς χρήμασι Φαβλάτος, τοῦ Καίσαρος ζωοκλήτης, ἐχρήστο βουθρῶ καὶ καθ' ἡρόδοτος Juv Bell 1 29, 3 and communicates to Fabatus a plot which Syllenus had concerted against the life of Herod, Σολωνίου ποδὲς αὐτοῦ (Fabatus) ἐμφοστος, Ant xxii 1, 2, but Herod was not Fabatus to

his own side, and Fabatus, at his instance, requires Syllæus to give effect to Augustus' award. These occurrences respecting Fabatus were therefore certainly after, and not long after, the return of Syllæus from Rome. Παλαινοὶ δὲ τοὺς Ἡρώδης ἀφίστησιν ἀπὸ Συλλαίου Φαβιάτου, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ κελευσθέντα ὑπὸ Καίσαρος εἰσέπραττεν. Bell. i. 29, 3.

855. Syllæus accuses Fabatus to Caesar, and Fabatus, in revenge, discloses to Herod the plot of Syllæus against him. 'Ο δὲ (Syllæus) . . . κατηγορεῖ Φαβιάτου πρὸς Καίσαρι . . . ἐφ' οὗς ὁμοσθεῖς Φαβιάτος, ἦν δὲ ἐν πρὸς Ἡρώδῃ μάλιστα τιμώμενος, γίνεσθαι πρὸς τὸν Συλλαίου τῶν ἀπορήτων. Jos. Bell. i. 29, 3. Μιθῶν οὖν Φαβιάτος, Συλλαίου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρησόντα, ζηγείται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. Ant. xvii. 3, 2. And Corinthus, one of Herod's body guard, and some others are arrested as conspirators against the life of Herod, and are sent to Rome by Saturninus. This, therefore, was at least before 2 September, when Saturninus was out of office, and probably early in this year (see *post*, no. 873). Καὶ Σατουρνίνος, ἐηλώσεως αὐτῶ πάντων ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου γενομένης, εἰς Ῥώμην ἐξέπεμψεν αὐτοὺς. Ant. xvii. 3, 2. (Ὅσοι μὲν οὖν ἀνακριθέντες καὶ παρὰ Σατουρνίνου τῷ ἐπιποντι τὴν Συρίαν, ἀνεπέμφθησαν εἰς Ῥώμην. Bell. i. 29, 3. If Syllæus's accusation of Fabatus to Caesar was made by an embassy to Rome, and Fabatus, in revenge for the intelligence brought back from Rome, informed Herod of Syllæus's designs, some interval must have elapsed, but the first half of the year would be sufficient. It is not necessary, however, to suppose that Syllæus sent to Rome, and that intelligence of Syllæus's accusation there had come from thence to Fabatus, for the wrath of Fabatus may have been excited by hearing, as he naturally would, that Syllæus was sending, or had sent, an embassy to Rome to accuse him. This conspiracy of Corinthus against the life of Herod was the first of several conspiracies this year (see *infra*, nos. 862, 884), and which, with domestic troubles and the displeasure of Augustus, seem at last to have driven Herod almost to distraction.

856. Syllæus, in revenge for this breach of confidence by Fabatus, causes him to be assassinated, either this year or the next, Jos. Ant. xvii. 3, 2; and the death of Fabatus, as he was one of Caesar's officers, may have led to the execution of Syllæus himself subsequently at Rome (see *supra*, no. 845).

857. Herod, on receiving Augustus's permission to proceed, with the assistance of a council, against his sons, immediately assembles a conclave of 150 persons (including Saturninus and his three legates, who were his three sons, and Volcanius, the Procurator) for the trial of Alexander and Aristobulus. Jos. Ant. xvi. 11, 2; Bell. i. 27, 2. As this was in the time of Saturninus, it was at least before 2 September of this year, and, indeed, it may be safely placed in the early part of the year (say in March). Herod did not summon Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, as suggested by Augustus (there not being time for it), but drew the assessors from the neighbouring cities. Διέταμπεν οὖν, οὓς ἑδόκει, καλεῖν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον, Ἰοχαλάου χωρί. . . . Γενομένων δὲ ἐν Ἰερουζαλὴμ τε ἡγεμόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσους ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἐκάλεσε, μετ' ἐκείνων οἱ Σατουρνίνου παῖδες· εἰπόντο γὰρ αὐτῷ τρεῖς ὄντες πρίσβευται· τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἀπεφώνοντο. Jos. Ant. xvi. 11, 1, 2 and 3. Προκαλεῖσθαι δὲ οἱ ἡγεμόνες (γραφὴν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ Καίσαρος), Σατουρνίνος τε καὶ οἱ περὶ Πεδάνιον πρίσβεις, οὖν οἱς Ὀυλοθύμους ὁ ἐπίτροπος· ἔπειτα οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλοι, Σαλῶν τε, καὶ Φερῶν τε, μετ' οὓς οἱ πάσης Συρίας ἄριστοι, τὴν Ἀρχελαίου τοῦ βασιλέως. Bell. i. 27, 2. The official persons described as οἱ περὶ Πεδάνιον πρίσβεις (not πρεσβευταί) were, it may be surmised, the delegates sent by Augustus to execute the census of Herod's dominions (see *p.c.* 7, no. 835). However, they were possibly the legates, viz. Pedanius and the two sons of Saturninus, for though in the Antiquities his three sons are said to have been the three legates, yet in the Wars Josephus speaks of the two legates as concurring with Saturninus, σύμφηροι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ δύο πρεσβευταί, Bell. i. 27, 3; so that Pedanius may have been the third legate, who dissented. This, however, would contradict the Antiquities, whereas, supposing Pedanius to be the commissioner for making the census, the Antiquities and the Wars are reconciled.

858. Alexander and Aristobulus are condemned by the council, and Herod carries them to Tyre. 'Ο δὲ (Herod) σύρας τοὺς υἱοὺς εἰς Τύρον, κἀκεῖθεν διαπεύσας εἰς Καισάρειαν, τρόπον ἀναπτέως τοῖς μικροῖς ἐκίπτετο. Jos. Bell. i. 27, 3.

859. At Tyre Herod falls in with Nicolas Damascenus, who had then only just returned

from Rome *Κατέθεν μὲν* (from Berytus) *εὐθύς* 'Ηρώδης ἤκει λόγων αὐτοὺς εἰς ἴθροι, καὶ τοῦ γε Νικολάου πλεύσαντος ὡς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς 'Ρώμης, ἐπυνθάνετο τρωτίζησάμενος τὰ ἐν Βηρυτῷ, ἥτινα ἔχει γνώμην περὶ τῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ 'Ρώμῃ αὐτοῦ φίλοι Jos Ant xvi 11, 8. Πρὶν δὲ εἰσθεῖν ἐκ 'Ρώμης Νικόλαον, ἐν συνεδρίῳ κατεβλήσθησαν οἱ καὶ οἱ ἱστικοί, καὶ παρωζυμμενος ὁ πατήρ ἐμελλεν αὐτοὺς ἀντιοῆσιν καταπλεύσαι· αὐτοὶ δὲ Νικόλαω περὶ τῶν γεγονότων ἀπήγγειλε καὶ σύμβουλον ἐποιεῖτο Nicol Damasc Muller's *Fragm Græc Hist* iii 351. As Olympius and Voluminus had been heard at Rome, on the subject of Herod's sons, after the hearing of Nicolas Damascenus, and yet Nicolas did not reach Syria until after the condemnation of Alexander and Aristobulus, who were tried in pursuance of the powers given to Herod from the success of Olympius and Voluminus, it would seem that Nicolas Damascenus did not quit Rome until some time after the hearing of his embassy, and perhaps remained at Rome until after winter. It is evident that the trial of Herod's sons must have taken place immediately after the receipt of the Imperial rescript authorising it, or Nicolas would have returned before it was over.

860. Herod and Nicolas sail together from Tyre to Cæsarea. *Κατέειον* (Nicolaum) ἐλέλυσε (Herodes) συμπλεῖν αὐτῷ. Ὡς δὲ ἦκει ἐκ Καίσαρειας, εἰς Jos Ant xvi 11, 3, 4.

861. The condemnation of Alexander and Aristobulus excites the hatred of the whole nation *ἐνδοχεραίοι*, Jos Ant xvi 11, 4, and in particular of the army, *ἥ τε στρατιὰ πᾶσα*, καὶ ταῦτες οἱ πρωτεύοντες ἔλεον μὲν τῶν ατυχόντων, μίσοι δὲ τῶν ταῦτα διαπρατταμένων ἐσχόμασι Jos Ant xvi 11, 5, Bell i 27, 4.

862. Teron, an old soldier, expostulates with Herod on his cruelty, when Teton, and his son, and Typhon, the king's huber, are put to the rack, and no less than 300 officers are arrested as disaffected, and brought to trial, and the whole 300, with Teton, and his son, and Typhon, are stoned to death. *Πραγμάτων ἐκ ἐκκλησίας τριακόντους τε τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοὺς ἐν αἰτίᾳ γεινομένους*, εἰς Jos Ant xvi 11, 6. This was the second actual or supposed conspiracy this year against the life of Herod (see ante, no. 855).

863. Alexander and Aristobulus are at the same time sent to Sebaste (Samaria), where

they are strangled Jos Ant xvi 11, 7, Bell i 27, 6. Their death followed not long after the condemnation. *Τὸ δὲ ἀποκτείναντα ταχὺ, καὶ πρὸς ἰδούνην ταῦ τιμωρὸς αὐτὸν πάθους, ἀσεβείας τεμνήμονιν ἀνυποτιμήτου* Ant xvi 11, 8. Καὶ δὲ (Herod) δεισας περὶ αὐτοῦ, θάπτον ἢ κάλλιον ἐβούλευσασα, οὐδὲν ἔτι μεταδοὺς Νικόλαῳ, ἄλλω νύκτωρ τοὺς ἀναρρήσοιτας ὑποπεμψας Nicol Damasc Muller's *Fragm Græc Hist* iii 352. This event may be placed in April of this year.

864. Glaphyra, the widow of Alexander, is sent back, with her dowry, to her father Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. *Τὴν μὲν αὖν Γλαφύρην* 'Ηρώδης μετα τῆς προικὸς ἀπέπεμψεν εἰς Καππαδοκίαν, ὡς ἀνείλεν 'Αλεξανδρῶν Jos Bell i 28, 1, Ant xvi 1, 1.

865. Antipater, the son of Herod by Doris, who had contrived the death of the sons of Mariamne, is now looked upon as Herod's certain successor, and plays the part of a king. *Ὡς ἂν ἦν βασιλεὺς βεβαίῳ*, Jos Bell i 29, 1. *Βασιλείας ἐλπίς, Ἄλλ' ἐβασίλευσι*, Bell i 32, 7, *συνήχε τε τῇ πατρὶ, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ βασιλεὺς ὧν*, Ant xvi 1, 1. Antipater, being detested by the nation, tries to conciliate all within his reach by largesses, and makes presents (amongst others) to Saturninus. *Γούς ἐπὶ 'Ρώμης φίλους πομπαῖς μεγάλοις δωρεῶν εἰνους καθιστάμενος, πρὸ πάντων δὲ Σιανορντίον τὸν τῆς Συρίας ἐπιμελητὴν ὑποδεξαομένον δὲ ἡ ἐλπίς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν Σαταυρίου ἀδελφὸν μεγέθει δωρῶν, ἃ εἶδον* Ant xvi 1, 1. *Ὅτι γε μὴν περὶ Σαυορντίον ἐν Συρίᾳ πάντες ἐπλήσθησαν τῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δωρεῶν* Bell i 28, 1. *Ἐχθρὸν δὲ ἡγήτο* 'Αντίπατρος Νικόλαον, ἀνελὼν τοὺς ἀδελφούς ἐμισεῖτο γε μὴν δεῖνόν τε μίσος, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς βασιλείας μόλις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῷ πέραν οὐκ οὐκίτων. Ἐχωρεῖ δὲ ὁ λόγος καὶ εἰς 'Ρώμην, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἦν, οὔτε μέγας οὔτε μικρὸς, ὃς οὐκ ἐμίσει τὸν ἀνθρώπον Nicol Damasc Muller's *Fragm Hist Græc* iii 352. These largesses followed immediately after the death of Alexander and Aristobulus, and would therefore be in the time of Saturninus, who was displaced by Vurus some time before 2 September of this year.

866. Herod at first betrothes the children of Alexander and Aristobulus with a due regard to their welfare, but afterwards is induced by Antipater to betroth them to others, in conformity with Antipater's wishes Jos Ant xvi 1, 2, Bell i 28, 2.

867. The census of Herod's dominions (see i c 7, no 835) commences about the end of July of this year (see *post*, no 868), and as Herod was now a subject of Rome, the people are required to take the preliminary oath of allegiance to *Cæsar* and Herod. A census commonly led to disturbances (see Liv. Epitom. lib. 137, Tacit. Ann. vi. 11), and on this occasion 6,000 Pharisees refuse to take the oath, and are fined, and the wife of Pheroras, the brother of Herod, pays the fine for them. Laidner observes that there must have been an enrolment, or the exact number of 6,000 Pharisees could not have been known. Καὶ ἦν γὰρ μόλιον τοῖς Ἰουδαίων ἀνθρώπων, ἐπ' ἀριβύσει μέγα φρονούν τῷ πατρίῳ ἰσμου, οἷς, χαίρειν τὸ θεῖον προστασινόμενοι, ὑπήκτο ἡ γυναικίς Φαρισαίων καλοῦνται, βασιλεῦσι ἐνιόμενοι μάλιστα ἀντιπράσσειν, προμηθεῖς, καὶ τοῦ πρῶτον εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν τε καὶ βλέπειν ἐπικρινοῖσι Πάντος γόνυ τοῦ Ἰουδαίου βεβαιώσαντος δὲ ὑρίων ἡμῶν εὐνοήσαι Καίσαρι καὶ τοῖς βασιλέως, πράγμασι, οἷδε αἱ ἄνδρες, οὐκ ὤρωσαι, διγες ὑπὲρ ἐκαστοῦ καὶ, ἀνταγώνισαντες ζημιώσαντες χρήμασι, ἡ Φερόμα γυνὴ τὴν ζημίαν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν εἰσφέρει. Jos. Ant. xii. 2, 4. On a former occasion, when Herod's violations of the law had excited discontent, the population had been compelled, under heavy penalties, to swear allegiance to Herod, and then, as now, the Pharisees—viz. Pollio the Pharisee, and Sameas, and their disciples—had refused to take the oath, but there was no reference at that time to any allegiance to Cæsar. ἰδὲ ἄλλο πλῆθος ὄρισος ἤξιον πρὸς τὴν πίστιν ἐπάγεσθαι, καὶ συνιπταλῆσαι αὐτῶν ἐν ὧμοισιν τὴν εὐνοίαν ἡμῶν διαφυλάξειν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀμολογῆναι. συνεβη δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ Πολλίωνα τὸν Φαρισαῖον καὶ Σαμέαν, καὶ τῶν ἐκείνους συνδιατριβήτων τοῦς πλειστονὺς ὄμναι, οἱ δὲ οὕτε συνεχώρησαν, etc. Jos. Ant. xv. 10, 4. The antipathy of the Pharisees to the oath of fealty was now increased by their expectations of the Messiah.

868. A census of the Jewish nation would be regulated by their tribes, and accordingly, Joseph of Nazareth, and Mary his wife, being of the house or lineage of David, go up to Bethlehem, the city of David, to be enrolled there. Luke, ii. 4. As a census by tribes was essentially Jewish, it would seem that the enrolment on this occasion was not cosmopolitan but local.

869. THE NATIVITY, OR BIRTH OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST at Bethlehem, about 1 August. It could not have been, as commonly supposed, in the winter, for several reasons. 1. The shepherds and their flocks would not be in the open air during a winter's night. According to the Talmud, cattle in Judæa were usually turned out at the Passover, and brought back in October. Angei, 12 2. Mary, in a state of advanced pregnancy, would not have travelled with Joseph so far as from Nazareth to Bethlehem in the winter. 3. It is highly improbable that a census, which obliged persons to take distant journeys, should have been fixed for a winter month. A more natural time would be after harvest, i. e. in August.

The date of 1 August has been fixed upon for the Nativity with reference to the birth of John the Baptist. As the course of Abia went out of office on 22 May, B.C. 6 (see that year, no 836), at which time was the conception of Elizabeth, the birth of John would be nine months after, or about 22 February, B.C. 6. The conception of the Virgin Mary was in the sixth month current after that of Elizabeth, Luke, i. 26, and therefore the Nativity would be in the sixth month current after the birth of John, or about 1 August, B.C. 6.

The Nativity was before 2 September of this year, for it was at the time of the census, and the census was in the time of Saturninus, who was displaced by Varus before 2 September, B.C. 6 (see *post*, no 873). *Sed et census constat actus sub Augusto nunc in Judæa per Sentam Saturninum apud quos genus ejus inquirere potuissent*. Tertull. adv. Marcion. iv. 19.

870. Luke refers to this census as follows: *ἔγενετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, ἐξῆλθε δόγμα παρὰ Καίσαρος Αυγούστου ἀπογραφῆσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην. Αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου* Luke, ii. 1. The word *πρώτη* has given rise to various conjectures, but read in the sense of *previous*, i. e. before Cyrenus was governor of Syria (as in John, i. 15, 30, xv. 18, 2 Sam. xlii. 43, Aristoph. Aves, v. 484, Dion. Hal. iv. 3, Ælian, H. A. viii. 12, *πρωτὴ δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκείνου*, Suidas sub voce Πλακελλα, etc.), it presents no difficulty. Luke could not have confounded the census at the birth of Our Saviour with the census of Cyrenus, A.D. 6, for the latter was well known to Luke. Acts, v. 37. And if *πρώτη* be

rendered 'first' census, it implies a second viz the census of A.D. 6, from which the first census was therefore distinguished. Besides, the census of Cyrenius, in A.D. 6, did not include Galilee, in which was Nazareth, but only Judea and Samaria, the dominions of Archelaus.

Another interpretation of the passage in Luke is this. Assuming that there was only one census (viz in A.D. 6), there may still have been two enrolments or *ἀπογραφαί*. 1. One in B.C. 6, which was ordered by Augustus when he took offence at Herod's proceedings (see B.C. 7, no. 835), but which was suspended on the reconciliation, or partial reconciliation, of Augustus to Herod (see B.C. 7, no. 846), and, 2. A second enrolment, or rather a continuation of the first, on the banishment of Archelaus, in A.D. 6, when the enrolment begun in the time of Herod was completed, and the census or taxation of the people was made up. In this view, the statement of Luke would be correct, that 'this first *ἀπογραφὴ* came to pass, or took effect (*ἐγένετο*), when Cyrenius was governor of Syria' viz in A.D. 6.

Another explanation of the passage, which can neither be proved nor disproved, is that the first census, at the birth of Our Lord, was confided to the care of Cyrenius, as a special commissioner appointed for the purpose, so that the passage in Luke should be rendered, 'This was the first census of Cyrenius, so well known as governor of Syria,' as opposed to the second census, also conducted by him, in A.D. 6. Another solution still will be found under B.C. 4, no. 955.

871. It is a common opinion that this census in Judaea, at the birth of Our Lord, was part only of a general census throughout the whole Roman empire, and it may be proper, therefore, to subjoin the passages which may be cited in support of this view.

Suetonius first of all records the three censuses of *Roman citizens* in the time of Augustus, Suet. Octav. 27, and after this he writes, *Romani Populi recensum vicatim egit*, Octav. 40, and Suetonius elsewhere uses the expression *Populus Romanus* for the whole Roman empire. Suet. Octav. 94. As to the word *vicatim*, see Suet. Octav. 43.

Again, we read in Dion, 'Ἐν δ' οὖν ἐκείνῃ ἐγένετο (B.C. 11) Ἀγούστος ἀπογραφὰν τε ἐποιήσατο, πάντα τα ὑπάρχοντα οἱ καθ' ἕνα τις ἰδίῳ τῃ ἀπογραφίμους καὶ τὴν βουλὴν κατε-

λέσασα, Dion, liv. 35, and these words may be applied to a general census. See observations upon the passage under B.C. 11, no. 796.

Again, Suidas states that Ἀγούστος Καίσαρ, δόξαν αὐτῷ, πάντα τοὺς οἰκίτορας (τῆς) Ῥωμαίων κατὰ τοῦσ' ἄνθρωποι, βουλόμενος γινῶναι πόσον ἔστι πλῆθος καὶ εὐρίστανται οἱ τὴν Ῥωμαίων οἰκοῦντες νύ' μυριάδες καὶ γιγιοῖς' ἀνέρες (4,101,017). Suidas, Ἀγούστος Καίσαρ, Κυστὶς s. Ed. And this description may be applied to a general census of the Roman Empire, οἱ τῇ Ῥωμαίων οἰκοῦντες, and not of Rome only. The census of Luke was from a δῶγμα of the Emperors, and here also it is issued by Augustus in like manner, δόξαν αὐτῷ, and not in the exercise of the office of censor. The numbers in Suidas may have crept in by the mistake of the transcriber, who supposed it to represent the population of Rome, and Gresw. lli proposes to read δ' μυριάδες, or forty millions, instead of four millions, as δι (that is, δ with the ι ascript, instead of δ with the ι subscript) might easily have glided into οἱ. It will be observed that the numbers given are of ἄνδρες, or adult males only.

The testimony of Malala is as follows. Τῷ δὲ 48ῳ ἔτει, καὶ μηνὶ τῷ δεκάτῳ (thirty-ninth year and tenth month), τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, ἰθυσίαν ἐκφωνήσας δῶγμα, ὥστε ἀπογραφῆναι πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χειρομένην γῆν, καὶ ἢν πρόην εἶχοι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπατίας Ἀγρίππου τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ Δοιάνου, καὶ ἀπεγραφῆναι πᾶσα ἡ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων γῆ, διὰ Εὐμένους καὶ Ἀττάλου συγγλητιῶν. Ῥωμαίων. Malal. Chronog. lib. 9. Malala apparently dates the reign of Augustus from his first consulship, B.C. 43 (see Fasti Hellen. A.D. 14), for he assigns fifty-six years to this reign. Καὶ ἐβίβασεν ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀγούστος τὰ πάντα ἐπὶ νῆ. Lib. 9. And he places 25 December, A.C. 2, in the forty-second year of the reign of Augustus, and in the fourth month of the year. Ἐν δὲ τῷ μβ' ἔτει καὶ μηνὶ τῷ δ' τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ τῇ ποδ' ἡ Καλενδῶν Ἰουανίου, μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ κ' ὑπατεύοντος δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ὀκταβιανοῦ καὶ Σιδωνίου (B.C. 2). Malala, lib. 10. The thirty-ninth year of Augustus, and the tenth month, to which the census is referred by Malala, would therefore answer to June, B.C. 4. But as to the consulship of Agrippa II and Donatus, there is some mistake.

The following extracts have also been cited,

is suggesting a general census. *Augusti aequalem temporibus orbis Romanus agris diuisus censuque descriptus est, ut possessio sui nulli haberetur incerta, quam pro tributum susceperat quantitate solendâ* Cassiodori Var. 3. 52. *Hunc utilitendū sunt mensuræ limitum et terminorum et hinc Augusti et Nervus Cæsariani, sed et Bulli mensores, qui temporibus Augusti omnium Provinciarum et civitatum formas et mensuras compertis in commentarios retulit, et legem agrariam per universalem (al. divestitatem) provinciarum distinxit ac declaravit* Frontin de Colonia Rei Agrar. Auctor Ed. Goes 109. (*Augustus omnem terram suis temporibus fecit remensurari* Ex Fabio Balbi, 113. Cited Wieseler's Chronol. Synop. 81 (see B.C. 14, no. 343). *Ὁ δὲ Κῆσας Λύγουστος ὁ μοι ἀρχήσας, εἰσσεύει ἄνδρας, τοὺς ἱριστοὺς ὁδὸν βίαι· καὶ τοὶ προπαύ ἐπιθεξόμενοι, ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τῆν γῆν τῶν ὑπάρχων ἐξεπέμφε, ἐπὶ ὧν ἀπογραφὰς ἐτοίμησαντο τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ οὐσιῶν, ἀντάρκει τινὶ προστάξας τῷ δημοσίῳ νομίαν ἐκ τούτων εισφέρεισθαι. Αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο, τῷ προ αὐτοῦ τοῦ λεκτῆριαι· τὴ μὴ ἀφαιρουμένων, ὥς εἰσι τοῖς ὑπόλοιποις δημοσίαν ἐγκλημάτων ῥαδούται. Suidas, Ἀπογραφὴ (see further, B.C. 11, no. 796).*

It is certain that Augustus kept a *totionum* Suet. Octav. 28, or *biennium totius imperii*, Suet. Octav. 101, which, on his death, was produced and read in the Senate, Suet. Octav. 101, and in which *opes publicæ continentur quantitas civium sociorumque in armis, quot classes, regna, provincie, tributa, aut vectigalia, et necessitudines ac litigiones*, *quæ cuncta sub manu præceperat Augustus*, Suet. Octav. 101, and all other things necessary to be known for the purposes of government, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν φέρονται ἤν, Dion, lvi. 33, and see Dion, lvi. 30, and amongst these statistics the populations of the different provinces would naturally be included. How else could the number of persons capable of bearing arms have been ascertained? Strabo writes that Jamnia and its dependencies could arm 10,000, ἐκ τῆς πλησίον κώμης Ἰαμνίας καὶ τῶν κατοικούντων τῶν κώλῳ τέτταρας μυριάδας ἀπλῆσθαι, Strabo, xvi. 2, and yet Jamnia was no part of the dominions of Archelaus, when Cyrenius was sent, in A.D. 6, to take an inventory of his possessions, so that the population of Jamnia and its vicinity must have been enrolled on some other occasion.

A census of Roman citizens had been made by Augustus in B.C. 8 (see that year, no. 828), and a census of the Roman empire generally a year or two after is highly probable in itself.

872. The Child of the Virgin Mary is commemorated the eighth day, by the name of *Μετ' Ὁρε ἐτληθησαν ἡμεραι ὀκτώ* Luke, ii. 21.

873. Saturninus is superseded as prefect of Syria by P. Quinctilius Varus (see B.C. 9, no. 817, B.C. 4, no. 955). He was sometime before 2 September, B.C. 6, for Varus before that day was in office, and money had been struck in his name, which was probably done on his assumption of the government. There are three coins of Antioch with the inscription *Αντωχέων επι Ουανου*, with the respective dates EK, and 5 K and 7 K, i.e. 25, 26, and 27, viz. of the Actian era, commencing from 2 September, B.C. 31. The twenty-fifth year would be current from 2 September, B.C. 7, to 2 September, B.C. 6 and the coin with the date of EK must therefore have been struck in the course of that year, and so sometime before 2 September, B.C. 6. See Bekkel, iii. 275. The arrival of a new prefect in the East was usually at or after midsummer. Cicero entered on his office as prefect of Cilicia on 31 July (see B.C. 51, no. 198). Bibulus arrived in Syria the latter end of August (see B.C. 51, no. 204). It was at midsummer that Festus succeeded Felix as procurator of Judæa (see A.D. 60, no. 1893). There was no fixed rule as to the Imperial Provinces, which were regulated by the Emperor's pleasure.

P. Quinctilius Varus had been consul in B.C. 18, which from that time qualified him for the office of consular prefect of Syria. He derives his principal notoriety from the loss of his legions in Gaul, and is thus pointedly described by Velleius: *Varus Quinctilius, nobis magis quam illustri ortus famulâ, vi ingenio mitis, moribus quietus, ut corpore ita animo immobilis, otio magis camporum quam bellicæ assuetus militiæ. Periturus vero quoniam non contemptor, Syria, cui præfuerat, declaravit, quam pauperem reliquit* Vell. Pat. ii. 117.

874. Herod, about this time, and apparently after the arrival of Varus, settles Zamaris a Jew from Babylonia, at Bathya, in Batanea (lying between Herod's dominions and Trachonitis) in order to keep down the marauders from Trachonitis. This is related by Josephus

after the marriage contracts of the children of Alexander and Aristobulus (see *supra*, p. 86b), and before the trial of Pheroras's wife (see *infra*, p. 887) Ἐπιστάμενος δὲ ἄρα Ἰουδαῖος ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας . . . ἐπεισοχὴν τῇ ἐπὶ Δάφνι τῇ Σημί, ἐκταῖσθαι, Σατουρνίνου τοῦ τότε στρατηγούτος εἰς ἐὶς αἰκλήν αὐτῷ δεδοκότες χωρίον Οὐαλαθα δίωμα αὐτῷ μετεπεμπετο τοῦτοι Jos Ant xvi 2, 1 The words τοῦ τότε στρατηγούτος show that while Saturninus was prefect when Zamaris first arrived from Babylon, he was not prefect when Herod sent for Zamaris from Ulaṭha The settlement of Zamaris at Bathyra was therefore when Varius was in office

875. Antipater, having failed to conciliate good will by largesses, proceeds to secure his ends by a system of terror Ἐκ τοῦ φοβερόος εἶναι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἐπαρίζετο Jos Bell 1 29, 1, Ant xvi 2, 4 This is related after the settlement of Zamaris Ἐπρόδον δ' ἐν οἷς εἶπον (the settlement of Zamaris) εἶτος, ἀκρωτα πάντα πράγματα εἰς Ἀντίπατρον, εἰς Ant xvi 2, 4 The change of Antipater's tactics from bribery to terror may have commenced when Saturninus was succeeded by Varius

876. Antipater and Pheroras, with four women,—viz Doris the mother of Antipater, and the wife of Pheroras, and her sister and mother—form a cabal together against Herod, and hold secret meetings Jos Ant xvi 2, 6, Bell 1 29, 1 Salome is a spy upon their proceedings and reports all to Herod, who pauses from a suspicion of her veracity Εἰς δὲ τὸ θαρσεῖν οὐ διακρίμενον, ὑπονοῶν καθίσταται ὡς ἐξαβολαῖς τῆς ἀδελφῆς Ant xvi 2, 4, Bell 1 29, 1

877. The Purification of Mary in the Temple according to the law Luke 11 22 The time fixed for the Purification by the law was thirty-three days after the circumcision, or the fortieth day from the birth It would, therefore, be in September of this year Levit xii 4 Symeon, the Pharisee (supposed to be the son of Hillel, and the father of Gamaliel), who had been waiting for the consolation of Israel, testifies that the child Jesus was the Messiah Luke 11 25, 30 Luke adds, Καὶ ὡς ἐτελισται αἵματα τα κατὰ τὸν νόμον Κυρίου, ὑπεστρέψαν εἰς τὴν Ἰερουσαλὴν εἰς τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν διαζήμεναι Luke 11 39 But this passage of Luke cannot mean that there was no interval between the Purification in the Temple and the return to Galilee, for there occurred in the meantime the Flight into Egypt, related by Matthew n 14 The

Holy Family, after the Purification, return to Bethlchem, where they appear to have occupied a house ἴδὲν οἰκίαν, etc Matt 11 11

878. About 1 October the Magi come from the East to Jerusalem to inquire after the newborn King Matt 11 1 These Magi or Chaldean astrologers were either Jews or conversant with the Jews of Babylon, and the rumours of the coming Messiah, occasioned by the vision of Zacharias in the preceding year, and the birth of John the Baptist in the present year, had spread from Jerusalem to the Jews of the East, and thus led the Magi to watch the heavens It has been found by calculation that on 1 October, and again on 5 December, a c 7, and therefore after the time when the rumours of the coming Messiah must have reached the East, occurred a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn, presenting the appearance of a single star, and this in the Sign of Pisces, the dominant Sign of the Jews Wieseler's Chron p 65 'A conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in Pisces,' writes an old Rabbi, 'is the signal of Messiah's coming' Idler's Handb 11 405 In the spring of a c 6, the planet Mars also became an adjunct Wieseler's Chron 64 It is remarkable that in a d 1604 was a like conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn, followed, in 1605, by the addition of Mars, and a few months after, in the same year, a new star of great brilliancy appeared, which lasted for about eighteen months, and then vanished Wieseler, 63, and see 68 It is not unlikely that, after the conjunction of Jupiter, Saturn, and Mars, in a c 6, and at end of May or beginning of June, a similar new and extraordinary star may have appeared, and that the Magi then set off upon their road to Jerusalem, where, as it was a forty months' journey (Gieswell Dissert 11 141) they would arrive about 1 October, a c 6

879. On the inquiry by the Magi for the new-born King, Herod is alarmed, and all Jerusalem is in commotion Ἀκούσας δὲ Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐταράχθη καὶ πᾶσα Ἱερουσαλὴμ μετ' αὐτοῦ Matt 11 3

880. Herod calls a council of the chief priests and scribes to say where the Messiah was born, and they answer in Bethlchem Matt 11 4 These chief priests and scribes were no doubt the Pharisees referred to by Josephus as priding themselves on a knowledge of the Scriptures, ἐπ' ἀκριβέσσει μετὰ φρονούν τοῦ πατριῶν νόμον, Jos Ant xvi 2, 4, and laying claim to prophetic

inspiration, πράξι ωσι δὲ ἐπιστεύουσιν ἐπιφοιτήσει τοῦ θεοῦ 1b

881. The Magi are sent by Herod in search of the Messiah to Bethlehem, the place pointed out by the chief priests and scribes, and at Bethlehem the Magi present their offerings to the infant Jesus, and then return home without making any report to Herod. Matt. ii 9

882. Joseph and Mary flee into Egypt, the nearest country beyond the dominions of Herod, and the common refuge in the time of danger, and remain there until the death of Herod. Matt. ii 13

883. The Pharisees of Jerusalem are busy in spreading the report that the Messiah was born, and that the family of Herod was about to become extinct (a conclusion prompted by the death of his two sons a few months before), and (as the wife of Pheroras had paid the fine for them) they give out that the kingdom would pass from Herod to Pheroras, his wife and children. Οἱ δὲ (the Pharisees) ἀμειβόμενοι τῇ εὐνοίᾳ αὐτοῦ (προγινώσκοντες δὲ ἐπιστεύοντες τοῦ ἐπιφοιτήσεαι τοῦ θεοῦ) προύλεγον, ὡς Ἡρώδης μὲν κατακτείνεσθαι ἀρχῆς ὑποθεοῦ ἐψηφισμένης, αὐτῷ τε, καὶ γένει τῷ αὐτοῦ, τῆς τε βασιλείας εἰς τὴν ἐκείνῃ περιηχοῦσας καὶ Φερώρων πύλας τε οὐκ εἶεν αὐτοῖς. Jos. Ant. xvii 2, 4

This movement touching the Messiah is ascribed by Josephus to the Pharisees exclusively, and talks with the facts stated in the New Testament, that Symeon the Pharisee prophesied of the Messiah, and that those who afterwards went to inquire into John the Baptist's pretensions to the Messiahship were also Pharisees. John i 24. The present stir was evidently connected with the Messiah, for 'The King that was to rise up according to the prophecy was to have all things in his power', that is, was to be a divine person. Κατὰ χεῖρα γὰρ ἐκείνῃ πάντα εἶναι. Ant. xvii 2, 4

884. The belief of the coming Messiah and of the downfall of Herod's dynasty gains ground and communicates itself into the palace, and Bagoas, one of Herod's eunuchs, and Carus, his ταῖμα, take part with the Pharisees, but Herod, through Salome, is informed of what is going on, and puts the leading Pharisees to death, with all their adherents, including Bagoas and Carus. This was the third actual or supposed conspiracy this year against the life of Herod (see ante, pp. 855, 862). Καὶ τότε (οὐ γὰρ

ἐλθόντων Σαλώμην) ἐξηγγέλθη βασιλεῖ ἡν, καὶ ὅτι τῶν περὶ τὴν αὐλήν διαφθειρομένων. Καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν τε Φαρισαίων τοὺς αἰτιωματοὺς ἀναίρει, καὶ Παγών τὸν εὐνοῦχον, Καρὸν τε τινὰ τῶν τότε προύχοντα ἀρετῇ τοῦ εὐτρεποῦς, καὶ παιδικὰ ὄντα αὐτοῦ. Κτείνει δὲ καὶ πάν, ὅ,τι τοῦ οἴκου ἀντιστάσει οἷς ὁ Φαρισαῖος ἔλεγεν. Ἡρώδης δὲ Βαγάας ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὡς πατήρ τε καὶ ενεργετὴς αἰομισθησάμενος τοῦ ἐπικατασταθρομένου προβόσει βασιλεως. Κατὰ χεῖρα γὰρ ἐκείνῃ πάντι εἶναι παρέκτος αὐτῷ γάμου τε ἰσχυρὸν καὶ παιδῶσας τέκνων γιγνόντων. Jos. Ant. xvii 2, 4. This outrage against the Pharisees was not immediately after the fine of the Pharisees for refusing the oath of fealty at the census, for in the trial of Pheroras's wife the two events are treated as distinct. Herod charges against her, τὴν τε διόλυσιν τῆς ζημίας τῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιβληθείσης τελεσι ἐπαφεινχθῆναι τοῖς ἐκείνης, τῶν τε νῦν τετραγμμένων (the stir about the Messiah, with the downfall of Herod's dynasty) οὐδὲν ὅτι οὐ μετ' αὐτῆς. Ant. xvii 3, 1

885. At the same time with the punishment of the Pharisees, and in consequence of the same jealous alarm on finding that he had been mocked by the Magi, Herod orders a massacre of all the children of Bethlehem. ἅπα ἱεροῦ καὶ κατασφαιρω. Matt. ii 16. This may mean either the children who had entered upon the second year, so as to comprise those only of one full year, or it may mean the children who had completed the second year, so as to extend to all those who were two years old or under. The age was limited with reference to the appearance of the star, κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ὃν ἠρρίβωσε παρα τῶν μάγων, Matt. ii 16, and if all the children that were two years old be intended, we may suppose that Herod had regard to the first conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in May B C 7, and extended the order to six months previously to make sure of his victim. If the children only that were one year old be meant the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn on 16 October, B C 7, was one year before. All the children born subsequently were included, as the new and extraordinary star was still visible in the heavens.

886. In the heathen writer Macrobius is the singular statement. Cum audisset (Augustus) inter pueros quos in Syria Hei odes et Judioi infra lunatum mensal interfici, filium quoque ejus occisum, ait, Melius est Hei odis porcum (ὄν)

esse quam filium (vidi) (Macrobius Saturn. ii 4), Better be Herod's wife than Herod's son! The *infra bimatum* answers exactly to the ἀπὸ διετούς καὶ κατωτέρω of Matthew. Some think that Augustus here refers to Alexander and Aristobulus, who had been put to death in the spring of this year, and certainly that event made a great sensation at Rome, Nicol. Damasc. Muller's Fragm. Græc. Hist. iii 352, but the word is *filium*, not *filios*. Others think that reference is made to Antipater, who was put to death in B.C. 4. But the anecdote implies that Herod was still living, whereas Herod survived Antipater five days only, so that at the time of that saying Herod must have been dead. It is not unlikely that the anecdote arose from the death of Carus, who was put to death by Herod at this very time, and was the παῖς of Herod, Jos. Ant. xvii 2, 4, and that common rumour exaggerated the παῖς into the παῖδα of Herod. Josephus, in his account of the proceedings against the Pharisees, adds, *κτείνει δὲ* (Herodēs) *καὶ πᾶν ὅτι τοῦ οἴκετον συνεισθήκει*, οἷς οὐ Φαρισαῖος ἔλεγεν. Ant. xvii 2, 4. And the *τὸ οἶκτον* (his own household) may have included a son of Herod. The population of Bethlehem may have been about 2,000, and if so, the births in two years would not be many, and one half only would be males. According to the average in England the births of males for one year would be about thirty, and for two years about sixty.

887. A little time (say two or three weeks) after the punishment of the Pharisees occurs the trial of Pheroras's wife, for Ἡρώδης δὲ κολάσας τῶν Φαρισαίων τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἐληλεγμένοις, συνιδρύει τε ποιεῖται τῶν φίλων, καὶ κατηγορίαν τῆς Φερωρῆς γυναικὸς, etc. Jos. Ant. xvii 3, 1. One of the charges against Pheroras's wife was the late payment of the fine by her on behalf of the Pharisees. *ἦν τε διούσαν τῆς ζημίας τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιβληθείσης*. Ant. xvii 3, 1. Ὅτι τε Φαρισαῖοις μὲν χορηγήσειε μισθοὺς καὶ αὐτοῦ. Bell. i 29, 2.

888. Antipater, to avoid suspicion at home, writes to his friends at Rome to procure a letter from Augustus summoning Antipater to the capital. Γράφει (Antipater) *πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ φίλους, κεινῶν ἐπιστᾶλλον Ἡρώδῃ, τίμειον, ἡγάχον, Ἀντιπατρὸν ὡς Λυσίμαχον*. Jos. Ant. xvii 3, 2. Προκαταβύειται (Antipater) *δια τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας φίλων τῶν ἐν Ρώμῃ ἀποδημίαν αὐτοῦ*. Bell. i 29, 2. This letter of Antipater

must be placed about December of this year for the answer to it was returned about 26 April, B.C. 5 (see B.C. 5, no 900), and though the letter and answer were no doubt both dispatched with the greatest expedition, we cannot well allow (including the necessary delay at Rome) a less interval than four months for the transmission of the letter and the reply. The letter of Antipater to Rome was not long after the trial of Pheroras's wife, for it arose out of it, i.e. Herod at the close of the trial forbade Antipater to hold any intercourse with any of Pheroras's family, and Salome kept so jealous a watch over his movements in this respect, that Antipater thought it best to retire to a distance. Διούσας ἐπιτρούσας τὴν Σαλώμην, *πραγματεύεται δια τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας φίλων τὴν εἰς Ρώμην ἀποδημίαν αὐτοῦ*. Bell. i 29, 2. The trial, as Antipater wrote in December B.C. 6, must be referred to the last quarter of B.C. 6, say in November.

888a. Coins of Antioch

Κυριακὴ Σάββατον Ἀρχιερεὶ καὶ ἀρχιερεσσι. Ἀντιόχεια.
Eκ. 16 in the 25 year of the Actian Era,
and therefore struck between 2 Sept. B.C. 7,
and 2 Sept. B.C. 6.

Ἀντιόχειων ἐπὶ Οὐερῶν ΓΚ. Eckhel, iii 274-5.

Inscription

Statue *Matris Sac. Q. Caelus Q. L. Apollonides*
May. *Luc. D. Leio Balbo C. Anhatio I et*
Cos. (Florentia). Muratori, i 297.

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle

Pasover, April 2

Pentecost, May 28

Tabernacles, September 27

B C 5. U C 749. Olymp. 193, 4.

IMP. AUGUSTUS, XII

L. CORNELIUS SULLA

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XIV. FROM 27 JUNI COS.

XII. PONT. MAX. IMP. XIV.

TIBERIUS TRIB. POT. II.

Thirty-third year of the reign of Herod, from
1 January, or 1 Nisan.

889. Caius receives the toga virilis in the twelfth consulship of Augustus. *Duodecimum (consulatum) nuncupat, id est, septendecim annorum inter vallo, et in suis in tunc decimum biennio post ulto petit, ut Caium et Lucium filios inaplanimo priedatus magistratu, mo quicunque tirocinio, deducet et in forum*. Suet. Octav. 26. *ἰψὸν δὲ ἐφέλην ἔπει* (viz. after Tiberius's retirement to Rhodes), *ἐπὶ ἑκατὸν ὑπάρχοντι, ὃ Ἀν-*

γναστος ἐς τοὺς ἐφύροντες τὸν Γάτον ἔταξε, καὶ ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἅμα εἰσάγαγε, καὶ πρῶτον ἀπέφηνε τῆς νεότητος. Zonaras, x. 539; and see Monum. Ancyrr. cited B.C. 6 (see B.C. 20, no. 740).

890. Herod, immediately after the arrival of the letter summoning Antipater to Rome, dispatches him to Augustus with the will of Herod, in which he nominates Antipater as his successor (see *post*, no. 901). 'Ο δὲ οὐ τι μελήσας ἐξέπεμψε. Jos. Bell. i. 29, 2; Ant. xvii. 3, 2. This voyage of Antipater may be placed about 26 April, B.C. 5, for it was seven months before his return on 26 November, B.C. 5 (see *infra*, no. 900, for the process by which this date is determined).

891. Antipater, by plotting the procurement of this summons to Rome, outwitted himself in one respect, for Herod, at the same time that he parts with Antipater, sends for his sons Archelaus and Philip from Rome, to the great chagrin of Antipater. 'Ἦν δὲ αὐτοῦς ὁ πατὴρ μετερέμπετο, καὶ τοῦτο ἦν μάλιστα γάρασσον 'Αντίπατρον. Bell. i. 31, 1. That this recall was contemporaneous with the voyage of Antipater may be shown as follows. Antipater, as soon as he reached Rome, sent Bathyllus back with poison to take off Herod; and the same Bathyllus brought letters from Antipater, charging that Archelaus and Philip were murmuring at their recall. The order for their return must therefore have been sent by the hands of Antipater or at about the same time.

892. Syllaeus sails to Rome contemporaneously with Antipater: 1. To oppose Antipater on the old grounds. 2. To meet certain accusations advanced by Drotas of assassinations in Arabia and of Eubatus, Caesar's procurator. And 3. To defend himself against the charge of having conspired against the life of Herod. Συνεὶσθ' ἔτι 'Αντίπατρον καὶ Σύλλαϊος ὁ Ἀραφ, etc. Jos. Ant. xvii. 3, 2. 'Επλευσε καὶ Σύλλαϊος ὁ Ἀραφ ἐπὶ Ρώμης, etc. Bell. i. 29, 3.

893. Pheroras, also contemporaneously with Antipater's departure, and in concert with him, retires to his tenarchy of Peræa. Ἐρήθη δὲ παρὰ πύλαις (Ἰούδα) τίς πρωτομήνη συμφώνως, καὶ ὥστε κατὰ συνθήκην 'Αντίπατρος μὲν εἰς Ρώμην, Φερώρης δὲ ἀποχωρήσειεν εἰς τὴν Ἡεραιάν. Jos. Bell. i. 30, 3; and see Bell. i. 29, 4; Ant. xvii. 3, 3; xvii. 4, 1.

894. Death of Pheroras in Peræa, which leads directly to the discovery of the guilt of

Antipater in bringing about the death of Alexander and Aristobulus. Μετέβηκε δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν αἰδέτην 'Αντίπατρον ἡ ποιεῖν, τὸν Φερώρα θάνατον ἀρχὴν λαβοῦσα. Jos. Bell. i. 30, 1. 'Ἰκετὲρ Φερώρης τελευτῆς, ταπὰ τε ἐγγεγονέισαν αὐτῷ, ἀπελεύθεροι ἴδο, etc. Ant. xvii. 4, 1. The death of Pheroras may have occurred about 20 August, B.C. 5, for the news of it reached Antipater on his way home at Tarentum about 8 October, B.C. 5, and the voyage from Judæa to Tarentum would be about seven weeks. There must have been some interval between the departure of Antipater from Judæa to Rome and the death of Pheroras, for during the interval Herod had been ill and Pheroras had refused to visit him, and then Pheroras had fallen sick and Herod had gone to him. 'Ἰκετὲρ δὲ (Pheroras) οὐδὲ πρὸς νοσοῦντα τὸν ἄελφόν, καίτοι λισσῶς μεταπεμπέμενον. . . . Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ νοσεί Φερώρης, ἐβόηκετο δὲ 'Ἡρώδης μετρώσεως, καὶ γύρῃ ἦκε πρὸς αὐτόν. Bell. i. 29, 4; Ant. xvii. 3, 3. The death of Pheroras, and the consequent discovery of Antipater's guilt, was about four months after the departure of Antipater from Judæa, about 25 April; for at the same time with the discovery of Antipater's guilt Bathyllus arrived from Rome, having been dispatched by Antipater (see *infra*, no. 897), and a voyage from Judæa to Rome and back again to Judæa would under ordinary circumstances occupy about four months.

895. Herod's first step, on discovery of Antipater's guilt, is to disgrace Doris, the mother of Antipater. 'Αποσκήπτει δὲ εἰς τὴν πρώτην ὁ θυμὸς Δωριῶν τὴν 'Αντίπατρον μητέρα. Jos. Bell. i. 30, 4; Ant. xvii. 4, 2.

896. Herod's wife, Mariamne, the daughter of Simon the high-priest, being also implicated, Herod deprives him of the high-priesthood, and appoints Matthias. Κατηγορεῖτο ἔτι καὶ τοῦ Ἀρχιερέως ἡ θυγάτηρ γυνὴ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως. . . . καὶ διὰ ταῦτα 'Ἡρώδης . . . τὸν πειθεὶον τὴν Ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀφείλετο Σίμωνι τὸν τοῦ Βασιλῆως, κατήσται δὲ Μαθθίαν τὸν Οσοφίλιν. Jos. Ant. xvii. 4, 2. The appointment of Matthias was certainly before 11 September of this year, for on the day of the Great Fast, 11 September, he was unable as high-priest to discharge his office, and another high-priest was therefore associated with him. It could not have been the Fast of the next year, as Matthias, in the following spring, was displaced by Herod, who

died on 1 April, B C 4 (see *infra*, 904) 'Ο Μαρθίας ἐρωμένος ἐν νυκτὶ τῇ φερούσῃ εἰς ἡμίραν ἐν ᾗ ἡ ἡσυχία ἐνίστατο, etc., καὶ δὴ τότε οὐ εὐαίμενον ἰουραγῆν, 'Ιωσήφ-ος ὁ τοῦ 'Αλλήμου συνιερύνσας αὐτῷ συγγενῆς, ὧν Ant xvi 6, 1 (see B C 22, no 715, B C 4, no 904

897 Bathyllus, the freedman of Antipater, arrives at this time (Aug B C 5) from Rome with poison to take off Herod, and with letters concocted by Antipater's friends at Rome against Dicheleus and Philip 'Εν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Βάθυλλος ἐκ 'Ρώμης, ἀπελεύθερος 'Αντιπάτρου, παρῆν, etc. Jos. Ant xvi 4, 3, Bell i 31, 1 Antipater, to remove suspicion from himself, had arranged with Pheroras before quitting Judaea that Herod should be poisoned while Antipater was at Rome, and Antipater, a friend of Antipater, was to furnish poison for the purpose from Alexandria, but lest this might not have been done, Bathyllus now brought poison from Rome

898 Antipater writes again from Rome to Herod that he had dispatched the business committed to him, and had taken his leave of Augustus, and should return immediately 'Αντιπάτρου γεγραμμένος πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὡς, τι πάντα ὅν χρὴ διατετραγμμένος τρόπον, ἤξει ἐν τάχει Jos. Ant xvi 5, 1 Γράφει γοῦν ἀπὸ 'Ρώμης, ἀφ' οὗ αὐτοῦ ταχέως εὐαγγελιζόμενος, καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ Καίσαρος μετὰ τιμῆς ἀπολυθεῖται Bell i 31, 2 This letter was dated about 17 September, B C 5, for it reached Herod about 12 November, B C 5, and two months may be allowed for the transmission of it from Rome to Judaea

899 Antipater, about 1 October, sets out from Rome on his return, for he arrived at Caesarea about 26 November, B C 5, and the voyage would occupy two months Jos. Ant xvi 5, 1, Bell i 31, 8

Antipater, about 8 October, hears at Tarentum of the death of Pheroras, in the preceding August Προτερον μὲν οὖν εἰδίσκε τὴν περὶ τῆς Φερώρας τελευταίης ἐπιστολὴν ἐν Τάραντι Jos. Bell i 31, 3, Ant xvi 5, 1 Antipater's letter, announcing his intended return without delay, is delivered in Judaea about 12 November, B C 5, and Herod, wishing to get Antipater into his power, writes to him to make all haste home Σευδέειν παρευελθῶν, θήσασθαι γὰρ καὶ τὰς πρὸς τὴν μητέρα μεμψῆς ἐτειχθέντος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὅτι τὴν ἐμβολὴν τῆς μητρὸς 'Αντιπύτρος) Bell i 31, 3 The last word does not state a

fact that Antipater, when Herod wrote, was acquainted with his mother's disgrace, which would contradict the whole tenor of the narrative, but only that, as Antipater was sure to know it (which is the force of οὐκ ἠγγόει) before arriving in Judaea, Herod, to hush suspicion of the true state of affairs, smoothed the matter over as very trivial, and to be set right immediately on Antipater's arrival

Antipater, at Celenderis in Cilicia, hears of his mother's disgrace, and also receives (about 19 November, B C 5) Herod's letter to him of 12 November Τότε δὲ ἐν Κιλικίᾳ λαβὼν πρὸς ἐφ' ἑκατομῶν παρα τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιστολὴν, παρακρήμα μὲν ἔσπευδεν. Bell i 31, 3, Ant xvi 5, 1 From Judaea to Celenderis would be about a week's voyage

Antipater lands at Caesarea and reaches Jerusalem about 26 November Διαπεράσας εἰς τὸν Σεβαστὸν τὸν λιμένα τῆς Καισαρείας καταγεται Bell i 31, 3, Ant xvi 5, 1 This was seven months' after he had left Judaea Θανάσσει δ' ἂν τις ὄντι, τοσῶν δὲ ἐν 'Ιουδαίᾳ κατ' αὐτοῦ κεκηνημένων μῆσι προτερον ἐπ' αὐτὸν δὲν αὐτῷ ὄλον γένοιστο Ant xvi 4, 3 In the Wars, Josephus dates the seven months not from Antipater's departure from Judaea, but from the disclosure of his guilt, which followed immediately after the death of Pheroras, which led to the discovery of Antipater's guilt, reached Antipater, when already on his return, at Tarentum, and he heard of the disgrace of his mother, when he was near home in Cilicia, and Herod's letter, written immediately after the disclosures consequent on the death of Pheroras, met Antipater at Celenderis, which was only a week's journey from Jerusalem The interval between the discovery and the arrival of Antipater could therefore have been but a few weeks only The seven months' cannot possibly be dated from the discovery, but must be referred to Antipater's departure from Judaea *

900. If we can ascertain the time of Antipater's return, the time of his departure from Judaea, seven months before, will follow, and the

* I am happy to find that G. Well had arrived at the same conclusion on independent grounds See G. Well Diss. i. 185, 1st edit

time of the return may be thus calculated. Within a day or two after Antipater's arrival in Judaea, Herod wrote to Augustus (see *post*, no. 901), and on the receipt of the answer from Augustus Herod put Antipater to death; and five days after that, on 1 April, B.C. 4, Herod expired (see *post*, B.C. 4, no. 924). Thus,

From Antipater's return from Rome to the date of Herod's dispatch to Augustus	2 days
Voyage of Herod's messenger to Rome	8 weeks
Time spent in Rome in executing the commission	1 week
Return of messenger from Rome	8 weeks
Time from return to death of Herod	5 days
	18 weeks

If Herod, therefore, died on 1 April, B.C. 4, the return of Antipater would be on 26 November, B.C. 5. That the return of Antipater was late in the year we should conjecture from the route taken by him, viz. by way of Cilicia. Had his return been in July or August, he would have sailed, by favour of the Etesian winds, for Egypt. Assuming the return of Antipater to have been on 26 November, B.C. 5, his departure from Judaea, which was seven months before, must have been about 26 April, B.C. 5.

901. Varus is now at Jerusalem, and Antipater is heard before him in council, and condemned. Ἐβύχανε δὲ ἐν Ἱερουσολύμοις κατὰ τούτον τὸν καιρὸν Οὐάρως Κοινταίως, ταύτηνος μὲν Σαυουρητιῆς τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἀρχῆς ἀπεσταλμένος, etc. Jos. Ant. xvii. 5, 2. Ἦκε μὲν δὲ τῆς Συρίας στρατηγὸς Οὐάρως καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐπιμεληταί, καθίζει δὲ συνέριον ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ . . . Νικολάω δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐπέτρεψεν ὁ βασιλεὺς. Κατηγόρει μὲν αὐτός, ἀπελογεῖτο δὲ Ἀντίπατρος, ἔκρινεν δὲ Οὐάρως μετὰ τῶν φίλων. Καταδικάζεται δὲ ὁ Ἀντίπατρος καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ παρατίθεται. Nicol. Damasc. Muller's *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* iii. 352. This was the day after the arrival of Antipater, for τῇ τῇ ἐπινοήσῃ συνέτριπτε μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀθροίζε, Bell. i. 32, 1; and, therefore, about 27 November.

Antipater is put in bonds, and Herod sends a letter on the subject to Augustus. Δίψας δὲ αὐτὸν, εἰς Ῥώμην εἰς Καίσαρα ἐπέμπευ γράμματα περὶ αὐτοῦ. Ant. xvii. 5, 7; Bell. i. 32, 7.

Herod, after dispatching the letter, is seriously attacked by illness. Ἀρρημνίσκει δὲ ἐπὶ

τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἐπεσχέθη νόσῳ χαλεπῇ. Bell. i. 32, 7; Ant. xvii. 6, 1.

Herod alters his will, and, passing over Archelaus and Philip, against whom his mind had been poisoned by Antipater, he nominates Herod Antipas, instead of Antipater, as his successor. Bell. i. 32, 7; Ant. xvii. 6, 1 (see *ante*, no. 890).

Varus returns the next day to Antioch. Τότε δ' ἔξασπαστάς, ἀπῆρεν τοῦ συνελπίου, καὶ τῇ ἑξῆς ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας, ὅσπερ ἦν καὶ τὸ πλείστον ἦσαν αὐτῷ αἱ διατριβαί. Ant. xvii. 5, 7. Μετὰ μίαν ἡμέραν χωρίζεται. Bell. i. 32, 5. From the expression ὅσπερ ἦν καὶ τὸ πλείστον ἦσαν αὐτῷ αἱ διατριβαί, it would seem that Varus had been long enough in office to have adopted a usual place of abode; and this is consistent with the Tables, which place the arrival of Varus some time after Midsummer, but before 2 September, B.C. 6. Josephus, however, may have referred to the habits of Varus as afterwards known (see B.C. 6, no. 873).

902. Further proofs are discovered of the guilt of Antipater, and Herod sends a second dispatch to Augustus. Ἀδθὺς δὲ πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψε καὶ γράμματα ἐπὶ κατηγορίαις τοῦ υἱέος. Jos. Ant. xvii. 5, 8; Bell. i. 32, 6. This further discovery was just after the first. Ὑπὸ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας. Ant. xvii. 5, 7.

902a. Coins of Antioch.

Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ + Εὐσεβ. 5 Κ. Νικησ Υἱα. 1B. i. e. *Cesaris Augusti + Anno Victoriae XXVI.* Cos. xii., and therefore struck between 2 Sept. B.C. 6, and 2 Sept. B.C. 5. Eckhel, iii. 272, *Antiochian ἐπὶ Οὐάρου 5 Κ.* Id. iii. 275.

Inscriptions.

Lymphæis Dianae Redueis Sacr. Imp. Cesare xii. L. Cornelio Sulla Cos. Synthistor *Sabidie C. F. Dign.* . . . (Aquilæ). Muratori, i. 298, 1. *Imp. Cesar Divi Juli F. Augustus, Pontifex Maximus Cos. xii. Trilunio, Potest. xia. Imp. xiii. Cens. Aquarum omnium Repestit (at Rome).* Ib. 441; Gruter, vi. 176, 1, who for *Cens.* has *τίνας*. *Imp. Cesari Divi F. Augusto Pontif. Max. Cos. xii. Trib. Pot. xiii. Urbani.* Ib. iv. 2060, 8.

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 22.

Pentecost, May 12.

Tabernacles, September 15.

B.C. 4 U.C. 750. Olymp. 194, 1.

C. CAI VISITUS RABINUS
L. PASSIENUS RUFINUS

AUGUSTUS THIS POT AN FROM 27 JUNE COS
AN POST MAX IMP AN

TIBERIUS TRIP POT III

Thirty-fourth year of the reign of Herod, from
1 January, or 1 Nisan

First year of the reign of Archelaus and Herod
Antipas and Herod Philip

903 Herod's illness increasing, he removes for change of air to Jericho, and, apparently during his absence, the Rabbins Judas, son of Sarpheus, and Matthias, son of Margulothus, hearing a report that Herod was at the point of death, pull down the Roman eagle which had been erected by Herod over the eastern gate of the Temple Jos Ant xvii 6, 2, Bell 1 33, 2 The eagle was the emblem of Roman power, and it has been conjectured that the insurrection which now broke out from the report of Herod's death may have taken its rise from the recent census in Judaea, a measure that always excited disaffection.

This Judas, who was the ringleader, is thought, with great reason, to be the Theudas referred to by Gamabel, Acts, v 36, for Judas and Theudas were interchangeable names, Jehudiah of the Hebrews, as Usher observes, being the same with Theudah of the Syrians Usher, Annals, 797 See Lardner, 1 430 Judas, for instance, one of the Apostles, is also called Theudas Mark, iii 18 Luke, vi 16 The Judas of Galilee referred to by Gamabel was certainly the ringleader against the Roman census in A.D. 6, and this countenances the notion that the Theudas cited by Gamabel as a similar example was also a ringleader against the Roman power, such as was Judas, son of Sarpheus.

Wieseler would identify Matthias, the coadjutor of Judas, with the Theudas of Gamabel, and suggests that Matthias in Hebrew signifies the same thing as Theudas or Theodotus in Greek Wieseler's Chronol Synop 101

On the émeute being communicated to the officer in command at Jerusalem, he seizes the ringleaders and makes a report to Herod Πιργέλοδ δὲ εὐθέως τῷ βασιλεὺς στρατηγῶν, etc. Bell 1 33 3, Ant xvii 6, 3.

Herod orders the conspirators to be sent to Jericho, whither he summons the chiefs of the nation, and reclining on his bed, harangues them in the amphitheatre Βασίλειον δὲ αὐτοῦ καταβήσας ἐξέπεμπεν εἰς Ἱερικεῖον, καλεσας Ἰουδαίους τοὺς ἐν τελεί, καὶ, πυραργισμένοι, ἐξεκκλησιάσας εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ (qu' αὐτοὶ) θεωτρον ἐπὶ κλιναδίου κείμενος ἀδυναμίᾳ τοῦ στήναι, etc. Jos Ant xvii 6, 3

904. Matthias, the high-priest, had been connected with the émeute, and Herod removes him from the office, and appoints Joazar in his place Μαθίαν δὲ τὸν Ἀρχιερεα πάντας ἐπράσθαι, ὡς αἰτιαν τοῦ μερὸς τοῦτω γεγενῆσθαι, καθιστὰ Ἰωζαρου Ἀρχιερεα Jos Ant xvii 6, 4 (see n.c. 5, no 896, and infra, no 952)

905. Herod burns the Rabbins at the stake at Jericho and the same night occurs an eclipse of the moon Καὶ ἡ σελήνη δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐξέλιπεν Jos Ant xvii 6, 1, and compare Bell 1 33, 4 This eclipse was on the night of 12-13 March, n.c. 4 It has been calculated by Kepler, Petavius, and others, and began at 1h 48m, and ended at 4h 12m On 3 September n.c. 4, was another eclipse of the moon, but it occurred in the daytime, viz for the meridian of Paris at noon, 1 e at 2h 12m p.m. at Jerusalem In n.c. 3 there was no eclipse of the moon In n.c. 2 there was an eclipse of the moon on 20 January at 0h 15m for the meridian of Paris, 1 e at 2h 27m at Jerusalem, and another on 17 July at 5h 45m a.m. for the meridian of Paris, 1 e 7h 57m a.m. at Jerusalem See L'Art de vérifier les Dates

906. Herod's disorder increases, and the people regard it as a judgment upon him for his burning of the Rabbins Ὡστε τὸν ἐπιθεάζοντα ποιῆν εἶναι τῶν σοφιστῶν τὰ νοσήματα λέγειν Jos Bell 1 33, 5, Ant xvii 6, 5

907. Herod, by the advice of his physicians, crosses the Jordan to Callirrhoe, near the shore of the Dead Sea It will be observed that Herod did not go from Jerusalem to Callirrhoe, but that he crossed the Jordan to Callirrhoe, that is, Herod was already at Jericho, on the west side of Jordan, and he crossed the river to Callirrhoe on the east side Ἰατροὺς τε μεταπέμψας, καὶ ὑποσιν ἀρωγα ὑπαγορεύουσιν χρῆσθαι μὴ ἀποστερημένοις ποταμοῖ τε παράσας Ἰορδάνην θερμοῖς τοῖς κατα Καλλιρροην αὐτὸν παρέδδου Jos Ant xvii 6, 5 Διὰ τοῦ γούν τὸν Ἰορδάνην τοῖς κατα Καλλιρρόην θερμοῖς ἐκεχρήσθαι Bell 1 33, 5 This was about 14

March. In Lynch's Expedition to the Dead Sea, p. 370, is the following account of Callirhoe — 'The Zeika Ma'in, the outlet of the hot springs of Callirhoe. The stream, twelve feet wide and ten inches deep, rushes in a southerly direction with great velocity into the sea. Temperature of the air 77°, of the sea 78°, of the stream 94°, and one mile up the stream 95°.'

908. Herod at Callirhoe, on 15, 16, 17, and 18 March makes use of the waters, but without any good effect. *Λοῖς κατα Καλλιρόην θερμοὶ ἐπέχοντο* Jos Bell 1, 33, 5; Ant. xvii 6, 5.

909. On 19 March he is plunged into a vessel of oil, which almost kills him, and he despairs of life. Jos Ant. xvii 6, 5. Bell 1, 33, 5.

910. On 20 March he distributes a donation to the army, Jos Bell 1, 33, 5, Ant. xvii 6, 5, and returns to Jericho. *Παρὴν αὐθιὰ ἐπὶ Ἱεριχώντος* Ant. xvii 6, 5. *Αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποστρέφων εἰς Ἱερουσόταν παραγίνεται* Bell 1, 33, 6. The circumstance of his 'returning' to Jericho shows that he had come to Callirhoe from Jericho, and not from Jerusalem.

911. The chiefs of the nation are ordered, on pain of death, to make all haste to Jericho, and, as they arrive, are shut up in the Hippodrome or prison. *Τούς γὰρ ὅφ' ἐλάσσει κόμης ἐπιστάμους, διδούς ἐξ ὧλης τῆς Ἱουδαίας συναγωγῇ, εἰς τὸν κλειόμενον Ἱππόδρομον ἐπέλυσεν συγκεῖσαι* Jos Bell 1, 33, 6. *Ἀφικνομένων προστάγματι τῷ αὐτοῦ Ἰουδαίων διδρῶν παῖτος τοῦ ἔθνους ὁποῦτοι ἕξολόγων πολλοὶ δε ἐγένοντο, ὥς τὸν παῖτος ἔθνους κατακεκλημένον καὶ πάντων ἀρρασταμένων τοῦ διατάγματος, εἰς γὰρ θάνατον τοῖς ἀλογῆσαι τῶν ἐπιστάλων.* Ant. xvii 6, 5. All that is probably meant is that such as received the summons and arrived in consequence were shut up in the Hippodrome, and from the use of the word πολλοὶ we should infer that they were not very numerous. As, however, any point in Judaea, to which the order was confined, could be reached in fifty-eight if not in twenty-four hours by a special messenger, a week would be ample time for the assemblage of the principal personages.

912. On 27 March Herod charges Salome and Alexas, immediately on his own demise to put all the chiefs to death. Jos Bell 1, 33, 6; Ant. xvii 6, 5. And contemporaneously with this injunction to Salome and Alexas, *ταῦτα δὲ ἐπιστέλλοιτο αὐτοῖς*, Ant. xvii 7, 1 a dispatch arrives from Rome in answer to his

own second dispatch about Antipater (see B C 5, no 901), and Herod derives momentary relief from the news, *βραχὺ μὲν τὴν ἀνηκεῖν*, Ant. xvii 7, 1; Bell 1, 33, 7, but relaxes, and makes an attempt upon his life. Ant. xvii 7, 1; Bell 1, 33, 7.

913. From the outcry on Herod's attempt upon his own life, Antipater believes that Herod is dying, and endeavours to persuade his jailor to give him his liberty, *αἰρώγη ὃ εὐθὺς ᾔηθη μεγίστη κατα τὸ βασίλειον ὥς οἰχόμενου τοῦ βασιλεως, καὶ ταχέως ἀνοῦσαι Ἀντίπατρος, etc.*, Jos Bell 1, 33, 7; Ant. xvii 7, 1. But Herod is informed of it, and, though in extremis himself, instantly puts Antipater to death. Bell 1, 33, 7; Ant. xvii 7, 1. In Nicolas Damascenus the account is as follows — *Νικολαὸς δὲ καὶ τότε παρήκει πέμπειν αὐτὸν (Antipater) ἐκ τῆς αἰσούρας, ἐπεὶ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἤλκησεν, καὶ οὐκ ἔτι ἐκείνος γὰρ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἴσθη δὲ τα παρὰ Κασσαρος γράμματα ἦνοιτα, καὶ τῷ πᾶσι κολάζειν αὐτὸν ἐπιτροπέοισιν, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκολάσθη* Nicolas Damasc. Muller's *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* iii 353. Muller interprets this to mean that the letter from Augustus came not in answer to Herod's dispatch after the trial of Antipater before Varus, but proceeded from Augustus *πρὸς αὐτὸν*, but such a conclusion is not warranted by the words of Nicolas.

914. Herod makes a new will (see B C 5, no 901), and, subject to Augustus's approval, appoints Archelaus who had been maligned by Antipater, instead of Herod Antipas, to be his successor as king of Judaea, and makes a partition of the rest of his dominions, assigning Galilee and Perea to Antipas, Gaulanitis, Trachonitis, and Batanea to Philip, and Iamnia, Azotus and Phasachus to Salome. Jos Ant. xvii 8, 1; Bell 1, 33, 8.

915. Herod dies at Jericho on 1 April, the fifth day after the death of Antipater. *Ἡμέρᾳ πεμπτῇ μεθ' ὃ Ἀντίπατρον κτείνει τὸν νιόν τελευτᾷ* Jos Ant. xvii 8, 1; Bell 1, 33, 8. *Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα (the death of Antipater) οἷον χρόνον διεθάντος, τελευτᾷ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς* Nicol. Damasc. Muller's *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* iii 353.

916. Salome and Alexas the same day, and before the death of Herod had got wind amongst the soldiery, liberate, as by the king's order, the prisoners in the Hippodrome. Jos Bell 1, 33, 8; Ant. xvii 8, 2. When the prisoners are now on their way home (*τούτων οἰχομένων*), Salome and Alexas call together the troops in

the amphitheatre at Jericho, and the king's will is read Bell 1 33, 8, Ant xvii 8, 2

917. Archelaus at the close of the proceedings, is greeted as king, but he declines to wear the crown until the ratification of the title by Augustus Jos Bell ii 1, 1, i 33, 9 Ant xvii 8, 4

After receiving these congratulations, Archelaus prepares the funeral of Herod with all magnificence, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τάφον ἡτοίμαζον τῷ βασιλεῖ, μελήσαν Ἀρχελαῖος πολυτελεῖσθαι τὴν γένεσθαι τὴν ἐκπορῆν τοῦ πατρὸς, Ant xvii 8, 3, Bell i 33, 9, but at the same time with all dispatch, for—1 He was anxious to hasten to Rome 2 He actually set sail about a fortnight after the death of Herod for when he went down from Jerusalem to Caesarea he met Sabinus, Caesar's procurator, going up from Caesarea to Jerusalem, to take an inventory of Herod's effects, a measure that required immediate attention (see *post*, no 927) And 3 The preparations for the funeral could not have been long, for the want of proper respect for the memory of Herod on the occasion of his death was afterwards made a charge against Archelaus at Rome Πισθους τε τοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἀμελείας, καὶ κάμους ἀντονυκτε τῇ ἐκείνου τελευτῇ γεγονότος Ant xvii 9, 5 The last words prove that the death of Herod was publicly announced on the very day of his demise

918 Herod is buried with great pomp at Herodium, now the Frank mountain, a little to the S E of Bethlehem, Rob Biblic Res i 480, two hundred stades or twenty-five miles from Jericho, Jos Bell i 33, 9, and sixty stades or seven miles and a half from Jerusalem Ant xv 9, 4, Bell i 21, 10 In the Antiquities it is said, ἦσαν δὲ ἐπὶ Ἡρώδιον στάδια δατῶ Ant xvii 8, 3 And if it be meant that Herodium was only eight stades or one mile from Jericho, Josephus would contradict himself But the passage may be rendered that, Herodium being twenty-five miles distant, the troops followed the pall for the distance of eight stades toward or on the way to Herodium, and from that point the funeral procession passed on by itself In Judaea the burial was usually before sunrise on the day of the death, but on this occasion the preparations must have required some days—say six The first public appearance of Archelaus at Jerusalem as Herod's successor was after the funeral, and

it cannot be supposed that many days would pass before Archelaus presented himself to the people as their sovereign

919. Mourning for Herod is observed for seven days from the death (and therefore ended on 8 April), and at its close Archelaus provides the customary funeral banquet Ἀρχελαῖος δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν ἐξῆδμην ἡμέραν πένθος τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ τιμῶν διετέλει, τούσας γὰρ διαγορεύει τὸ νόμιμον τοῦ πατρὸς Jos Ant xvii 8, 4 Πενθήσας γὰρ ἡμέρας ἔπαι τὸν πατέρα, καὶ ἦν ἐπιτάφιον ἐστίασιν πολυτελεῖ τῷ πλὴθει παρευχόντων Bell ii 1, 1. The mourning for Herod is expressly stated to have been the usual one, and that the seven days mourning were counted from the death, see Ecclesiast xvii 12

920. When the public mourning is ended, and therefore on 9 April, Archelaus goes up to the Temple and receives the people on his throne, and offers sacrifices, and then entertains his friends at a banquet These sacrifices were not those of the Passover, which had not yet begun Jos Ant xvii 8, 1, Bell ii 1, 1 In the evening of the same day (9 April), being the day next after the close of the public mourning (8 April), the adherents of the Rabbins begin a private mourning for the death of the Rabbins by Herod Ἐνθα δὲ περὶ δειληγὶ ἀβραμῶντες οὐκ οἰκίον τῶν νεωτερίζων προαιρουμένων, ἠμῶντο τοῦ ἰδίου πειθους ὅτε το κοινὸν ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ πεπαιτο Bell ii 1, 2 The friends of the Rabbins, the next day, 10 April, assemble together in great multitudes, συνόδου αὐτοῖς γενομένη, Ant xvii 9, 1, when Archelaus sends the chief military officers, and endeavours to appease them, but the officer is hooted Ant xvii 9, 2, Bell ii 1, 2, and Archelaus sends others without effect Ἐνταῦθα δὲ πολλοὺς Bell ii 1, 3 Πολύων δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρχελαίου πεμπομένω Ant xvii 9, 2

921. Multitudes at this time are collected at Jerusalem at the Passover καὶ τῇ τῆς τῶν Ἀζύμων ἐνστάσεως ἑορτῆς (Πάσχα παρα τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καλεῖται) ἐπειθ' οἱ μὲν, ὡς μνηστεῖοι δεινοῦ γενοῦστος, ἐπράποντο πρὸς τὴν θυσιαν οἱ, θυσουσιν ἐκάστοις ἐξαιφνης προσπεσόντες, διαφθέρουσι μὲν περὶ τρισχιλίων Jos Bell ii 1, 3

922. Archelaus, fearing that the faction might become dangerous, sends a band of soldiers to disperse them, when the troops are driven back. Jos Bell ii 1, 3, Ant xvii 9, 3,

and Archelaus then sends a larger force, and 3,000 of the multitude are slain. The feast is now proclaimed at an end, and the people are ordered to their homes. Καὶ πάντες ὄχοντο τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀποσιπώντες. Bell. ii. 1, 3; Ant. xvii. 9, 3.

923. As the people at this time were engaged upon the sacrifice, αὐθις ἡ θυσία ἦν, Jos. Ant. xvii. 9, 3; ἐπράποντο πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν Bell. ii. 1, 3, the occurrence was probably on the great day of the Paschal sacrifice, which will account for the abundant supply of provisions stated to be in the Temple. Ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τροφῆς ἡμπαροῦντο, Ant. xvii. 9, 3.

924. The day of the Paschal Sacrifice, or the day when the lamb was slain (between 3 p.m. and 5 p.m.), was 10 April this year, and the *émeute* therefore happened on 10 April. But it was on the day next after that on the evening of which the private mourning for the Rabbins began, and the private mourning began on the evening of the day after that on which the public mourning for Herod closed. As the private mourning, therefore, commenced on the evening before 10 April, i. e. on 9 April, the public mourning for Herod must have ended on 8 April; and as it lasted seven days, it must have commenced (exclusive) from 1 April, which was, therefore, the day of Herod's death. Thus from the day when the Rabbins were burnt at Jericho, on 12 March, to the death of Herod, on 1 April, was an interval of about three weeks only; and that it was very short may be inferred from the circumstance that the mourning for the Rabbins followed immediately upon the mourning for Herod, for it is not to be supposed that a mourning for the Rabbins would be observed unless their death had been quite recent. If the death of the Rabbins was on 12 March, B.C. 4, it is not conceivable that mourning would be observed for them a year after, in B.C. 3, supposing, as some think, that Herod died in that year. This interval of three weeks is just sufficient for all the intervening events; and there is no occasion to conjecture, as some do, that in this year there was an intercalation so that the Passover fell a month later, thus making the interval from the eclipse to the death of Herod about seven weeks. The *émeute*, however, at Jerusalem may have occurred, not, as we have assumed, on the day of Paschal sacrifices, but on some subsequent day of the feast, when also

sacrifices would be offered, and on this supposition the interval from the death of Herod would be increased by several days. The death of Herod must have been either a little before the Passover B.C. 4, or a little before the Passover B.C. 3; and it could not have been the latter, for Herod had sent his dispatch to Rome about Antipater some time before the eclipse on 12 March, B.C. 4, and he received an answer just before his death; and it cannot be imagined that an interval exceeding a year could have elapsed in so urgent a matter between the dispatch and the answer.

925. Herod is described by Josephus at the time of his death as almost seventy. Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἦν σχεδὸν ἑτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα, Jos. Bell. i. 33, 1; or, as he expresses it elsewhere, 'about his seventieth year.' Παλιῶτος ἐξ ἑβδομηκοντῶν, Ant. xvii. 6, 1. He was in his sixty-ninth year (see B.C. 47, no. 310). He had reigned thirty-four years from the death of Antigonus, and thirty-seven years from his appointment to the kingdom by the Romans. Βασιλεύσας μὲθ' ὃ μὲν ἀνέειπεν Ἀντίγονον τίσσασα καὶ τριάκοντα, μὲθ' ὃ δὲ ὑπὸ Ρωμαίων ἀποδέχεντο ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα, Ant. xvii. 8, 1. By saying that Herod reigned thirty-four years and thirty-seven years, Josephus means thirty-four years and thirty-seven years current, i. e. that Herod died in his thirty-fourth year current from the death of Antigonus in B.C. 37, and thirty-seventh year current from the nomination of Herod to the kingdom by the Romans in B.C. 40; and on this, as on other occasions, Josephus reckons either by consular or Jewish years, i. e. he computes the thirty-four years either from 1 January or 1 Nisan, B.C. 37, and the thirty-seven years either from 1 January or 1 Nisan, B.C. 40. In narrating events in the time of Herod the historian invariably adopts the shorter reign of thirty-four years from the death of Antigonus, and dates it from 1 January or 1 Nisan B.C. 37 (see B.C. 31, no. 619). That Herod would reign more than thirty years is said to have been foretold by Mannheim the Essene. Εἰ δέκα γενήσονται τῆς βασιλείας ἐν αὐτοῖς, (Herod) προσετίθετο· καὶ, εἰκοσι, καὶ τριάκοντα εἰπὼν, ὅταν οὐκ ἐπίθῃκε τῷ τέλει τῆς προφητείας, Ant. xv. 10, 5.

926. On the death of Herod, Joseph and Mary, with the child Jesus, return from Egypt to Judaea; but hearing that Archelaus was king in the room of his father they retire to Nazareth, in

Gahlee. Ἰαλούσας δὲ ὅτι Ἀρχέλαος βασιλεύει ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, αἰτῶν Ἡρώδου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἐφοβήθη ἐκεῖ ἀπελθεῖν χρηματισθεὶς ἕξ κατ' ὄναρ αἰεχώρησεν εἰς τὰ μέρη τῆς Γαλιλαίας, καὶ ἔλθων κατήχησεν εἰς πόλιν λεγομένην Νιζαρέτ. Matt ii 22. Here ἀπελθεῖν means simply to 'go,' see Matt x 6, viii 33, xii 21, and ἀνεχώρησεν signifies 'not returned, but retired,' see Matt ii 14, ix 24, xii 15. It has been inferred from this passage that Matthew was under the impression that Bethlehem was not only the birthplace of Our Lord, but also the domicile of his parents, but there is no necessity for this supposition. Wieseler suggests that Joseph, as Our Lord was born at Bethlehem and was to inherit the throne of David, may have desired that the Child might be educated at Bethlehem, but more probably, as Joseph had quitted Bethlehem in haste for Egypt, he might have wished to return thither on matters requiring attention, or when Joseph and Mary came on the occasion of the census to Bethlehem, their tribe city, they may have intended to settle there, and it would seem that after the birth of Jesus they were residing in a house at Bethlehem, καὶ αὐτῶν, Matt ii 11.

The rumour (ἀκούσας) that Archelaus was 'king' in the room of Herod is very significant, and confirms the veracity of Matthew, as until a few days before his death Herod had nominated Antipas as his successor (see *ante*, no 90), and only in his last moments had he altered his will, and appointed Archelaus as his successor (see *ante*, no 914). As to the word βασιλεύει, it is remarkable that Archelaus, by the appointment of Augustus, after hearing the claimants to the government of Judæa, was declared *Ethnarch* of Judæa, but in the interval between the death of Herod and the departure of Archelaus for Rome, Archelaus had been saluted as *king*. Jos Bell ii 1, 1, i 33, 9, Ant xvii 8, 2, xvii 8, 4.

The fears of Joseph from the violence of Archelaus are in strict accordance with the character of the latter, for within a few days from the death of Herod, Archelaus, as we have seen, committed a wholesale massacre of his countrymen at Jerusalem, and wellnigh lost his succession in consequence, and eventually he was deposed and banished on account of his atrocities (see A D 6, no 1011).

927. Archelaus, leaving his brother Philip to govern in his absence, goes down with his

mother Malthace to Cæsarea, where he has an interview with Varus, the prefect of Syria, who had come thither at his request, and also with Sabinus, the procurator of Syria, who was on his way to Jerusalem to take an inventory of Herod's property, and then sails to Rome with Nicolas Damascenus. Ἀνὼρος δὲ (Archelaus) μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς (Malthace) καὶ τῶν φίλων, Πομπῆα καὶ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Νικολάου, κατὰ πρός θάλασσαν, καταλιπὼν ἐπίτροπόν τε τῶν βασιλείων καὶ κηδεμονία τῶν οἰκίων Φιλισπόν, Jos Bell ii 2, 2, Ant xvii 9, 3. As the procurator would lose no time in proceeding to Judæa to secure Herod's property, the presence of Sabinus at Cæsarea, and consequently the departure of Archelaus from Rome, must have been at the latest about a fortnight after Herod's death, i. e. about the middle of April. Sabinus appears to have been the successor of Volumentius in the office of Cæsarea's procurator (see no 7, no. 835).

928. Varus, on the departure of Archelaus, goes up to Jerusalem, and, foreseeing disturbances, leaves there one of his three legions, and then returns to Antioch. Ἐν τῇ τῶν τριῶν ἀπὸ Συρίας ταγμάτων, ὅπερ ἦεν ἄγων, ἐν τῇ πόλει καταλείπει, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπὸ στραφέν ἐς Ἀντιόχειαν. Jos Bell ii 3, 1.

929. After the departure of Varus, Sabinus arrives at Jerusalem. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκπλεῖ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης Ἀρχέλαος, Οὐδάρρ δ' ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας ἐγένοντο κομιδαί, Σαβίτιος ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμων χωρήσας, etc. Jos Ant. xvii 9, 3. In another passage, Josephus relates the departure of Varus from Jerusalem, and adds, καὶ Σαβίτιος δ' ἐπίτροπος τοῦ Κιαισαρίας, ὑπομένειν αὐτὸν, μεγάλῳ τοῦς Ἰουδαίους κατεπόνει, etc. Ant xvii 10, 1. But the word ὑπομένειν may mean only that Sabinus remained behind in Judæa, and did not accompany Varus to Antioch.

930. Herod Antipas (called by Our Lord 'that fox') follows his brother Archelaus stealthily to Rome to lay claim to the kingdom. Jos Ant xvii 9, 4, Bell ii 2, 3.

931. At Jerusalem, at the Feast of Pentecost (31 May), the assembled multitudes break out into an insurrection, and besiege Sabinus in the Prætorium, or Herod's palace. Ἐπιστάσης δὲ τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς (ἔσθη δὲ ἡμῶν ἐστὶ πάτριος τοῦτο κεκλημένη) οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς θρηνητικῆς μουνοπαῖσαι, ἀλλ' ὀργῇ φέροιντες τῇ παρουσίᾳ τῆς Σαβίτιου ὑπάρχουσ. Jos Ant xvii 10, 2. Ἐνσάσεις

ἐξ ἧς Περσικοστῆς . . . οὐκ ἡ συνήθεια θρησκείᾳ συνήγαγε τὸν ἔθνην ἀλλ' ἀγαράκησις. Jos. Bell. ii. 3, 1.

932. During the absence of Archelaus at Rome, 20 of Herod's army make an insurrection in Peraea, and are opposed by Archelaus, a nephew of Herod. Jos. Bell. ii. 4, 1; Ant. xvii. 10, 4.

933. At the same time, Judas rises in Galilee, and effects possession of Sepphoris. Jos. Bell. ii. 4, 1; Ant. xvii. 10, 5. This Judas is thought by some to be the Theudas referred to Acts v. 36, the two names Judas and Theudas importing the same thing, as in the case of *Judas*, one of the twelve Apostles, who is also called *Thaddæus* or *Theudas*. Mark, iii. 18. Luke, vi. xvi. (see A.D. 31, no. 1169). But the Theudas referred to by Gamaliel was more probably Judas the Rabbin, an insurgent before the death of Herod (see ante, no. 901).

934. Simon makes an insurrection in Peraea, and, crossing the Jordan, burns the palace at Jericho, but is overthrown by Gaius, the commander of Archelaus. Jos. Bell. ii. 4, 2; Ant. xvii. 10, 6. Tac. Hist. v. 9.

935. Athronges also, a shepherd, in concert with his four brothers, sets himself up as king. Jos. Ant. xvii. 10, 7; Bell. ii. 4, 3.

936. Varus, on receipt of dispatches from Salbimus, advances from Antioch with his two remaining legions, and collects his forces at Acce. Ἀναλαβὼν δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ δύο τάγματα, καὶ νύκτ' αὐτῶς ῥέσσαντας ἰλας ἱππέων, ἐπὶ Προλεπτοῦ ἦεν. Jos. Bell. ii. 5, 1; Ant. xvii. 10, 9. And Aretas, king of Petra, sends some auxiliaries. Ant. xvii. 10, 9; Bell. ii. 5, 1.

937. Varus dispatches a part of his army against Sepphoris, in Galilee, the stronghold of Judas, which is taken and burnt. Jos. Ant. xvii. 10, 9; Bell. ii. 5, 1; and hastens himself to Jerusalem, where he restores order. Ant. xvii. 10, 10; Bell. ii. 5, 2.

938. Varus employs his army in suppressing disturbances throughout the country, Jos. Bell. ii. 5, 2; Ant. xvii. 10, 10; and puts down Simon (see no. 934). *Post mortem Herodis, nihil eorum in Syria, Cæsar, Non quidam regium nomen in Syria est. Is a Quintillio Varo, obtinente Syria, punitus.* Tac. Hist. v. 9.

939. Varus dismisses the Arabians and marches his own forces against the insurgents in Idumæa, who surrender. Jos. Bell. ii. 5, 3.

940. He returns to Antioch, leaving the

same legion as before to garrison Jerusalem. Οὐδάρως μὲν αὖν τῶν τῶν τῶν καταστροφῶν τὰ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, καὶ φρουρὰν καταλιπόντων τὸ καὶ πρότερον τάγμα, διὰ Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπέμειναν. Jos. Bell. ii. 5, 3; Ant. xvii. 11, 1.

941. Archelaus and his opponents have an audience before Augustus at Rome, in the presence of Caius, the grandson and adopted son of Augustus, and of the other magnates. Ὁ Καῖσαρ . . . συντίθειον μὲν ὁμοῦς τῶν ἐν τέλει Ῥωμαίων, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸν ἔξ Ἀγρίππας καὶ Ἰουλίους τῆς θυγατρὸς θεῶν παῖτα Ἰάσων, πρῶτος ἐκείνων, ἀποτίθεται δι' λόγον αὐτοῖς. Jos. Bell. ii. 2, 4. Ὁ δὲ (Augustus) ταῦτά τε ἀναγνούς τις γράμματα (the claims of Archelaus), καὶ τὰς τοῦ Οὐδάρως καὶ Σαβίμου ἐπιστολάς, ὅσῳ τε χρίματα ἦν καὶ τι ἐπ' ἐπὶ ἑορταῖς, καὶ ὡς Ἀντίπας ἐπ' οὐκίσσας τῆς βασιλείας ἐκπέμφει γράμματα, συνέθεν ἐπὶ παρικοῦ γνημῶν τοὺς φίλους, σὺν οἷς καὶ τὸν τὸν Ἀγρίππας μὲν καὶ Ἰουλίους, τῆς αὐτοῦ θυγατρὸς υἱόν, παρῶν δὲ αὐτῷ γεγονότα, πρῶτον τε καθέσθαι, παρὶς. Ant. xvii. 11, 5. From this allusion to the letters of Antipas it would seem that the first audience was before the arrival of Antipas himself. The first audience appears to have lasted one day only. Ἀνελίσσας δὲ τοὺς συνέδρους ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας. Bell. ii. 2, 6.

942. Augustus reserves judgment; and, before any decision is given, Malthæe, the mother of Archelaus, dies, and the news reaches Rome of the insurrection against Salbimus at Jerusalem, at the Feast of Pentecost. Πρῶτον δὲ ἡ εὐφροσύνη τῶν τῶν γενέσθαι, Μαλθάη τε, ἡ Ἀρχελάου μήτηρ, νόσῳ τελευτῇ, καὶ παρὰ Οὐδάρως, καὶ Σαβίμου ποταπῶν, παρὶν γράμματα, τὴν Ἰουδαίων ἀνάστασιν διασποδίζοντα. Jos. Ant. xvii. 10, 1; Bell. ii. 3, 1.

943. As Caius is represented as present at the hearing before Augustus, and Caius left Rome for the East at the close of B.C. 2 (see that year, no. 962), the hearing must of course have occurred previously to B.C. 1. It must also have been subsequent to the assumption of the *toga virilis* by Caius, in B.C. 5 (see that year, no. 889), for before that time Caius was not admitted to the councils of state (see B.C. 6, no. 845). As Lucius was not present, and he received the *toga virilis* in B.C. 2 (see that year, no. 959), the hearing must also have been before the majority of Lucius, in B.C. 2. The course of events shows it to have been in B.C. 4. And as the insurrection at Jerusalem began at

the Pentecost (see *supra*, no 931), which this year was on 31 May, and the news of it reached Rome (say early in August) after the hearing, and before the decision of Augustus, the *first* hearing must have taken place soon after midsummer, *π* c 4. At the first audience, Caius is said to have taken his seat at the council, *πρῶτος ἢ πρῶτον* (see the passages cited, *supra*, no 911), and this has been generally understood to mean that Caius occupied the principal seat, but another interpretation is, that he now took his seat at a public audience for the first time. He was to be allowed to attend public councils on assuming the *toga virilis*, and he assumed the *toga virilis* in *π* c 5 (see that year, no 889), and probably in the latter half of the year, when was his birthday (see *π* c 20, no 710). The usual day for this ceremony was 17 March next after the completion of the fifteenth year (see *Notulus Cenot. Pis.* i 160), and Caius, who completed his fifteenth year in *π* c 5, may not, though he had assumed the *toga virilis*, have exercised the privilege of taking his seat at public councils until after 17 March, *π* c 4.

944. An embassy of fifty Jews arrives at Rome from Jerusalem, to ask for the annexation of Judaea to the province of Syria. This embassy had been sent by the leave of Caius, before the outbreak of the Jews, and therefore before Pentecost, or 31 May, but as the embassy travelled slowly, it did not reach Rome until after the arrival there of the news of the insurrection, which had no doubt been forwarded by an extraordinary courier. 'Ἀρχελάφ' ἐπὶ 'Ρώμης πάλιν ἄλλη συνίστατο εἰς τὴν πρὸς 'Ιουδαίους, οἱ πρὸ τῆς ἀποστασίας, ἐπεστράσαντος Οὐράνου, πρέσβεις ἐξεληλύθεισαν περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἔθνους αὐτονομίας, ἣσαν δὲ πενήτημοντα μὲν οἱ παρόντες, συμπάριστατοι δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπὶ 'Ρώμης 'Ιουδαίων ὑπὲρ οὐκασιοχιλοῦς. Jos. Bell. ii 6, 1, Ant. xvii 11, 1.

945. At the same time arrives also Herod Philip, who had sailed from Judaea, at the instance of Caius, ostensibly to support Archelaus, but really to look after his own interests. Παῖρην δ' ἦδη καὶ Φιλιππος ἀπὸ Συρίας, ἐκστράτας αὐτὸν Οὐράνου, τὸ μὲν κεφάλαιον ἐντὶ συνηγορίᾳ τ' ἀδελφοῦ, πάνιν γινώσκει Οὐάρος αὐτῷ, γενομένης δὲ τῆς βασιλείας μετακτίσσει, καὶ τότε ὑπάπτειν Οὐάρος νέμειν αὐτῆς γενήσεσθαι διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς εἶναι τοῦ αὐτονομίας γλιχομένους, οὐκ ὑστερῶν τοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς μοῖραν αὐτοῦ τινα φέρεσθαι. Jos. Ant. xvii 11, 1.

946. Nicolas Damascenus mentions an embassy also of Greek cities, demanding their independence. 'Ἑλληνίδες πόλεις, αἰτοῦμαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπὸ Καίσαρος. Muller's *Fragn. Græc. Hist.* iii 354.

947. The conflicting parties are heard before Augustus (probably late in August), and a few days after, μετὰ δὲ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας, Jos. Bell. ii 6, 3, διελθὼν δὲ ἡμερῶν ὑστερον, Ant. xvii 11, 4, the Emperor delivers his decision.

948. Archelaus is made Ethnarch of Judaea, Samaria, and Idumaea, with a revenue of 400 or 600 talents, and a promise, on good behaviour, of the title of King. Καίσαρ δὲ 'Ἀρχελάου βασιλεία μὲν οὐκ ἀποφαίνεται, τοῦ δὲ ἡμίσεως τῆς χώρας, ἥτερ 'Ηρώδης ὑπεκτελεῖ, 'Λθ-νάρχην καθίσταται. τιμήσειν ἀξιωματικὴν βασιλείαν ὑποσχοόμενος, εἴπερ τὴν εἰς αὐτὴν ἡρετὴν προσφεροῖτο. τα δὲ 'Ἀρχελάφ συντελοῦνται 'Ιδουμαία τε καὶ 'Ιουδαία τὸ τε Σαμαρειτικόν. καὶ ἦσαν τόλαι, αἱ 'Ἀρχελάφ ὑπεκτελούν. Σφράγιος τε Πύργου, καὶ Σεβαστῆς σὺν 'Ισσηρ καὶ 'Ιεροσολέμοις προσήει δὲ 'Ἀρχελάφ φορα χρημάτων τὸ κατ' ἐναντίον εἰς τάλαντα ἐξακόσια, ἐξ ἧς παρολαβὼν ἀρχῆς. Jos. Ant. xvii 11, 4. Πρωσοδος δὲ ἦν τῆς 'Ἀρχελάφ δοθείσης χώρας τετρακοσίων τάλαντων. Bell. ii 6, 3. The reign of Archelaus is computed by Josephus either by consular or Jewish years, and commences either from 1 January or 1 Nisan of this year, though he was not confirmed as Ethnarch by Augustus until August of this year—just as the reign of Herod had been reckoned by Josephus from 1 January or 1 Nisan, *π* c 37, though he was not king actually till the death of Antigonus, late in the year.

949. Herod Antipas is made Tetrarch of Peraea and Galilee, which yielded 200 talents per annum. Καὶ τούτῳ μὲν (Antipas) ἦ τε Περαιὶ καὶ τὸ Γαλιλαῖον ὑποτελούν. φορὰ τε ἦν τάλαντα διακόσια τὸ ἐπ' ἔτος. Jos. Ant. xvii 11, 4, Bell. ii 6, 3.

950. Herod Philip is appointed Tetrarch of Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, Paneas, and Gaulanitis, with a revenue of 100 talents. Βατανία δὲ, σὺν Τραχωνιδί, καὶ Αὐρανίτι, σὺν τισὶ μέρει οἰκῶν τοῦ Ζηλιώρου λεγομένης, Φιδίπτῳ τάλαντα ἑκατὸς προσέφερε. Jos. Ant. xvii 11, 4. 'Ἡγνάζειν δὲ αὐτὸς. τῆς Τραχωνιδὸς καὶ Γαυλιανίδος, καὶ τοῦ Βατανιῶν ἔθνους πρὸς αὐτοῖς. Ant. xvii 4, 6. Βατανία τε καὶ Τράχων. Δύραιτις τε καὶ μέρη τινα τοῦ Ζηλιώρος οἰκῶν. τα περὶ 'Ιάμνιαι, πρόσδο-

ἐχοντα ταλάτων ἑκατὸν ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ ἐτέτακτο. Bell. ii. 6, 8. Φιλίππου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ (Antiphe) τετραρχούντος τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Τραχωνιῶτος χώρας. Luke, iii. 1. It will be observed that Luke, in this passage, speaks only of Trachonitis and Iturea, which therefore in common parlance comprised, besides Trachonitis and Iturea proper, the countries called by Josephus Luranitis, Gaulanitis, Batanaea, and part of the House of Zenon. The tetrarchy of Abylene, which lay to the north of Paneas, was not included in this grant to Herod Philip; and in the fifteenth year of Tiberius (from 19 August, A.D. 28—19 August, A.D. 29), it was in the possession of Lysanias, a descendant no doubt of the Lysanias put to death by Antony, in B.C. 36. Ἐν ἔτει δὲ πεντεκαίδεκάτῃ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος . . . Λυσανίου τῆς Ἀβιληνῆς Τετραρχούντος. Luke, iii. 1. The tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias were afterwards united in the person of Agrippa the Elder. Καὶ βασιλεὺς καθίστησιν αὐτὸν τῇ Φιλίππου Τετραρχίας, ζωρησάμενος αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν Λυσανίου Τετραρχίαν. Ant. xviii. 6, 10 (see B.C. 20, no. 780; A.D. 37, no. 1503).

951. Salome, the sister of Herod the Great, receives Jamnia, Azotus, Ptolemais, and Archelais, with the palace at Askalon, and a revenue of sixty talents. Σαλώμῃ δὲ . . . Ἰάμνια καὶ Ἀζώτος καὶ Φασαγλῆς, . . . Καίσαρ δὲ χαρίζεται καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἀσκαλῶνι βασιλείαν οἰκισιν' ἦν δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ πρόσδος ἐκ πάντων τάλαντα ἐξήκοντα ἐπ' ἔτος. Jos. Ant. xvii. 11, 5; Bell. ii. 6, 8. Φασαγλῆς καὶ Ἀρχελαιδα. Ant. xviii. 2, 2. Jamnia, now Yebna, is a little way from the coast, halfway between Azotus and Joppa. Ptolemais, now Fusaïl, was in the Ghor or valley of the Jordan, and about ten miles to the north of Jericho, and, like the latter city, abounded in palmgroves. Archelais was also a city in the plain of the Jordan, Ant. xvii. 13, 1; xviii. 2, 2; a little to the north of Ptolemais, and twenty-four miles from Jericho, according to the Pontinger tables. See Robinson's Palestine, 1852, 304.

952. Archelaus returns to Judaea and removes Jozazar from the high-priesthood, and appoints Eleazar in his place. Ἀρχέλαος δὲ τὴν Ἐθναρχίαν παραλαβὼν, ἐπεὶ εἰς Ἰουδαίαν ἀφικνεῖται, Ἰωάζαρον, τὸν Βοηθοῦ, ἀφελόμενος τὴν Ἀρχιερωσύνην, ἐπικαλὼν σὺνάντι τοῖς συναισώταις, Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν ἐκείνου ἀποκαθίσταται ἡλεφόν. Jos. Ant. xvii. 13, 1 (see B.C. 4, no.

904). Eleazar was succeeded by Jesus, son of Siah. Διατίθεται δὲ οὐδ' ὁ Ἐλεάζαρος ἐν τῇ Ἀρχιερωσύνῃ, ἐπικατασταθείς αὐτῷ Ζωτῇ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Σιὲ πατρός. Ant. xvii. 13, 1. In A.D. 6, after the removal of Archelais, Jozazar, son of Boethus, is spoken of as still high-priest, πέλωντος αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀρχιερέως Ἰωάζαρου. Βοηθοῦ δὲ οὗτος υἱὸς ἦν, Ant. xviii. 1, 1; and is afterwards said to have been displaced by Cyrenius, who appointed Annas, son of Seth, in his place. Ant. xviii. 2, 1. But Josephus, in these passages, had forgotten the intermediate appointments of Eleazar and Jesus, or the name of Jozazar may have crept into the text by mistake for that of Jesus, as the names are not very dissimilar.

953. Herod Antipas fortifies Sepphoris and builds Julia, in Perea, in honour of Julia, the wife of Augustus; and Herod Philip builds Caesarea Philippi, in Paneas, in honour of Augustus, and Julia, in Gaulanitis, on the site of Bethsaida, in honour of Julia, the daughter of Augustus and wife of Tiberius. Καὶ Ἡρώδης (Antipas) Σεπφόριν τεύχεται, πρόσχημα τοῦ Γαλιλαίου πάντος, ἦγεν αὐτὴν Ἀντοκρατορίδα, Βηθαραμφθὰ δὲ (πόλις ἦν καὶ αὐτὴ) τεύχει περιλαβὼν, Ἰουλιάδα ἀπὸ τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος ἀγορεύει τῆς γυναικὸς. Φιλίππος δὲ Πανεύδα τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πηγαῖς τοῦ Ἰορδάνου κατασκευάσας οὐραγίει Καίσαρειαν, κόμην δὲ Βηθσαιῆν πρὸς λίμνῃ τῇ Γενναρητίδι πόλεως παρασχὼν ἀξίωμα . . . Ἰουλίᾳ θυγατρὶ τῇ Καίσαρος ὑμῶννον ἐκάλεσεν. Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 1. In Bell. ii. 9, 1, the building of Caesarea and the two Julias is made contemporaneous with the founding of Tiberias by Herod Antipas, and is consequently placed after the commencement of the reign of Tiberius, and, therefore, after 19 August, A.D. 14; but the Antiquities is the more accurate work, and, apparently, the building of Caesarea Philippi and the two Julias is coupled in the Wars with the founding of Tiberias for the sake of brevity only. The statement of Josephus that Julia, on the lake of Gennesaret, was so called after Julia, the daughter of Augustus, Ἰουλίᾳ τῇ θυγατρὶ Καίσαρος, shows that this city at least was built and named before the close of B.C. 2, as soon after midsummer of that year Julia, the daughter of Augustus, was disgraced and banished (see B.C. 2, no. 961). The building of Julia, on the site of Bethsaida, in honour of the emperor's daughter, was therefore prior

to this event, and probably in B.C. 3. This would be the natural time, as Herod died in B.C. 4, and Philip was appointed tetrarch in the third quarter of that year, and returned to Judæa at the close of B.C. 4, or the beginning of B.C. 3.

954. A pseudo-Alexander, or pretended son of Herod by Mariamne, makes his appearance, but the imposture is soon discovered by Augustus. *Jo. Ant.* xiii 12, 1, *Bell.* ii 7, 1.

955. After the proceedings of Varus consequent upon the death of Herod (see *ante* no. 936-940), we hear no more of Varus in Syria, and it has been thought by some, and is not unlikely, that Varus was succeeded as governor of Syria, this year, by Publius Sulpicius Quirinus, called by Luke Cyrenus. Quirinus had been consul B.C. 12 and was therefore qualified from that time for the office. His prefecture at this time may be supported as follows:—

1. In B.C. 2 he was appointed the monitor of Caius, when the latter proceeded to the East, *datusque rector C. Cesari, Asiaticum obtinente*, *Tac. Ann.* iii 48, and the only reason to be assigned for this is his experience in oriental affairs, from having held office in those parts at some time previously to this. The other monitor had been prefect of Galatia (see B.C. 25 no. 677).

2. The Homonadenses in Cilicia had belonged to Amyntas, king of Galatia, and he had been slain in B.C. 25, in attempting to reduce them to submission. *Strabo*, xii 6. On his death, Cilicia Aspera was made over to Archelaus, king of Cappadocia (see B.C. 25 no. 675). That Homonada was in Cilicia Aspera appears from the words of *Strabo*, *Διέφθορον αὐτοῖς Ἀμύνταν* or *Κίλιες ἐμύδαλλοντα εἰς τοῦς Ὁμονάδας*. *Strabo*, xii 6. That Cilicia generally was amenable to the prefect of Syria is evident. Thus, Piso, ex-prefect of Syria, sought to recover his province by levying troops in Cilicia, as part of it, *Tac. Ann.* vi 78, the prefect of Syria sent his legate to reduce the Clitæ, a Cilician people, to subjection, *Tac. Ann.* vi 41 which was again done in A.D. 52, *Tac. Ann.* xii 55, and Vologeses, ex-king of Parthia, who had taken refuge with Creticus Silanus, prefect of Syria, *Tac. Ann.* ii 4, was kept in custody in Pompeiopolis of Cilicia, *Tac. Ann.* ii 53, and Antiochus, king of Commagene, was arrested at Tarsus by the orders of Cæsenius Pætus, prefect of Syria. *Jos. Bell.* vii 7, 3. Now, these Homonadenses were subdued by Quirinus who was rewarded for his services

not with a triumph, but with triumphal honours. *Nihil ad veterem et patriciam Sulpiciorum familiam Quirinus pertinuit, ovis apud municipum Lanuvium sed impiger milibus, et acerbis ministeriis, consularum sub D. Augusto* (B.C. 12), *mor expugnatus per Cilicium castris, insignia triumphi adeptus, datusque rector C. Cesari, Armenicum obtinente* (B.C. 2). *Tac. Ann.* iii 48. It is implied, therefore by this statement, that between his consulship, in B.C. 12, and his attendance upon Caius, in B.C. 2, he had been governor of Syria, and as such had reduced the Homonadenses. *Strabo* refers to the same event, but without any note of time. *Λατίους δὲ (the Homonadenses) Κυρινίος ἐξέσθρησε λίμῃ καὶ τετραποσχιλίους ἄνδρας ἐξώγρησε, καὶ συνέκτισεν εἰς τὰς ἐγγύς πόλεις, τῇ δὲ χώρῃ ἀνέλαττον κρημὸν τῶν ἐν ἡμῇ*. *Strabo*, xii 6. *Dion* alludes to it under a much later year (A.D. 5), but he expressly cautions his readers that he is grouping together some incidents of minor importance without observing the exact order of time. *ἅψιν τοῖς ἀντοῖς τοῖς χρόνις τὰ γὰρ μὲν μίμησις τινὸς ἁΐα, κεφαλαιώσας, πλὴν τῶν μερίστων, ἐπὶ Ἰσσυροῖ τε γὰρ, ἐκ ληστείας ἀρχόμενοι, καὶ ἐκ πολεμῶν δειροτη-α προήχθησαν, μέχρι οὗ κατεϊμαίνθησαν.* *Dion* lvi. 28.

3. There is an ancient fragmental inscription given by Sanelemente and others, which runs thus:—

GEN. RUA. REDACTA IN POT.
AUGUSTI POPULIQUE ROMANI SENATU
SUPPLICATIONIBUS BINAS OB RES PROSP.
IPSI ORNAMENTA TRIUMPHI
PRO CONSUL ASIAM PROVINCIAM QF
DITI AUGUSTI ITERUM SYRIAM ET PH.

Here we have reference made to some one who for his military successes had obtained not a triumph, but the *ornamenta triumphalia*, and who had been twice legate of Augustus in Syria, that is, some time between B.C. 27, when the partition of the provinces was made, and A.D. 11, when Augustus died, and there is no one in whom these requirements can be found except in Quirinus, who is mentioned by Tacitus to have received the *insignia triumphi*, *Tac. Ann.* iii 48, for his subjection of the Homonadenses, and if he was prefect of Syria in B.C. 4, was a second time prefect in A.D. 6. The blanks in the inscription might be readily filled up thus:—

[CIVITATEM SUBEGIT HOMONADENSIVM QUI IN-
HEREDAVANT ADIUTUM RE-
(OP)ADFLUXERANT LATROCINIVS ARCHELAUMRE-]
GEM, QUI REDACTA IN POT[ESTATEM DIVI]
AUGUSTI POPVLIVQ[UE] ROMANI RENITIT[US]
SUPPLICATIONES DINAS OR BES PROSP[ER]E GE-
STAS ET]
IPSI ORNAMENTA TRIUMPH[ALIA] DECREVIT]
PROCONSUL ASIAM PROVINCIAM OP[TINUIT] LE-
GATUS]
DIVI AUGUSTI ITERUM SYRIAM ET PH[ENICEN]
REXIT]

It appears from Strabo, xii. 16, that the Homonadenses had been subject to a *τύραννος*, who was slain by Amyntas, and that the latter was afterwards taken in ambush by the widow of the *τύραννος*. The letters . . . *αεμ* in the inscription may therefore refer either to *αεμ*, the king of the Homonadenses, or to his wife, *conjuxem*, who succeeded to his power. The only objection urged against the application of the inscription to Cyrenensis is that there were but two consular provinces, viz. Africa and Asia, and that Quirinus could not have been proconsul of Asia, as stated upon the inscription, as, according to Florus, he subdued the Marmaridae and Garamantes, which he could only have done as proconsul of Africa. *Sub meruliano tumultuatum magis quam bellatum est. Musulanis atque Gertulis accolis Syrtium, Cusoe duce (Augustus) compescuit; unde illi Gertulici nomen. Latius victoria patet. Marmaridas atque Garimantas Quirinio subigendos dedit. Potuit et ille redire Marmaricus, sed modestior in sua victoria fuit.* Flor. iv. 12, 40. But this argument fails, for Florus places the victory after, or contemporaneously with, that of Cosus, which was in A.D. 5. Dion, iv. 28. Vell. Pat. ii. 116. And it cannot be supposed that Quirinus took Africa by lot, in ordinary course, sixteen years after his consulship in A.C. 12. But further, while the Musulanii and Gertuli, described as bordering upon the Syrtis, may have been assailed by Cosus, as prefect of proconsular Africa, the Marmaridae and Garamantes were more to the east and adjoined the province of Cyrene, which was not a proconsular, but a praetorian province. Indeed, the Marmaridae occupied the seacoast to the west of Cyrene and reached from Catobathmus, the eastern boundary of Cyrene, to the Great Syrtis, the western boundary, so as to environ the whole of Cyrene, except along the sea borde-

Unde Catobathmum ceteri, M. paratum. Accoluit Marmaridae et Paretanii ferone regione ad Syrtin usque usque porrecti. Plin. N. H. v. 5; and see Strabo, xvii. 3. Thus, if Quirinus subdued the Marmaridae and Garamantes, who adjoined them, the inference is that he did so not as prefect of proconsular Africa, but as praetor of Cyrene. Besides, Florus states that the appointment of Quirinus proceeded from Augustus, and was not, therefore, taken by lot. *Quirinio (Augustus) dedit.* And Quirinus may even have been specially appointed by Augustus, either to Cyrene or to the consular province of Africa, for Dion, in introducing the account of Cosus's campaign, states that, in consequence of the tumults at that time in the provinces, Augustus interrupted the usual routine, and sent his own officers specially commissioned instead of allowing the posts more responsible to be filled up by lot. *Ὡςτε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐτη τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ δήμου ἔθρεσι, καὶ αἰρετοῦς γε ἀπὲρ τῶν κληρωτῶν ἦρξαν.* Dion, iv. 28. Quirinus, therefore, may have been employed in Africa, not as the prefect by lot of the province, but as sent specially; and if so, it is very possible that, many years before, he may have been proconsul of Asia, as stated in the inscription.

4. There is another inscription which, if genuine, has an important bearing; and it is this:—

Q. EMILIUS Q. F.
... PAL. SECUNDUS
CASTRIS DIVI AUG.
P. SLPICIO QUIRINO LEG.
CAESARIS SYRIAE HONORI
BUS DECORATUS PRAEFECT.
COHORT AUG. I. PRAEFECT.
COHORT II. CLASSICE IDEM
JUSSU QUIRINI CENAM FEC.
APANENAE CIVITATIS MIL
LIVM HOMIN. CIVIVM CXVII.
IDEM JUSSU QUIRINI ADVERSUS
ITTABEOS IN LIBANO MONTE
CASTELLUM FORUM CEPIT ET ANTE
MILITIAM PRAEFECT. FABRUM
DECATUS A DUCBUS COS AD E
RIVUM ET IN COLONIA
QUESTOR AEDIL II DUVMFIR. II
PONTIFEX
IBI POSITI SUNT Q. EMILIUS Q. F. PAL.
SECUNDUS F. ET EMILIA CHIA LIB
H. N. AMPLIUS H. N. S.

(Muratori, ii. 670, 1.)

Here we have a census of population taken in Apamea by the orders of Quirinus, prefect of Syria, and Apamea was not part of the dominions of Archelaus, and therefore not within the compass of the census with which Quirinus was charged in AD 6. The inscription was first edited by Sertorius Ursatus in 'Marmi eruditi, ovvero lettere sopra alcune antiche iscrizioni' Padova, 1719, p. 276, and is said to have been found at Venice. The genuineness of it has been supported by some and doubted by others. The arguments will be found candidly and ably discussed by Mr Boyle, in the Inspiration of the Book of Daniel, p. 573, who supports the genuineness of the inscription.

5. Amongst other authorities may be cited the passage of Luke, who speaks of an edict from Augustus for a census in the time of Herod, and which 'first census (as it may be rendered) came to pass when Cyrenius was governor of Syria' Ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπογραφῆς πρώτης ἐγένετο ὑπογραφέντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου Luke, ii. 2. A natural inference from this is that Cyrenius was prefect of Syria many years before the census made by him in AD 6. It will, of course, be objected that, even if Cyrenius was prefect of Syria in BC 4, it would still be about two years subsequent to the birth of Christ, which we have placed in BC 6. Luke, however, does not say that the decree for the census was in the time of Cyrenius, but only that the census itself, which had been ordered in the time of Varus, ἐγένετο, was completed in the time of Cyrenius. The word ἐγένετο is used by Josephus in the same technical sense τῶν ἀπογραφῶν περὶ ἐχονσῶν, αὐτὸς ἐγενόνητο τριακοστῇ καὶ ἐβδόμῃ ἔτει, etc., Ant. xvii. 2, 1, i.e. the second census, which was ordered in AD 6, ἐγένετο, was completed in AD 7 (see that year, no 1021). The edict, therefore, for the first census may have been issued in BC 6, in the time of Varus, and the census itself may have been completed in the time of Cyrenius, in BC 4.

The duration of the first prefecture of Quirinus, or Cyrenius, if admitted, may be thus measured. He was consul in BC 12, from which time he was duly qualified for the office of governor of Syria, but from BC 12, we have successively, as prefects of Syria, M. Titius, C. Sentius Saturninus, and P. Quinctilius Varus, up to the latter half of BC 4, and here, where we lose sight of Varus, the prefecture of Qui-

rinus may have begun. On the other hand, at the end of BC 2, Quirinus was selected as monitor of Carus, on his proceeding to the East, and Quirinus was with him soon after at Rhodes (see BC 1, no 971), and he must, therefore, have been recalled from Syria about midsummer BC 2. Thus, his rule would extend from the latter half of BC 4 to midsummer BC 2. If Quirinus was prefect of Syria in BC 4, he was probably succeeded, in BC 2, by Censorinus, for it is difficult on any other supposition to account for the public loss sustained by the death of Censorinus, in AD 1. *Obisse Censorium in sedem provincie graviter tulit civibus* Vell. Pat. ii. 102. And Censorinus is also alluded to, as apparently holding some high post, in a decree issued, in favour of the Jews, by Augustus, after he was Pontifex Maximus, and, therefore, after BC 12, and this high post may have been the prefecture of Syria. *Τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ ἐδοθέν μοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς ἐνορίας ἥτις ἔχω πρὸς πάντας ἀσθρότους, καὶ ὑπὲρ Γαίου Νικηίου Κρησσίονος, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ διάταγμα κελύει ἀναθεῖσθαι, etc.* Ant. xvi. 6, 2. Censorinus was succeeded by L. Volusius Saturninus (see BC 6, no 873, AD 5, no 1000).

956 Coins of Antioch

Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ + ΕΡΩΣ ΖΗ ΝΙΚΗ ΓΑΙΑ IB.
1 e. *Cæsar Augusti + Anno Victoriae atri*
Coe. m., and therefore struck between 2 Sept.
BC 5, and 2 Sept. BC 4. Eckhel, iii. 272.
Καίσαρι Σεβαστῷ Ἀρχιερεὶ + Ἀρχιεργαυῶν Ἀντιο-
χείῳ ΖΗ (same date). Id. iii. 274.
Ἀντιοχείῳ ἐπὶ Οὐρανοῦ ΖΗ (same date). Id. iii. 275.

A coin is extant assignable probably to Archelaus, but of uncertain date. Ἡρώδης (Ιωρδῆς) + ΕΒΕΡΕΥΧΟΣ, γάλεα ἀριστάτα, ἡμεῖς πορφυρίῳς καλλιεύς Eckhel, iii. 484. As no year is mentioned, the coin may have been struck in the first year of the reign.

Inscription

*Laribus Publicis Sacrum Imp. Cæs. Augustus
Pontifex Maximus Tribunic Potestatis xviii
Et stipe quam Populus ac censuit K. Janua;
C. Calpurnio Sabinus L. Passieno Rufus Cos
Inscriptio ad calcem Suetonii*

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle
Passover, April 10
Pentecost, May 31
Tabernacles, October 5

B.C. 3. U.C. 751. Olymp. 194, 2.

L. COENIL. LENTILIS.
M. VALERIUS MESSALLINUS COTTA.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XXI. FROM 27 JUNE.
COS. XII. COS. DESIG. XIII. PONT. MAX. IMP.
XIV.

TIBERIUS TRIB. POT. IV.

Second year of the reign of Archelaus, and Herod Antipas, and Herod Philip.

957. The birth of Galba is placed by Suetonius on 24 December, B.C. 5. *Ser. Galba Imperator M. Valerio Messalla Cn. Lentulo coss. natus est ix. Kal. Januarii*. Suet. Galb. 4. But, in fact, Galba was born in B.C. 5, as is named by Suetonius himself in another place, where he makes Galba 73 at the time of his accession, in A.D. 69. *Consulto Delphis Apolline, septuagesimum ac tertium annum cavendum sibi (Nero) audivit, quasi eo demum obiturus, ac nihil conjectans de etate Galbæ*. Suet. Nero, 40. And, again, Suetonius expressly states the age of Galba at his death to have been 73. Suet. Galb. 23 (see A.D. 69).

957 a. Athronges, the insurgent, is subdued by Archelaus. This was afterwards interval from the first outbreak in B.C. 4. 'Ο τελευταῖος (the last of the brothers) . . . Ἀρχελάω παραίδωσιν αὐτὸν, καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν ὑστερον γίγνεται. Jos. Ant. xvii. 10, 7. Μετὰ χρόνον οἱ μὲν πρὶς ἐχειρώθησαν, ἢν' Ἀρχελάου ὁ πρεσβύτατος, οἱ δὲ ἐξῆς ἑὸν Γράτῳ καὶ Ἰερολεμίῳ περιπεσόντες· ὁ δὲ πέμπτος Ἀρχελάω προσεχώρησε κατὰ τεταῖαν. Τοῦτο μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος αὐτοῦς ὑστερον ἐκείχετο. Bell. ii. 4, 3.

958. To this year may be referred the subjugation of the Homonadenses by P. Sulpicius Quirinus, or Cyrenius, for which the *Insignia Triumphantia* were awarded to him. *Impiger militibus, et acerbis ministeriis, consulatum (B.C. 12) sub D. Augusto, mox, expugnavit per Ciliciam Homonadenonum castelle insignia triumphi (Sulpicius Quirinus) adeptus, datusque victor C. Cæsari Armeniam obtinenti (B.C. 2)*. Tac. Ann. iii. 48 (see B.C. 4, no. 955).

958 a. Coins of Antioch.

Καίσαρος Σεβαστου + ΕΡΩΣ ΗΚ ΝΩΣ ΥΠΟ. 1B.
i. e. *Cæsaris Augusti + Anno Victoris xxviii.*
Cis. xii., and therefore struck between 2 Sept. B.C. 4, and 2 Sept. B.C. 3. Eckhel, iii. 272.

Καίσαρ Σεβαστῳ Ἀρχιερεὶ + Ἀρχιερατικὸν Ἀντιόχειας. (same date). Th. iii. 274.

Inscriptions.

Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Aug. Pontif. Maximus
Cos. xii. Cos. Designat. xiii. Imp. xliii. *Tribunicia Potestate xxi.* (Niquasi).
Muratori, i. 120, 10; 442, 2.

Pater Patriæ Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Augustus
Pontifex Maximus Cos. xii. Designatus xiii.
Imp. xliii. Trib. Pot. xii. (*Legis xxi.*) (In agro Arelatensi).
Ib. iv. 2005, 4.

(*Pater Patriæ (Cæsar) Divi F. (Augustus) Pontifex (Maximus) xii. Cos. (Designatus) xiii. (Trib.) Potest. xxi.*) (In vico Salum in Provincia).
Ib. iv. 2005, 5.

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 30.

Pentecost, May 20.

Tabernacles, September 24.

B.C. 2. U.C. 752. Olymp. 194, 3.

IMP. ATOTSTUS, xlii. Ex Kal. Oct. Q. Valerius suffectus.

M. PLAUTUS SELVANUS. Ex Kal. Jul. C. Caninius Gallus suffectus.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XXII. FROM 27 JUNE.
COS. XIII. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. (see no. 950) IMP. XIV.

TIBERIUS TRIB. POT. V. In B.C. 1 the five years of the Tribunitian power which had been granted to Tiberius in B.C. 6 (see that year, no. 849) expired; and as Tiberius was in disgrace at Rhodes from the latter part of B.C. 6 to A.D. 2, the Tribunitian power was not renewed to him until after the death of Caius, in A.D. 4. See that year, no. 933).

Third year of the reign of Archelaus, and Herod Antipas, and Herod Philip.

959. Lucius Cæsar, now in his fifteenth year (see B.C. 17, no. 749), assumes the *toga virilis* in the thirteenth consulship of Augustus. *Duodecimum (consulatum) . . . et rursus tritium decimum, biennio post, ultro (Augustus) petiit, ut Caium et Lucium filios, amplissimo præditi magistratu, suo quemque tirocinio, deduceret in forum*. Suet. Octav. 26. Augustus was consul for nine months, viz. to the end of September, within which time, therefore, the *toga virilis* was conferred. See Suet. Octav. 26. Noria Cenot. Pis. Dissert. 2, c. 4. Zonaras

states that Lucius received the *toga virilis* the very next year after Carus, which would be in B C 4, but he is certainly mistaken in this. *Kai μετ' ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ ὁ Λούκιος τὰς τιμὰς, ὅσαι τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἐξιδότω, ἔλαβεν* Zonari π

960 Augustus receives the title of Pater Patriæ on 5 February of this year. *Non N Concordiæ in arce fœtus ex S C quod eo die Imperator Cæsar Augustus Pontifex Maximus Trib Potest ppi Cos aui a senatu populoque Romano Pater Patriæ appellatus* Old calendar cited Ginter, 136, 2. The nones referred to were those of February, as appears from Ovid, who, speaking of the nones of February, refers to the circumstance thus —

*Sancitæ Pater Patriæ, tibi plebs, tibi curia nomen
Hoc dedit, hoc dedimus nos tibi nomen eques*

Fasti, ii 127

Τριπαισιεύτην ὑπατεῖαν ἤγοντός μου, ἡ τε ἀνύκλητος καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν γάμμα ὅτε σύμπας ἔφημοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων προσηγόμενοί με Πατέρα Πατριῶς *Lapis Ancyr Fasti Hellen* 2nd ed 302

961 Augustus celebrates a naval fight and gladiatorial games on a scale of great magnificence, and dedicates the temple of Mars, and about the same time the union of his daughter Julia comes to light. *At in iube eo ipso anno quo magnificentissimas gladiatorum muneris nauticarumque spectacula D Augustus abhinc annos . . . se et Gaius Cinnius Consulibus, dedicatio Martis Templo, amicos oculosque populi Romani repleverat* *filia eius Julia . . . nihil indigne infectum reliquit* Vell Pat ii 100. If these events were in the consulship of Augustus and Cinnius, they occurred between 1 July and 1 October, for Cinnius was consul suffectus on 1 July, and Augustus resigned in favour of Q Fabricius at the end of September.

962 Caus is appointed to the command of the East. The mission of Caus must have been late in this year, for he left Rome shortly after the games exhibited by Augustus.

*Quid? modo cum belli navalis imagine
Cæsar*

*Perdidi induxit Cecropidasque rates?
Ecce parat Cæsar damno quod deus orbi
Adiit. Nunc, Oriens, ultime, noctes
eris*

*Marsque Pater Cæsarque Pater, date munera
eunti,*

Non Deus e vobis alter, es, alter eis

Ovid, *Ars Amandi*, i 171, 177, and 203

And the departure of Caus was very soon after the banishment of Julia. *Bene ab hoc* (the banishment of Julia) *intercesse at spatium, cum Caus Cæsar in Syriam missus, convento prius Trib Nerone* Vell Pat ii 101.

963 He was attended by councillors to aid him with their advice. *Kai oi (Caus) καὶ συμβουλευόντε (Augustus) προέταξε* Zonaras, x 36. And these councillors were M Lollius, who had been Legate of Galatia (see B C 23, no 677), *M Lolli . . . quem rebus moderatorem juvenis filii sui Augustus voluerat*, Vell Pat 102, and Sulpicius Quirinus, who there is reason to think had been Legate of Syria (see B C 4, no 955). *Sed (Sulpicius Quirinus) impiger militis, et aciebus munsteris datus rector C Cæsari Armeniam obtinenti* Tac Ann ii 48.

964. On Domitius Enobarbus, the father of Nero, was also one of the companions of Caus. *Siquidem comes ad orientem Caus Cæsaris juvenis, occiso liberto suo, quod potius quantum jubebatur, recusavit, dimissus e cohorte amicorum, nihil modestius viri* Suet Nero, 5. As also was Elius Sejanus. *Primâ juvenili Cœsum Cæsarem Divi Augusti nepotem sociatus* Tacit Ann iv 1.

965. Dionysius, the Arabian geographer, had been sent into the East before Caus sailed, to collect information. *Hoc in loco* (Charax, a town on the Persian Gulf) *genitum esse Dionysium, terrarum orbis situs recentissimum auctorem, constat, quem ad commentando omnia in orientem perveniat* Divus Augustus, *ituro in Armeniam ad Parthias Arabicasque res majore jure* Plin N II vi 31.

966 Caus did not proceed to Syria direct, but visited other provinces previously. *C Cæsar, ante alius provincas ad visendum obitus, in Syriam missus* Vell Pat ii 101. And his first voyage was to Greece, where he visited Athens as appears from the inscription found there, *Ο ἄνθρωπος Ἰαῖος Καῖσαρος Σεβαστοῦ νῆον Νέον Ἀθῆναι, and Euboea, as may be collected from the inscription found at Chalcis *Γαῖος Καῖσαρ Ἀντοκράτορος Καῖσαρος Σεβαστοῦ* Murratori, i 221, 8, 7.*

Caus probably wintered in Greece.

967 a. Ptolemy I, son of Zenon the Rhetor-

elian, and king of Pontus, Colchis and Bosphorus, is still alive this year (inscription, *infra*, no. 966 b; see n.c. 14, no. 761). Polemo I. was captured in an expedition against the Aspurgianni in Bosphorus, and put to death. Strabo, xi. 2. Polemo I. left, at his death, Pythodoris, his widow, whom he had married after the demise of Dynamis, his first wife, and two sons, viz. Polemo II. and Zenon. Pythodoris, after her husband's death, married Archelais, king of Cappadocia, who died a.d. 17. Strabo xii. 3. Polemo I. must, therefore, have died at least some time before that year.

Pythodoris succeeded to the greater part of her husband's dominions. Those belonging to her in Pontus were bounded on the east by Colchis, on the south by the Lesser Armenia and the Hierarchy of Comana Pontica, and on the west by Ariseno, and comprised the Tibareni and Chaldei, Trpezus, Pharmacia, Cabira, Zelitis, Megalopolitis, etc. Strabo, xii. 3. Her palace was at Cabira. Τὰ δὲ Κάβειρα . . . ἔκειρε (Pythodoris) προσκυτεσκεύασε καὶ Σεβαστὴν μετωνόμασε, βασιλείῃ τε τῇ πόλει ᾗσται. Strabo, xii. 3 (see a.d. 38, no. 1533).

Colchis also was subject to Pythodoris. Ὑστατα δὲ Πολέμων ἴσχε τὴν Κολχίδα, ἀκείνου τελευτήσαντος ἢ γυνὴ Πυθωδωρὶς κρατεῖ, βασιλεύουσα καὶ Κόλχων καὶ Τραπεζοῦντος καὶ Φαρνακίως καὶ τῶν ὑπερκειμένων βασιλέων. Strabo, xi. 3.

As to *Diosphorus*, which had belonged to Polemo I., Strabo speaks of it as subject to kings nominated by the Romans. Καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ τοῖς τῶν Βοσπορανῶν βασιλεῦσιν, οὗς ἂν Ῥωμαῖοι καταστήσωσιν, ἀπαντὰ ἔστιν. Strabo, vii. 4. In the passage, therefore, οἱ ὕστατοι Φαρνάκης, καὶ Ἀσανδρῶν, καὶ Πολέμων, Strabo, xi. 2, the geographer refers to the late kings, but not to the very last kings. It appears from the coins that the kings who succeeded Polemo I. were, first, Sanronnates, in the reign of Augustus, and Rhescuporis, in the reigns of Tiberius and Caligula. Eckhel, ii. 373 (see b.c. 14, no. 761; a.d. 38, no. 1533).

Polemo II. assisted Pythodoris in the administration of her government, ὁ μὲν (Polemo II.) ἰδιώτης συνδίδκει τῇ μητρὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, Strabo, xii. 3; but in a.d. 38 became himself king of Pontus and Colchis (see a.d. 38, no. 1533). Zeno, the other son of Polemo I., in a.d. 18 was made king of Armenia by the name of Artaxias. Ὁ δὲ (Zeno) ἐωςὶ καθίστα-

ται τῆς Μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας βασιλεὺς. Strabo, xii. 3 (see a.d. 18, no. 1102).

966 b. Coins of Augustus.

Cæsar Augustus Divi F. Pater Patriæ + Pontif. Max.

Cæsar Divi F. Pat. Pa. + Voto Publica.

Cæsar Aug. or Augusto + S. P. Q. R. Parent. Cons. suoc. (as to Pater Patriæ, see ante, no. 900). Eckhel, vi. 112.

Coin of Antioch.

Καῖσαρος Σεβαστοῦ + Εὐσεῖος ΘΚ Νυμφ Υπα. IT. i. c. *Cæsaris Augusti + Anno Victoriae xxix. Cos. xliii.*, and therefore struck between 1 Jan. and 2 Sept. a.d. 2.

Id. iii. 272.

Καῖσαρι Σεβαστῷ Ἀρχαῖρι + Ἀρχιπύκτωρ Ἀντωνίως ΘΚ., and therefore struck between 2 Sept. a.d. 3, and 2 Sept. b.c. 2.

Id. iii. 274.

Inscriptions.

Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Augustus Cos. xliii. (lege xliii.) Trib. Potest. xxi. Pont. Max. A Bete et Jano Augusto ad Oceanum exxi. Constantiæ Æternitatisque Augusti (Cordubæ).

Gruter, 163, 2.

Imp. Cæsar Divi F. Aug. Cos. xliii. Trib. Pot. xxi. Pont. Max. A Bete et Jano. Aug. ad Oceanum xxiii. (Cordubæ). Id. 163, 1.

Imp. Cæs. Aug. Pont. Mar. Trib. Pot. xxi. Cos. xliii. Pul. Patr. Tonn. Aug. Inter Lanc. opp. et Igadit. (Alenuterne in Lusitan.).

Id. 190, 3.

Imp. Cæsar Aug. Divi F. Cos. xliii. Tr. Pot. xliii. (at Forum Julii). Muratori, i. 442, 3.

Μῆνας Φρατρίων δικέτης ἀπύοντος ἐπὶ ἱερῶς τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ Ἀντοκράτορος Καίσαρος, Θεῷ νύ, Θεῷ Σεβαστῷ, Ἀρχιπύκτωρ Μεγίστω, καὶ Πατρός πατρίδος, Πολέμωνος τῷ ἔθρῳ τῶν Λαοφίλων, Πρυτανεὺς ὁ Ἀντικὸς Θεάκκις, Ἀπικὸς νύ Ἀμύν, Ἀνδάνιος, Φιλοκρημνίος, ἐπὶ τῇ τῇ, εὐνοφῶς ὁ Σεβαστὸς τῷ Ἰσραήλ. Inscription at Cyme, Beekth, vol. ii. no. 3524. Polemo is here called the Priest of the Temple dedicated to Rome and Augustus; and as Augustus is described as Pater Patriæ, the inscription could not have been earlier than a.d. 2, when Augustus first took that title (see no. 900).

The Sabbatic year.

Passover, March 19.

Pentecost, May 9.

Tabernacles, September 13.

B. C. I. U. C. 753 Olymp. 194, 4.

CN COSSES CORNET LENTULUS
L CALPURNIUS PISO

AUGUSTUS TRIB POT XXIII FROM 27 JUNE
COS XIII PONT MAX PAT PATI IMP XII

Fourth year of the reign of Archelaus and
Herod Antipas and Herod Philip

967. In the spring Caius visits Egypt
*Caium, nepotem suum, Caesar Augustus ad
omnifandas Aegypti, Syriaeque provincias misit,
qui, praeteriens ab Aegypto fines Palaestinae, apud
Hierosolymam in templo Dei tum sancto et cele-
bri adlocum contemist* Oros vii 3 That Caius
visited Egypt before Syria results not only
from the above passage, but also from the fact
that he was not at Samos or Chios until the close
of this year, and had he taken the direct route
the interval cannot be accounted for. It is
further observable that Caius seems to have
passed Jerusalem once only, Suet Octav 93,
whereas, if he had gone from Syria to Egypt,
and back again, he would have passed it twice
(see infra, no 969).

968. Caius makes an expedition to the Red
Sea and Arabia *In quo (Arabico Sinu) res
gerente C. Caesari, Augusti filio, signa navium ex
Hispaniensibus naufragis feruntur agnita* Plin
N H ii 67 But Caius does no more than get a
sight of Arabia *Caius Caesar, Augusti filius,
prospexit tantum Arabiam* Plin N H vi 32
In his expedition to Arabia he was apparently
accompanied by Juba, king of Mauritania, at
least, Juba wrote an account of the expedition
*In hac tamen parte arma Romana sequi placet
nobis, Jubaque regem, ad eundem Caesarem
Caesarem scriptis voluminibus de eadem expedi-
tione Arabici* Plin N H vi 31 Juba re-
vis voluminibus quae scripsit ad Caesarem
Augusti filium, ardentem fandi Arabiam, tradit,
et Plin N H xii 31 Juba in his volumini-
bus, quae scripsit ad Caesarem Augusti
filium de Arabia tradit Plin N H xxxii 4
It is said by Josephus that this Juba married
Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of
Cappadocia, and the widow of Alexander, the
son of Herod by Mariamne, and that on the
death of Juba she married Archelaus, the
ethnarch of Judaea *Mera δὲ τὸν ἐκείνου θάνα-
τον (Alexandri) συζύγησεν (Glaphyra) Ἰόβρα τῷ
βασιλεύσει τε Λιβύης, οὗ τελευτήσαντος, ἐπαιελ-
θούσαν αὐτὴν καὶ χυρὶσάντων περὶ τῆς πατρὸς*

(Archelaus of Cappadocia) *θεασάμενος δ' ἔθι ἀρ-
χης ἱσχυράσιν ἐπι τοσούτον ἔρωτος ἦλθεν ὥστε
παραχρήμα . ἐκέλην ἀγαγεσθαι*, Jos Bell
ii 7, 4, Ant xvii 13, 4, and that Glaphyra
died not long after her marriage to Archelaus
Μετ' ὀλίγον τῆς ἐπιβίβου χρόνου Bell ii 7, 4
That Glaphyra, the widow of Alexander, may
have married Archelaus is very possible, but
that during the interval she married Juba
must be a mistake. As Archelaus, the eth-
narch, saw her in Cappadocia, this must have
been at least in or before A D 6, for in that
year Archelaus the ethnarch was banished,
but in A D 6 she could not have been Juba's
widow, for Juba himself was then still living,
as we learn from Dion *Ἐπὶ τῇ Νιμφίῳ Δευκίῳ
καὶ ἐπὶ Δευκίῳ ἱσχυροῦσι τοῖς τε
Ἰόβρα τῷ βασιλεὶ ἄχθόμενοι, καὶ ἄρα ἀπαξιούν-
τες μὴ οὐ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἄρχεσθαι
ἐκταραστῆσαν αὐτῶν* Dion, li 25, 28. And be-
sides, Juba began to reign in B C 30 (see that
year, no 688), and there are a series of coins
struck in the 17th, 31st, 32nd, 34th, 35th, 36th,
42nd, and 48th years of his reign (see Eckhel,
vi 156), and reaching, therefore, to A D 18.
And Strabo, who wrote about A D 20, speaks
of Juba as then lately dead *Ἰούβης μὲν ἄρ-
εωσσι ἐτελεύτα τὸν βίον, ἐπιδίδεται δὲ τὴν
ποσὴν υἱὸς Πτολεμαῖος, γεραιὸς δὲ Ἄσιτω τοῦ
θυγατρὸς καὶ Κλεοπάτρας* Strabo, xvii c 3
Juba, therefore, died about A D 19 and if so,
his widow could not have returned to the court
of her father, for Archelaus of Cappadocia died
A D 17 (see that year, no 1087).

969. Caius sails from Egypt along the Phoe-
nician coast *Praeteriens ab Aegypto fines Palaes-
tinae* Oros vii 3 And refuses to worship Jo-
hovah at Jerusalem, for which he is commended
by Augustus *Scilicet ad Caesarem nepotem, quod
Judaeam praeteriens apud Hierosolymam non
supplicasset, (Augustus) collaudavit* Suet Tib
93 Oros vii 3

970. Caius winters at Samos, as Augustus
had done before in B C 31 and B C 21. While
he is at Samos Tiberius pays him a visit with
great humiliation *Primumquam Caium, Orienti
proposuit, quum easendi gratia transisset
Samos, alienioris sibi (Tiberius) sensui et
crinationibus M. Lollii, comitis et rectoris
eius* Suet Tib 12 The hostility of M.
Lollius to Tiberius accounts for the severe
terms in which Lollius is spoken of by Velleius
Paterculus, the follower of Tiberius *Asperia*

in Germaniā clades (n c 16) and legatus M. Lollius, homine in omnia pecunia, quam recte facienda cupidior, et, inter servamam vitiorum dissimulationem, virtuosissimo Vell Pat n 97 According to Dion, the visit of Tiberius to Carus was at Chios Τοῦ δὲ Ιαίου σταλέντος ἐς τὸν πρὸς Ἀρμενίους πόλεμον, ὃ Τιβήριος ἐς Λίον ἐλθὼν αὐτὸν ἐθεράπευσεν Dion, lv 11, and so Zonaras, x 36

This visit of Tiberius was before Carus had gone to Syria In Syram missus (Carus), commentarius Tiberio Neione Vell Pat n 101

The exact date of the visit may be ascertained as follows.—Tiberius had been invested about midsummer b c 6 with the Tribunician power for five years (see b c 6, no 849), and this period would expire about midsummer n c 1 It was after the expiration of this Tribunician power that Tiberius requested permission to return to Rome Transacto autem Tribunitio Potestatis tempore petuit ut sibi peritteretur reversere necessitudines, quarum desiderio teneretur Suet Tib 11 But this request was refused, and his mother Livia obtained with difficulty for him that, to cover his disgrace, he should act as one of the emperor's legates Remansit ergo Rhodi contra voluntatem, viz per malitiam consecutus, ut ad velandam ignominiam quasi Legatus abesset Suet Tib 12 And it was after all this that Tiberius made interest for his recall with Carus while at Samos Suet Tib 12 It is evident, therefore, that the voyage of Tiberius to Samos could not have been earlier than toward the close of b c 1.

971. P. Sulpicius Quirinus was also with Carus about this time Datusque rector C. Caesaris Armeniam obtinenti (Sulpicius Quirinus) Tiberium quoque, Rhodi agentem, colverat, quod tunc patefecit (Tiberius) in senatu, laudatus in se officis, et incusato M. Lollio quem auctorem C. Caesaris pravitatis et discordiarum arguebat Tac Ann iii 48

972 During this year a correspondence passes both with Phraates and Augustus, viz on the news of Carus's preparations for the Armenian war Phraates writes to Augustus Τοῦ δὲ Ιαίου σταλέντος ἐς τὸν πρὸς Ἀρμενίους πόλεμον ὡς δὲ ἐβόητο οἱ Βάρβαροι τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τοῦ Γαίου, Φαράτης ἐπέμπε πρὸς τὸν Αὐγουστον Dion, lv 11 And Augustus answers him καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκείνους Φράτης, ἀκούρης τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπικλήσεως, ἀνταπεστέλλας Ib

And Phraates replies Ἄλλα καὶ ἀπεγράψεν οἱ Ib As each dispatch would occupy about two months, the whole correspondence would require at least six months

972 a Coins of Antioch

Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ + Εὐσεβίου Αὐγούστου ΙΠ' i e Carus is Augustus + Anno Victoris aet Cos III, and therefore struck between 2 Sept b c 2, and 2 Sept n c 1 Eckhel, iii 272

Καίσαρι Σεβαστῷ Αρχιεπί + Αὐχιστοῦτον Αὐτοκράτη A (same date) Id iii 274

Coin of Judaea

Καίσαρος + Λ A (same date) Id, iii. 407

Inscriptions

Impr Caesaris Augusti Pontificis Ma Cos xiii Div Ib v m Pat P

Murator, i 221, 2

Fundamenta Minusque ob solo faciendis coeantes Idemque probaver Cusso Cornelio Lentulo L Pisonis Augusti Cos (In Villa Calderanā Agro Veronensi) Gruter, 165, 3

First year of the Sabbatic cycle

Passover, April 7

Pentecost, May 28

Tabernacles, October 2

A.D. 1. U.C. 754. Olymp. 195, 1.

C CAESAR

L AEMILIUS PAULUS

AUGUSTUS TRIB POT LXIV. FROM 27 JUNE COS XIII PONT MAX PAT PATR IMP AIV

Fifth year of the reign of Archelaus and

Herod Antipas and Herod Philip

973. Carus enters upon his consulship at Samos, and in the spring quits Samos, and advances into Syria That this year was passed in the remote East appears from Cennophi Pisan cited *infra*, no 975

974. Artabazus, the Roman aspirant to the throne of Armenia, dies, and Tigranes, who was in the Parthian interests sends gifts to Augustus, and asks that he may be confirmed in the kingdom, and Augustus, holding out delusive hopes of the crown, refers Tigranes to Carus, then in Syria Ἐς τὴν Συρίαν πρὸς τοῦ Γαίου ἐλθεῖν ἐκέλευσεν Dion, lv 11 (see b c 6, no 852, A D 2, no 981)

975 Phraates, seeing Carus in Syria, and

fearing an insurrection amongst his own subjects, agrees to a peace, on the terms of resigning his pretensions to Armenia. 'Ο δὲ δὴ Φραάτης ὑστερον κυρτλάγη ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἀποσπῆσι, εἰδὼν τὸν τε Γαίον ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ παρόντα ἔμαθε, καὶ τὰ οἰκεία παρὰ τὸν μισοῦ αὐτοῦ ὑπερόπασε. Dion, l. 11. The peace was concluded at an interview on the Euphrates, when Caius and Phraates entertained each other. *Cum rege Parthorum juvenis excellentissimus (Caius) in visula, quam amicus Euphrates undiebat, aequato utriusque partis numero, convell* Vell Pat II 101. These events occurred in this consubship, for in the Cenotaph Pisan *Quem (consulatum) ultra fines extremus populi Romani bellum gerens feliciter peregerat, bene gesta Republic, devictis aut in fidem receptis bellicosissimis ac maxime gentibus*. The final conclusion of peace is placed by Dion immediately after the return of Tiberius (see A.D. 2, no. 980), but this part of Dion is very corrupt. As Caius was *ultra fines extremas populi Romani*, he had passed out of Syria into Parthia or Armenia (see B.C. 6, no. 852, A.D. 2, no. 984).

976. M. Lollius, the tutor of Caius, is discovered, through the Parthians, to be a traitor, and his death follows. *Quo tempore Maeci Lolli, quem velut moderatorem iuventutis filii sui Augustus esse volebat, perfida et plena subdoli ac reclusi animi consilia per Parthos indicata Cæsari fama vulgavit, cuius mors intra paucos dies fortuita an voluntaria fuerit ignoro* Vell Pat II 102. *Lolliam Panninam videt smaragdus margaritisque opertam nec dona prodigi Principis fuerant, sed in ista opes provinciarum scilicet spolia patet. Ille est rapinam exitus hoc juxta quare M. Lollius, infamatus i eorum muneribus in toto Oriente, interdicta amicitia o Caio Cæsari Augusti filio, venenum liberet* Plin. N. H. ix 58.

977. Censorinus (prefect of Syria) dies about the same time. *Paullo post obisse Censorium in eisdem Provinciis graviter tulit civitas, vivum demerendis hominibus genitum* Vell Pat II 102. He is succeeded as prefect of Syria by L. Volusius Saturninus (see B.C. 4, no. 955, A.D. 5, no. 1000).

978. That Caius was in the East on 23 September of this year appears from a letter of that date from Augustus to Caius: *ix Kal Octobris in Cai, meus ocellus jucundissimus, quem semper, me Deus Fidus, de ceteris quam o me libet,*

sed in æcipue diebus talibus, qualis est hodiernus, oculi mei regunt meum Cæm, quem, ubicunque hoc die fuisti, speo letum et bene videntem celebrasse quartum et sexagesimum natalem meum nam, ut vides, κλμακτηρίῳ κομνηνιεν seniorum omnium tertium et sexagesimum annum elapsimus. Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. xv 7. Augustus was born on 23 September, B.C. 63, and the letter was therefore written on 23 September, A.D. 1.

978 a Corn of Antioch

Καίσαρι Σεβαστῷ Ἀρχιερεὶ + Ἀρχιερατικὸν Ἀντιόχειαι ΑΔ (10 in the 81 year) and therefore struck between 2 Sept B.C. 1, and 2 Sept A.D. 1, Eckhel, iii 274.

Coin of Alexandria

Τ. Α. Αὐτοκράτορος, 10 in the 80 year from the conquest of Egypt by Augustus, as dated from 1 Thoth B.C. 80, and therefore struck between 20 Aug. B.C. 1, and 20 Aug. A.D. 1. L. A. with pontifical emblem.

Eckhel, iv 45.

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle

Passover, March 27

Pentecost, May 17

Tabernacles, September 21

A.D. 2 U.C. 785. Olymp. 195, 2.

P. VENICTUS
P. AFRICANUS VARS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB POT. XXV FROM 27 JUNE
COS XIII PONT MAX PATR IMP XIV

Sixth year of the reign of Archelaus and Herod Antipas and Herod Philip

979. On the discovery of the treachery of M. Lollius, Caius is reconciled to Tiberius (Tiberius) coactus est reditum expositulæ. *Destinatum Augusto erat nihil super edere, nisi ex voluntate maioris filii (Caii), statueret. Is forte tunc M. Lollio offensior, facilius exorabilisque in iracundiam (Tiberium) fuit* Suet. Tib. 13.

980. Caius gives Tiberius permission to return to Rome, which he does in the eighth year of his exile, having passed at Rhodes seven complete years. *Permittente ergo Cæso revocatus est. Rediit octavo post sexagesimo anno* Suet. Tib. 14. *Septem annos Rhodi moratur* Vell Pat II 99. Thra-syllus the historian

was with Tiberius at Rhodes, and is said to have foretold the dispatch of his recall. Suet. Tib. 14. Dion, iv. 11. The return of Tiberius was *his coss.*, and before the death of either Lucius or Caius, and therefore before 20 August, A.D. 2. *Ante utriusque horum obitum, Patre tuo Vinicio consule, Tib. Nero reversus Rhodo inaudibili latitū patriam repleverat.* Vell. Pat. ii. 103. Dion is therefore mistaken, or the passage is corrupt, where the return is dated after the deaths of Lucius and Caius. 'Ο δὲ ἐλθὼν ὅστερον κατηλλάγη . . . συνέβη δὲ εὐθὺς μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὸν Τιβέριον ἐκ 'Ρόδου εἰς τὴν 'Ρώμην ἀφικέσθαι, Δουκίον καὶ Γαίον τελευτήσαντων. Dion, iv. 11. The return of Tiberius, however, was not long before the death of Lucius. Οὐ πολλὰ πρότερον ἐκ τῆς 'Ρόδου πρὸς τὴν 'Ρώμην (Tiberius) ὑπονοστήσας. Zonaras, x. 540. About the same time may be placed the recall of P. Sulpicius Quirinus from the East, for he was in Rome at the close of this year (see B.C. 4, no. 955; and *infra*, no. 983).

981. War breaks out in Germany in this consulship, three years current before A.D. 4. *Ante triennium, sub M. Vinicio avo tuo clarissimo viro, immensum exarserat bellum.* Vell. Pat. ii. 104. So the death of Caius, A.D. 4, is said to have occurred three years, i.e. three years current, from the return of Tiberius in A.D. 2. Suet. Tib. 15 (see A.D. 4, no. 991).

982. Death of Lucius at Marseilles, on his way to Spain, on 20 August. *Cum ante annum ferme* (being eighteen months before the death of Caius) *Lucius Cæsar frater ejus, Hispanias petens, Massiliæ decessit.* Vell. Pat. ii. 102. *L. Cæsarea euntem ad Hispanienses exercitus . . . mors futo propeva, vel noverca Livæ dolus, abstulit.* Tac. Ann. i. 8. *Massiliæ quippe Lucius morbo solvitur.* Florus, iv. 12, 42. *Caium et Lucium in duodeviginti mensium spatio amissit* (Augustus) *ambos, Cuius in Lyciâ, Lucio Massiliæ defunctis.* Suet. Octav. 65. 'xiii. Kal. Sept. (20 August) *Infer. L. Cæsaris.*' Old Calendar, cited Muratori, i. 304. xiii. Kal. Octob. (19 September) *Pisus in foro in Augusteo . . . cum Senatus populi Romani inter ceteros plurimos ac maximos honores L. Cæsari, Augusti Cæsaris Patris Patriæ Pontificis Maximi Tribunitie Potestatis xrv. (A.D. 2) filio, Auguri, Consuli designato per consensum omnium ordinum . . . utique opud eam aram quod annis (quotannis) a. d. (obliterated) pub-*

lice manibus ejus per magistratros . . . inferre militauer, etc. Conotaph. Pisan. The date which is obliterated was *xiii. Kal. Sept.*, as appears from the old calendar above referred to. This date would place the death of Lucius eighteen months before that of Caius, as stated by Suetonius.

983. Lepida had been destined as the wife of Lucius; but now, upon the death of Lucius, Lepida is married to P. Sulpicius Quirinus. *U't, effusi in lacrymas, sævæ et detestanda Quirinio clannarent, cuius senectæ atque orbitati, et obscurissimæ domui, destinata quondam vxor Lucio Cæsari ac M. Augusti nuptas, delebatur.* Tac. Ann. iii. 23. This was twenty years before the condemnation of Lepida, in A.D. 21. *Satis constat . . . condemnatum et generosissimum fœminam Lepidam, in gratiam Quirini Consulæ præditiis et orbi, qui dimissam eam e matrimonio post vicesimum annum, venient olim in se comparati arguebat.* Suet. Tib. 49 (see A.D. 20, no. 1127).

984. Caius, in Armenia, carries all before him, and places Ariobarzanes on the throne. *Armeniam deinde ingressus primâ parte introitus prospere gessit.* Vell. Pat. ii. 102.

Ecece fugax Parthus, magni nova causa triumphî,

Juni videt in campis Cæsaris arma cincti.

Ovid. Remed. Amor. v. 155.

Tempora nec numera, nec crebro respice Romam, Sed fuge; tutus adhuc Parthus ab hoste fugâ est.

Ib. v. 223.

Tum Caius Cæsar componendæ Armeniæ deligitur. Is Ariobarzanem origine Medum, ob insignem corporis formam et præclarum animum, volentibus Armeniis præfecit. Tac. Ann. ii. 4. Καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἔθνος (Armenia) ἀριστάμενον καὶ ἀναποδοῦν, ἐδρασεθὲν ἐπὶ Γαίου τοῦ υἱοῦ μου, βασιλεὺς Ἀρμενίας ἐπαρτίσας, καὶ μετὰ τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ Ἀρριωνίδῃ. Lapis Ancyr. Fasti Hellen. iii. 301 (see A.D. 1, no. 974; A.D. 16, no. 1078). Ariobarzanes probably died about A.D. 15, for the throne was occupied for a short time after his death by a female, Erato, and then Vonones became king, and the latter event was in A.D. 16. Ariobarzane morte fortuitâ absumpto, stipend ejus hæud toleravere; tentatque famine imperio, cui nomen Erato, eâque brevi pulsâ, incerti solutique, et mugis sine dominum, quam in libertate,

profugum Voononem in regnum accipimus. Tac. Ann. ii 4. There is a coin of Lirato, described as sister of Tigranes (see B C 6, no 859), on the obverse, *Βασίλειος Βασιλεως Ιερωνης*, and on the reverse, *Ερατω Βασίλειος Ιερωνιου Αδελφη*. Addenda to Eckhel, 36. It would appear, from a fragment of Dion, that on the death of Tigranes, B C 6, Erato made a vain attempt at that time to occupy the throne, and was obliged to resign her pretensions in favour of Ariobarzanes, and Dion places the war of the Romans for securing Ariobarzanes on the throne in this consulship. *Οί γε μὴν Ἀρμενίαι, καίπερ τοῦ τε Λιγανου ἐκ πολέμου τοῦ δὲ βαρβαρικοῦ θάλαττος, καὶ τῆς Ἐρατοῦς τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀφείσθη, ὅμως, ἐπειδὴ Ἀριωβαρζάνει τοῖς Μυδῶν, ὅς ποτε μετὰ τοῦ Τιμάρχτου πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀφίκατο, περιέκλινον, ἐκκλημῆσαν σφίσι τῷ ἑτέρῳ εἶναι ἐν τῷ Πάππῳ τε Οὐικίῳ καὶ Πάπῳ Οὐάρος ἐπάγευσαν.* Dion. Cited Addenda to Eckhel, 38.

985. Canus hears of the death of Lucius. *Canus Cerasi, dum Augusti avunculi mei filius ac nepos, cum puerus iuvenisset annos Lucium fratrem carissimum adit, princeps iuventutis principem eundem juvenem, comit in apparatu Puthici belli, et graviori multo animi vulnere quam postea corporis ictus est. Quod utrumque puerissime idem et fortissime tulit.* Senec. Consol. ad Polyb. 34. He had heard, therefore, of his brother's death before he was wounded, and he would receive the intelligence in the last quarter of the year.

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle

Passover, April 2

Pentecost, June 5

Tabernacles, October 10

A.D. 3. U C 756. Olymp 195, 3

L. MELLIS LAMIA

M. SERVILIUS

AUGUSTUS TRIB POT XXVI FROM 27 JUNE COS
XIII PONT MAX PAI PATR IMP XIV

Seventh year of the reign of Archelaus and
Herod Antipas and Herod Philip

986. The supreme power is conferred on Augustus for ten years more. *Πληρωθείσης δὲ οἱ καὶ τῆς τρίτης δεκαετίας, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ το τεταρτον, ἐκλυσθεῖς ἔλθει, ὑπετέλειτο.* Dion,

lv 12. The third decad was only about to expire, viz on 31 December, A D 3 (see L.C. 27, no 662).

987. Dion places the grant of the third decad after the deaths of Caius and Lucius, and therefore in A D 4, but as the previous grant was in L C 8, and the subsequent one in A D 13, it may be assumed that the third decad was conceded in A D 8. In fact, this part of Dion is very corrupt and fragmentary, of which we have noticed an earlier instance under A D 2, where the return of Tiberius from Rhodes is also placed erroneously after the deaths of Caius and Lucius (see A D 2, no 980).

988. Canus is treacherously wounded at Artagera, in Armenia. *Mor in colloquio, cum se tamen crediderat, cum Artagera am graviter a quodam, nomine Adduo, vulneratus.* Vell. Pat. ii 102. *Domines quem Rex Artorates profecerat, simulatū proditoris, aditus est virum intantum libello, quem, ut thesaurum rationes continentem, ipse porregerat stricto repente gladio. At recitatus ex vulnere in tempus ceterum barbarus, undique infesto exercitu oppressus, gladio et pyrrā, in quam se percussus inani, superstiti etiamnum Cæsari satisfacit.* Flor. iv 12, 44. *Vulnere pro Re Publica exceptus.* Ctenotaph Pisan.

989. Canus loses his energy and lingers in Armenia. *Eo ductus erat ut in ultimo ac remotissimo terrarum orbis angulo consenesce, quam Romam regredi, mallet.* Vell. Pat. ii 102.

990. Canus is recalled against his will by Augustus. *Diu deinde reluctatus, invitatus, revertens in Italiam, etc.* Vell. Pat. ii 102.

990 a. Coin of Judæa

Καίσαρος + Ι ΑΥ Γ Ε in the thirty-third year of the Actian Era, and therefore struck between 2 Sept A D 2, and 2 Sept A D 3.

Eckhel, iii. 497.

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle

Passover, April 4

Pentecost, May 25

Tabernacles, September 29

A.D. 4. U.C. 757. Olymp. 195, 4.

SEXT. AETII CATUS.
C. SENTIUS SATURNINUS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XXVII. FROM 27 JUNE.

COS. XIII. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. XIV.

TIBERIUS TRIB. POT. VI. FROM 27 JUNE (see B.C. 6, no. 849, and *infra*, no. 993).

Eighteenth year of the reign of Archelaus and of Herod Antipas and Herod Philip.

991. Caius dies on his way by sea to Rome at Limyra, in Lycia, two miles and a half from the mouth of the river Limyrus, on 21 February. 'Ο δὲ (Caius) ἐς Λυκίαν ἐν ἑκάδὶ παραπλευσέν ἐνθα δὴ καὶ μετῴληκεν. Zonaras, x. 36. Caius remeinentem Armeniū et vulnere invalidum mors fato propterea vel noverca Liviae dolus abstat. Tac. Ann. i. 9. Massilię quippe Lucius morbo solvitur: in Syriā (the East) Caius, ex vulnere, quum Armeniam ad Parthos se subtrahentem recipit. Florus, iv. 12, 42. Cum a . . . il. nonus Aprilis altatus esset nuntius Crionem Cæsarem Augusti, Patris Patriæ, [Po]ntif. Maximi, custodis imperi Romani, totiusque orbis terrarum præsidis filium, Divi nepotem, post consultationem quæ ultra finis extremos popu[li] Rom[ani] bellum gerens feliciter peregerat, bene gestā Republicā, devictis aut in [fid]em receptis bellicosissimis ac maxime gentibus, ipsam vulneribus pro Repu[bli]cā exceptis, ex eo casu crudelibus fatis ereptum populo Romano, jam designatum . . . justissimum ac simillimum parentis sui virtutibus principem, colonieque no[st]ræ unicam præsidium, eaque res, nondum quieto lectu, quem ex decessu [L. C]æsaris fratris ejus, consultis designati, Augusti, præni nostri, principis Juventutis coloniā universa susceperat, renovasset multiplicassetque[m] ære[m] omnium singulorum universorumque ob eas res universi decur[one]s colonie . . . inter sese conseruerunt, pro m[agn]itudine tantæ ac tam impropris calamitatis oportere ex eā die qu[ia] ejus decessus nuntiatus esset usque ad eam diem, quod ossa relata atque c[on]dita, justaque ejus nuntiis perfecta essent, cunctos veste mutata templisq[ue] D[omi]norum immortalium balneisque publicis et tabernis omnibus clausis co[n]victibus sese abstinere, matronas, quæ in coloniā nostrā sunt, sublegere, di[sc]e[m]que eam quo die C. Cæsar obiit, qui dies est, a.d. viiij. K. Martias pro Alliensi lu[gu]brem memoria proditi. Utique . . . [T. St]atuleus Junceus F[la]me[n] Augustolis. Po[n]tif. minor publicorum P. R. sa-

crorum rogareta[r] ut] cum legatis hoc of[ficiu]m publicum et voluntatem universorum libello reddito Im[p.] C[æsari] Augusto, Patri Patriæ, Pontif. Maximo, Tribunitio Po[n]testatis] xxi. indicet. Idqu[e] T. St]atuleus Junceus . . . libello ita uti supra scriptum es[t] Imp[eratori] Cæsari Augusto Pontific. Maximo Trib. pot. xxi. Pa[tri] Pa[triæ] reddito fecerit placere conscriptis qua a.d. iij. nonas Aprilis qu[æ] Soc.] Aetio Cui. C. Sention Saturnino cos. fuerunt facta, etc. Cenotaph. Pisan.

The death of Caius was eighteen months after the death of Lucius, which was on 20 August, A.D. 2. Suet. Octav. 65. The statement of Velleius that the interval was about a year must be taken in a liberal sense: ante annum ferme. Vell. Pat. ii. 102. Suetonius mentions the death of Caius as three years from the return of Tiberius in A.D. 2. Cuius et Lucio intra triennium defunctis. Suet. Tib. 15. The interval was not two complete years, but the Annalist means three consular years—viz. A.D. 2, 3, 4—Lucius having died in the first and Caius in the last. We have seen that Josephus reckons the reign of Herod in the same way.

992. The followers of Caius on his death in Lycia plunder the province, for which they are afterwards punished. Παύλογον ministroσque Cui filii, per occasionem valetulinis mortisque ejus superbe avaroque in provincā grassulos, curatis gravi pondere cerecibus, præcipitavit in flumen. Suet. Octav. 67.

993. Tiberius is invested with the Tribunitian power for ten years. Τὴν ἐκονίαν ἀντὶ τὴν ἐνηπαρχίην ἐς ἑκάτῃ ἔργ (Augustus) δοῦν. Dion. lv. 13. And this was probably on 27 June (see the next number). As the Tribunitian power had been conferred on Tiberius in B.C. 6 for five years (see B.C. 6, no. 849), his title in this year, A.D. 4, would be Tribun. Pot. vi.

994. On 5 Kal. Jul. (27 June) of this consulship Tiberius is adopted by Augustus as his son. Perseveravit (Augustus) ut et Tribunitiæ Potestatis consortionem Neroni constitueret . . . et eum Aetio Cuto, Sention Consulibus r. Kal. Jul. post urbem conditam 757 abhinc annos 27 adoptaret. Vell. Pat. ii. 103. M. Agrippa, the brother of Caius and Lucius, was also adopted by Augustus on the same day. Adoptatus eadem die etiam M. Agrippa. Vell. Pat. ii. 104. Cuius et Lucio intra triennium defunctis, adoptatur (Tiberius) ab Augusto simul cum fratre eorum M. Agrippā, coactus

princeps Germanicum patris sui filium adoptare Suet Tib 15

995. Immediately after the adoption, Tiberius proceeds to Germany to take the conduct of the war there. *Non diu iudicem custodemque imperii sui morata in urbe, patria protinus in Germaniam misit* Vell Pat II 104. And Velleius himself accompanied him. *Hoc tempus me, functum ante tribunatu, castorum Tiberi Caesaris militem fecit, quippe protinus ab adoptione missus cum eo praefectus equitum in Germaniam, etc.* Vell Pat II 104. And Tiberius was engaged in campaigns there for three years. *Fractus deinde post adoptionem continuâ tamen militâ Germaniae vitibus, idem illi honor et defendendi et recipiendus fuisse* Vell Pat II 122. The campaign this year was protracted until December. *Anni ejus aestiva usque in mensem Decembriem perducta* Vell Pat II 105.

996. Augustus makes a census or survey of property in Italy for fiscal purposes. *Αἰτῶν δὲ ἀπογραφὰς τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ κατοικοῦντων, καὶ μὴ ἐλαττω περὶ μυριάδων οὐσιας κατημένῳ, ἐκείνου τοῦτο γὰρ παθεῖσθαι, τοῦτο τε ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας αὐτοῦντας, οὐκ ἠνάγκασεν ἀπογράψασθαι, δέους μὴ νεωτερίσασθαι τι ταρχαίτες* Dion IV 13 (see B C 11 no 796). This apparently was a census of Roman citizens only in Italy, who possessed incomes of a certain amount, and did not affect the provinces.

997. A futile conspiracy against Augustus by Cnæus Cornelius and others. *Dion IV 14*

997 a. Coin of Augustus

Augustus Divi F + Tr Pol 1111

Eckhel, II 116

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle

Pass-over, March 24

Pentecost, May 14

Tabernacles, September 18

A D 5. U.C. 758. Olymp 196, 1

L. VELLEIUS MESSALLA VOLTURIUS
CN CORN CILNIA MAURUS

ATGISTVS TRIB POT XVIII FROM 27 JUNE
COS XIII POST MAX POT PATR IMP XIV
TIBERI TRIB POT VII FROM 27 JUNE

Ninth year of the reign of Archelaus and of Herod Antipas and Herod Philip

998 Tiberius, who had returned to Rome during the winter sets out again in the spring

for Germany. *Pietas sua Caesarem prius obstructis hieme Alpibus in urbem traxit, at tutela imperii cum reus initio reduxit in Germaniam* Vell Pat II 105

999. A famine in Italy, with an eclipse of the sun and earthquakes. *Tότε δ' οὖν, ἐπὶ τοῦ κορινθίου καὶ ἐπὶ Θιαλερίου Μεσσαλαῦ ἐπάγων, σεισμοὶ τε ἐξαισίοι συνέβησαν τοῦ ἡλίου τι ἐκλείπες ἐγένετο καὶ λιμός συνέβηθη* Dion IV 22. The eclipse was on 5 April (see Pingré's Tables).

An inundation of the Tiber. *Hic coort per dies octo Tyberis impetu miseranda ciades hominum domorumque fuit* Cassiodori

1000. J. Volusius Saturninus is at this time prefect of Syria, as appears from a coin of Antioch with the inscription *Αντιστοχίου ἐπὶ Σατορνίνου Οὐαλοῦ*. EA Eckhel, II 275. The date EA, or 35, must be referred to the Actian Era, and the thirty-fifth year began 2 September, A D 4, and ended 2 September, A D 5, during which interval, therefore, the coin must have been struck. Phny thus refers to V Saturninus. *Nupur etiam L Volusio Saturnino in urbis Praefectura exancto, notum est Corinthiâ Scipionum gentis Voluum Saturninum qui fuit consul gentium post lxxi annum* Plin N H vii 12, and see 49 (see A D 1, no 977, A D 6, no 1012).

1001. About this time disturbances arise in various cities, inasmuch that the prefects of the senatorial or popular provinces are confined for two years, and the Emperor sends his own officers specially appointed to the provinces of the senate or people. *Dion warns the reader that he does not give the exact dates* *Κἄν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τοῖς χρόνοις πόλεις οὐκ ὀλίγαι ἐνεωτίζοι, ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ δυο ἔτη τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς τοῦ ἔθνους ἐῖσι, καὶ αἰρετοὺς γὰρ ἀπὲρ τῶν κληρωτῶν ἄρχει· τα γὰρ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἄλλως ἐπὶ πλείω χρόνον ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς προετίττετο* Dion, IV 28.

1002. Cornel Cosens makes a successful campaign against the Garami in Africa, for which he is decreed triumphal honours, and acquires the name of Garamicus. *Dion, IV 28*. This date agrees with the statement of Velleius Paterculus that it was a few years before A D 9, under which year he writes *Quem honorem (the ornamenta triumphalia) ante paucos annos Papienus et Cosens, viri quibusdam diu et in tutibus celebres, in Africa meruerant* Vell Pat II 116.

1003. At the same time with the campaign

of Cossus, P. Sulpicius Quirinus, or Cyrenius, subdued the Marnaridae and Garmanantes. *Sub meridiano tumultuatum magis quam bellatum est. Masubinus atque Gelulos, accolus Syrtium, Cossus duce, (Augustus) compescuit; unde illi Gathlobi nomen. Latius victoria patet. Marnaritas atque Garmanantes Quirinio subigendos dedit. Poluit et ille redire Marnaricus, sed modestior in unda victoriâ fuit.* Flor. iv. 12, 40 (see B.C. 4, no. 955).

1003 a. Coin of Antioch.

Αντιόχειον ἐπὶ Σεραπείων Θεόκλη. EA. i. e. in the thirty-fifth year, and therefore struck between 2 Sept. A.D. 4, and 2 Sept. A.D. 6.

Eckhel, iii. 275.

Coin of Judaea.

Κωνσταντ + AE. (same date). Id. iii. 497.

Inscription.

Imp. Caesar Aug. Pontif. Maxim. Tribunic. Pot. xxviii. Cos. xiii. Pater Patri. Terminus Augustalis inter Bletissam et Mirobr. et Salm. (Ledisman in Hispaniâ). Gruter, 190, 2.

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 12.

Pentecost, June 2.

Tabernacles, October 7.

A.D. 6. U.C. 759. Olymp. 196, 2.

M. ÆMIUS LEPIDUS.
LUCIUS AURELIUS NERON
ex Kal. Jul.
C. ATRIIUS CAPITO.
C. VINIUS POSTUMUS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XXIX. COS. XIII. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. XV. (An old inscription describes Augustus as PONT. MAX. TRIB. POTEST. XXVIII. COS. XIII. P. P. IMP. XV. The twenty-eighth year of the Trib. Pot. was from 27 June, A.D. 5, to 27 June, A.D. 6; and Eckhel refers the inscription to the latter year. Eckhel, vi. 144.)

TIBERIUS TRIB. POT. VIII. FROM 27 JUNE.

Tenth year of the reign of Archelaus and of Herod Antipas and Herod Philip.

1004. Tiberius opens the campaign in Germany, and advances as far as the Albis. The enemy submit, but afterwards break faith, and then again submit. Dion, iv. 28. In reducing them to submission the second time, Messalinus

propraetor of Dalmatia and Pannonia, was with Tiberius. Dion, iv. 29.

1005. The absence of Messalinus from his provinces causes a revolt in Dalmatia and Pannonia. *Proximo anno (A.D. 6) . . . preparaverat jam hiberna Caesar ad Danubium, amatoque exercitu non plus quinque diebus iter a primis hostium, Suthralinum admoveere copias jussisset . . . cum universa Pannonia insolens longinqua pacis bonis et adulta viribus Dalmatia . . . arma corripuit.* Vell. Pat. ii. 109, 110.

1006. Tiberius sends Messalinus forward, who gains a success. Dion, iv. 30. Vell. Pat. ii. 112.

1007. The winter now approaching, the enemy take advantage of it and commit various ravages. *Καὶ ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ χειμὼν ἐνέσθη, πολὺν πλεῖον ἐκακούρησαν.* Dion, iv. 30.

1008. A famine at Rome, *his coss.* Ταῦτά τε αὖν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐλόσθη, καὶ πρόσθεν καὶ λιμός ἰσχυρός. Dion, iv. 26.

1009. The proconsul of Achaia dies, and his quaestor and legate take the command of the province; one in the Peloponnesus, and the other over the rest. Ταῦτά τε ἐν τῷ ἔτει τοῦτῳ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ τῆς Ἀχαιῆς ἀρχὼν, μέσης πον τῆς ἡγεμονείας, ἀπέθανε, τῷ τε Ταμείῳ καὶ τῷ Παρέργῳ αὐτοῦ (ὃν Πρεσβευτὴν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, καλούμεν) τῷ μὲν τὰ ἔντος τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ, τῷ τε τὰ λοιπὰ ἐκείνησαι προσετάχθη. Dion, iv. 27. Thus, though there were usually three legates in the imperial provinces, there was only one legate in the senate's or people's provinces. Dion, liii. 14. So it was in Bœtica, a popular province. *Ἢ μὲν Βαιτικὴ προσεκέτα τῷ ἡμῶν, καὶ πέμπεται στρατηγὸς (proconsul) ἐπ' αὐτήν, ἔχων ταμίαν τε (quaestorem) καὶ πρεσβευτήν (legatum).* Strabo, iii. 4 (see a similar instance in A.D. 15, no. 1067).

1010. Augustus, at this time, still hears personally all important matters for adjudication with assessors in his palace; but being now advanced in years, he commits the audience of embassies to three consular presidents. *Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ Αὐγούστος καὶ τῷ γήρῳ καὶ τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενείᾳ ἔκαμινε, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι αὐτὸς τοῖς θεωμένοις τε αὐτοῦ χρηματίζειν, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν συνέδρων καὶ εὐσεβέ-
ψατο καὶ ἔδικαζεν, ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ ἐπὶ βήματος προκαθήμενος: τὰς δὲ προσβείας τὰς τε παρὰ τῶν ἡμεῶν, καὶ τις παρὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἀφικνου-
μένους, τρισὶ τῶν ὑπατευουσῶν ἐπέτρεψεν (see Dion, lvi. 25), ὥστ' αὐτοὺς χωρὶς ἑαστον καὶ*

διακρίνει καὶ ἡτοιμασέν αὐτοῖς δίδοναι, πλὴν τῶν ὅσα ἀναγκάσιον ἦν τὴν τε βουλὴν καὶ ἐκείνον ἐπιδικαίρειν. Dion, iv 27

1011. Archelaus, the ethnarch of Judaea, is accused by his subjects to Augustus, and is banished. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τε Διμήλιον Δεπίδου καὶ ἐπὶ Λουκίου Ἀρόντιου ὑπόντων (Dion, iv 25) ὁ, τε Ἰερῶνις ὁ Πυλαιστῆς, αἰτίαν τινα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν λαβὼν, ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀλπεις ὑπερωρισθῆναι. Dion, iv 27. He was banished to Vienne, in Gaul, in the tenth year of his reign. Διμήτριον δὲ ἐτεῖ τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀρχελάου, οἱ πρῶτον τῶν ἀιερῶν ἐν τε Ἰουδαίοις καὶ Σαμαρείταις μὴ φέροιται τὴν ὡμότητα αὐτοῦ καὶ τυραννίδα, καταγορεύσει αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Κιισαροῦ, καὶ ὁ Κίσιος ἐκείνον μὲν φυγάδα θαλίει δοῦναι, ἡτοίμασεν αὐτῷ Βιενναν πόλιν τῆς Γαλατίας. Jos Ant xvi 13, 2. The dream of Archelaus also assigns this event to the tenth year, τοῖς δὲ ἀσπάρχας δέκα ὅσας τόσονδε ἡριθμὸν ἐταύτην ἡρῖζει, περιὸν γὰρ ἐνὸς παραγίγειν θέρους, καὶ τὸν χρόνον ἔξῃκειν Ἀρχελάῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας. Ant xvi 13, 3, and 21. Archelaus saw ten harvests, his banishment was after May (the harvest month), A D 6. Again, in the Life of Josephus, the date is given as the tenth year. Βασιλεύοντος Ἀρχελάου τὸ δεκάτον. Vita Jos 1. Thus, twice in the Antiquities and once in the Life, the two latest works, Josephus states that the banishment was in the tenth year. Assuming this to be so, then, if his reign commenced from the death of Herod the tenth year would commence from the beginning of April, A D 6, but if from the confirmation of his title by Augustus, then from August, A D 6. It is likely, however, that the years of Archelaus were, as in the case of his father Herod, reckoned by consular years, viz from every first day of January, or, by Jewish years, from every 1 Nisan, so that the first year was computed from 1 January or 1 Nisan, B C 4. In the Wars, Josephus states the banishment to have been in the ninth year. Ἀρχελάου, ἐτεῖ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐνιάτῃ φυγαδεύεται μὲν εἰς Βιενναν πόλιν τῆς Γαλατίας. αὐτοῦ. Ὅδοι ἡρῶν σπάρχει ἐν αὐτῇ. Σίμων δὲ ἐφ' οὗ μὲν σπάρχει ἐκ αὐτοῦς ἡμῖς, ὥστε βασιλεύσαντες μὲν αὐτὸν τῶν σπαρχῶν ἀρθῶν. Jos Bell ii 7, 8. But either this was an error which Josephus corrected in his later works, or else the historian in this instance, contrary to his usual practice, computes not by consular or Jewish year, from 1 Jan-

uary or 1 Nisan, but by actual years. The ninth year of Archelaus would expire in April, or else in August, A D 6, and if Archelaus was banished before April in the one case, or August in the other, the event would fall in the ninth year. Possibly, when Josephus wrote his summary by way of introduction to the Wars, he had not laid down for himself any fixed and uniform mode of computation, and therefore gave the ninth year meaning the ninth year of the actual reign, but in writing the Antiquities and his Life, he adopted the system of reckoning by consular or Jewish years and dated the first year of Archelaus from 1 January or 1 Nisan, B C 4. That the banishment of Archelaus was in A D 6, is confirmed by the statement of Josephus, that the census by Cyrenius was brought to a conclusion at least before 2 September, A D 7 (see that year, no 1021), for, making allowance for the arrival of Cyrenius in Judaea and the completion of the census by him, we cannot suppose that the reign of Archelaus extended into the same year, viz A D 7. Assuming the later and more careful statements of Josephus to be correct, viz that Archelaus was deposed in his tenth year, then, as the testimony of Dion is explicit that the banishment of Archelaus was in A D 6, the death of Herod must have occurred, as we have placed it, in B C 4. The banishment of Archelaus to Gaul is confirmed by Strabo. Ὁ μὲν (one of the sons of Herod, viz Archelaus) ἐν φυγῇ ἐτελέσας, παρὰ τοῖς Ἀλλόδοις Γαλάταις λαβὼν οὐσίαν. Strabo, xvi 2.

1012. Judaea is now annexed to the province of Syria, and Cyrenius, i e P Sulpicius Quirinius, a man of consular dignity, is appointed prefect of Syria (see A D 5, no 1000, A D 12, no 1046), and is commissioned to settle the constitution of Judaea and make a general census, or survey, of it. and Coponius, a knight, is sent at the same time to govern Judaea with absolute powers, subject to the prefect of Syria. Τῆς δὲ Ἀρχελίου χώρας ὑποσχεθεὶς προσηγορευθεὶς τῇ Σύρων, τεμετρεῖται Κυρήνιος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος, ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαυτοῦ, ἀποτιμησόμενοι οἱ τι εἰσι Σιρίας, καὶ τὴν Ἀρχελίου ἀποδοσόμενοι οἱ οἱ. Jos Ant xvi 13, 5. Κυρήνιος δὲ τῶν αἰ τῆς βουλῆς συναγομένων ἀπὸ τῶν ὁλγῶν ἐπὶ Συρίας παρῆναι, ὑπὸ Καίσαρος δικαιοδότης τοῦ ἐθίους ἀπεσταλμένος, καὶ τιμητὴς τῶν οὐσιῶν γεισησόμενοι. Κοπώνιος δὲ αὐτῷ συναγαγεύει-

πεται, τάγματος τῶν ἰππέων, ἡγούμενος Ἰουδαίων τῇ ἐπὶ τοῖσι ἐξουσίᾳ Ant xviii 1, 1 Τῇ δὲ Ἰερουσαλὴν χώρας εἰς ἐπαρχίαν περιγραφείσης, ἐπιτροπὸς τι, ἰππικὴς παρα' ὧμαιοις τάξεως Κωπώνιος πεμπεται, μέχρι τοῦ κτείνειν λαβὼν πᾶρα τοῦ Κωσσυροῦ ἐξουσίαν Bell ii 8, 1 (see A D 9, no 1033, A D 12, no 1046) It is remarkable that Josephus speaks of Cyrenius as sent not only to take account of Archelaus's possessions in Judaea, but to make a survey of Syria Ἀποτιμησόμενοι τα ἐν Συρίᾳ But as this is preceded by the statement that Judaea now became tributary and was annexed to Syria, it may mean only that the rating or taxing of all Syria was to be adjusted with reference to the new annexation

1013. Judaea (subject to the Roman procurator or governor) was henceforth governed by βουλαί, or councils of nobles, οἱ πρῶτοι, and the people, or ἔθνη, had a nominal voice The constitution was after the pattern of *Senatus Populusque Romanus* The high-priest was the head of the state, but the real power was with the οἱ πρῶτοι, and the government was in fact an aristocracy Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων τελευτήν (i. e. after the expulsion of Archelaus) ἀριστοκρατία μὲν ἦν ἡ πολιτεία, τὴν δὲ προστάτας τοῦ ἔθνους οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς πεποισέντο Jos Ant xx 10, 3 The country had been divided by Gabinus into five Toparchies Ant xiv 5, 1 and see Ant xiii 3, 9 (see B C 57, no 116) But the number of toparchies afterwards varied In the time of Pliny the Elder there were ten *Pais ejus* (Judaea) *Syria juncto Galilaea locutus, Arabia vero et Egypto proxima Persia, asperis disjuncta montibus, et a ceteris Judaea Jordane amnis discreti Reliqua Judaea dividitur in toparchias decem quo dicimus odine Hierichuntens, palmetus consistat, fontibus uti guinis, Euphratim, Lyditarum, Joppicam, Acrabatenam, Gophniticam, Thamnaticam, Bethleptepheneam, Ommen* (εἰς τὴν Ὀρεινὴν, Luke, i 89) *in qua fuit Hierosolyma, longe clavisissima urbium orientis, non Judaea modo, Hierodum cum oppulo illustri ejusdem nominis Plin N H v 13 And see Bell ii 18 10, ii 20, 4, ii 22, 2, iv 8, 1, iv 9, 9 Eumamus, or Nicopolis, is now Amnās, and, according to Itin Hieros, Nicopolis was 22 miles from Jerusalem, on the road to Lydda Acraba, from which Aclatene took its name, is still called Acrabeh and is the chief city of the district It is situate upon the highlands of Samaria, by*

the side of the Anlou, or valley of the Jordan, and is to the south-east of Sychar, and stands on the southern slope of a hill overlooking a plain Gophne, now Jutna was nearly half-way along the road from Jerusalem to Annapatrie, or Kef-Saba Parthen along to the north-west, on the same road from Jerusalem to Antipatris, was Thamnā, or Thamnath, now Tibuch See an account of the above places, Robinson's Palest 1838 and 1852 *Bethleptephene* was on the confines of Idumaea Jos Bell iv 8, 1 The βουλή of Tiberias (which may furnish an analogy to that of Jerusalem) consisted, in the time of the Jewish war, of six hundred members Μέχρι τοῦτοι μὲν τὴν βουλήν οὖσαν εἰς ἑκατοσίους Bell ii 21, 9

1014. Cyrenius proceeds forthwith to make a survey of Archelaus's dominions Παρὼν δὲ καὶ κυρήσιος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, προσήλκην τῆς Συρίας γεωμετρῆ, ἀποτιμησόμενος τε αὐτῶν τὰς οὐσίας καὶ ἀποδυνώσμενος τὰ Ἀρχελαου χρημῆτα Jos Ant xviii 1, 1

1015. Joazar, the son of Boethus, exhorts submission to the census Οἱ δὲ ὑπακούοντες βουλήν τοῦ εἰς πλεον ἐναποδοῦσθαι, τέλειντες αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἱερέως Ἰωαζάρου Βοηθοῦ δὲ οὗτοι, νῦν ἦν Jos Ant xviii 1, 1 Joazar is here said to be high-priest, but Jesus, at this time, was the actual high-priest, and, therefore, 'Joazar, the son of Boethus,' may be a mistake for Jesus, as the names are not very dissimilar (see B C 4, no 952, A D 7, no 1022)

1016. Judas the Gaulonite opposes the census and begins the sect of the Galileans, who resist the Roman power Ἰούδας δὲ Γαλιλαίτης μὴ ἦν ἐκ πόλεως ἔθνημα Γάμαλα, Σαδδουκαῖοι Φαρισαῖοι καὶ προσλημμένοι, ἡπειροῦ ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει, τὴν τι ἀποτιμῆσαι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ αὐτοὺς ἐθνικῶν λεγοντες, καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐπ' ἀντιλήψει παρακαλοῦντες τὸ ἔθνος Jos Ant xviii 1, 1, Bell ii 8, 1 Ἰῶ εἰς τετάρτη τῶν φιλοσοφῶν ὁ Γαλιλαῖος Ἰούδας ἡγεμὸς κινήσας Ant xviii 1, 6, Bell ii 8, 1 This is the Judas of Galilee alluded to by Gamaliel in the Sanhedrim, when the Apostles were impeached before it, in A D 31 Acts, v 37

1016. a Coins of Augustus

Cæsar Augustus Divi F Patris Patriæ + Stellæ
Imp. a. o.
Obverse uncertain + Tri Pot. a. a. a.
or Pontif. Max. Diviui Potest. a. a. a.

Eckhel vi 116

Coin of Antioch

ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΙΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΩΝ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΩΣ 5 A ΔΝ The letters 5 A refer to the Actian Era, and show that the coin was struck between 2 Sept A D 5, and 2 Sept A D 6. The letters ΔΝ denote the Era of Antioch, commencing from 1 Nov B C 49, so that the coin was struck between 1 Nov A D 5, and 2 Sept A D 6. Eckhel, iii 272, 279

Coin of Alexandria

Head of Tiberius + ΙΙΒΕΡΙΟΝ Ι Γ' 1 e in the third year from the adoption of Tiberius by Augustus (see A D 4, no 994)

Id iv 50

Obverse uncertain + ΑΒ 1 e in the thirty-fifth year from the conquest of Egypt by Augustus, as dated from 1 Thoth B C 30, and therefore struck between 29 Aug A D 5, and 29 Aug A D 6

Id iv 45

Coin of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΜΒ 1 e in the forty-second year of his reign (see B C 30, no 551)

Id in 201

The Sabbath year

Passover, April 1

Pentecost, May 22

Tabernacles, September 26

A.D. 7 U.C. 760 Olymp. 196, 3.

Q CECILIUS NITELLVS CRETICVS

A LICINIVS NERVA SIT ANVS

ex Kal Jul

P CORN LENIVS SCIPIO

T QVINCTIVS CRISPINVS VALERIANVS

AUGUSTVS TRIB POT XXX FROM 27 JUNE COS

XIII PONT MAX PAT PATER IMP XV

TIBERIIVS TRIB POT IV FROM 27 JUNE.

Eleventh year of the reign of Herod Antipus and Herod Philip

1017. Tiberius is still at the head of his army. Velleius Paterculus, who the year before, when Quaestor Designatus, had taken out succours to Tiberius on the revolt of Pannonia and Dalmatia, is now full Quaestor (which shows that a new year had commenced), and acts as legate under Tiberius. *Habuit in hoc quoque bello (Pannonico) medicosque nostra speciosi minister locum Finitis equestri militibus, designatus quaestor, necdum senator, aequatus senatoribus, et jam de signatis triumphis plenas portum*

exercitus ab urbe trahit ab Augusto (A D 6) perduxit ad fluvium ejus (Tiberim) In Quæstura deinde (A D 7) remissa soitæ provincie, legatus ejusdem ad eundem missus Vell Pat ii 111

1018. At the close of the year Tiberius winters at Siccia. *Ipsæ aspersiones locis immixtus Syciam, legatus, inter quos ipsi sumus, partitus præcepit hibernis* Vell Pat ii 113

1019 Agrippa, the son of Julia, the daughter of Augustus, is regarded as a madman, and banished to Planasia, an island near Corsica. Dion, iv 32

1020. Germanicus is employed against the Pannonians and Dalmatians, and gains some successes. *Ἐπεὶ Καυκλίου Μετελλου καὶ ἐπὶ Δικιννίου Σιδανοῦ ὑπάρτων οὗ δὲ Γερμανίως Μαζαίων Δαλματῶν ἔθους μᾶλλον τολήσας ἐκάκωσεν. Ἐν μὲν ἦν τῷ εἰεὶ ἐκείνῳ ταῦτα ἐπαράχθη* Dion, iv 30-32

1021 The census or survey of Cyrenius is carried out and completed in the thirty-seventh year of the Actian Era, 1 e between 2 September, A D 6, and 2 September, A D 7. *Κυρήνιοι δὲ τὰ Ἀρχελαοῦ χρήματα ἀποδομένοι ἦδην, καὶ τῶν ἀπογραφῶν πύρας ἔχουσῶν αἱ ἐγίνοντο τριακοστῇ καὶ ἑβδόμῃ ἔτει μετὰ τὴν Ἀντωνίου δὲ Ἀλτίῳ ἦσαν (2 September, B C 31) ὑπὸ Καισαρος, etc* Jos Ant xviii 2, 1 This date agrees with Dion's statement that Archelaus was banished in A D 6 (see that year, no 1011), for as Cyrenius was sent for the express purpose of making the census, he would proceed with it at once, and if so, it would probably be completed in A D 7

1022 Cyrenius, at the completion of the census, removes Jesus (called by mistake Jozabai, see B C 4, no 952), and appoints Ananias, son of Seth. *Κυρήνιος δὲ Ἰωάννηρον (lege Ἰησοῦν) τὸν Ἀρχιεραὶ καταστασάμεντα ὑπὸ τῆς πληθύος, ἀφελάμει τοὺς ἀξίωμα τῆς τιμῆς, ἄναγον τὸν Σέθ ἰσθ' Ἀρχιεραὶ* Jos Ant xvi 2, 1 (see A D 15, no 1074)

1022 a L Seneca, the philosopher, is born when his father, M Seneca, is about sixty-eight (see Fasti Romani, A D 19)

1022 b Coin of Augustus

Obverse uncertain + Pontif Maxim Tribun Potest rex Eckhel, vi 117

Coin of Alexandria

Head of Tiberius + ΙΙΒΕΡΙΟΝ Ι Δ' 1 e in the

fourth year from the adoption of Tiberius by Augustus (see A.D. 4, no. 404). Eckhel, iv. 50.
 First year of the Sabbatic cycle.
 Passover, March 21.
 Pentecost, May 11.
 Tabernacles, September 15.

A.D. 8. U.C. 761. Olymp. 196, 2.

M. FURIUS CAMILLUS.
 SEXTUS NONIUS QUINTILIANUS
 ex Kal. Jul.
 L. AGRONIUS.
 A. VIRIUS HABITUS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XXXI. FROM 27 JUNE.
 COS. XIIL. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. XV.
 TIBERIUS TRIB. POT. X. FROM 27 JUNE.
 Twelfth year of the reign of Herod Antipas and Herod Philip.

1023. The Pannonians and Dalmatians are compelled to sue for peace. Μάρκου δὲ τῷ Φουρίου μετὶ Σεξτίου Νωνίου ὑπατεύσαντος, ἐπεθύμησαν μὲν καὶ οἱ Δαλμαῖται καὶ οἱ Παννονιοὶ συμβῆναι . . . ἡ μὲν οὖν Δαλματία, τοῦτο μὲν πολέμῳ, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ δημολογίᾳ, πάλιν προσεχώρησε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. Dion, lv. 33. *Hicms* (A.D. 7-8) *enrollementum parati belli intulit, sed insequenti aestate* (A.D. 8) *omnis Pannonia, reliquis totius belli in Dalmatia manentibus, pacem petiit . . . Dalmatio victor in hiberna reducitur exercitus.* Vell. Pat. ii. 114.

1024. During the progress of the war, Augustus was constantly at Ariminum, to be near the scene of action. Πρὸς μέντοι τὰς τῶν πολέμων διαχειρίσεως ὁπῶς ἔρρωτο (Augustus), ὥσθ', ἢ ἐγγυθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς Δαλμαῖταις καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς Παννονίοις πᾶν ὅτι χρὴ συμβουλευέναι ἔχη, πρὸς Ἀρίμνον ἐβόρμησε. Dion, lv. 34.

1025. Julia, granddaughter of Augustus, is banished about this time, for she died A.D. 28, after an exile of twenty years. Tnc. Ann. iv. 71 (see A.D. 28, no. 1165).

1026. Jesus at the age of twelve years attends the Feast of the Passover at Jerusalem. Καὶ ἐπαυρόντο οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ κατ' ἔτος εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ τῇ ἑορτῇ τοῦ πάσχα, καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο ἑτῶν δώδεκα, etc. Luke, ii. 41. It thus appears that the parents of Our Lord attended the Passover regularly every year; and probably Our Lord himself did so, if not before, yet from this time forward until the commencement of His ministry. It has been thought that Jesus, being now of the age of twelve years, went up

to Jerusalem to be examined by the doctors as to His proficiency in the Jewish Law, the preliminary step to confirmation, or being admitted a 'Son of the Law.' If Our Lord was born in August, A.C. 6, His twelfth year would be complete on August, A.D. 7, and the Passover A.D. 8 would be the first Passover after His attainment of the requisite age.

1026 a. Coin of Augustus.

Obverse uncertain + *Pontif. Maxim. Tribun.*
Potest. xxvi. Eckhel, vi. 117.

Coin of Alexandria.

Head of Tiberius + ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ Λ.Ε. i. e. in the fifth year from the adoption of Tiberius by Augustus (see A.D. 4, no. 404). Id. iv. 50.

Inscription.

Imp. Caesar Divi F. Augustus Pont. (Max.)
Trib. Pot. xxi.

Ti. Caesar Augusti F. Divi N. Trib. Pot. ix.
M. Furius P. F. P. N. Camil.

Sex. Nonius L. F. L. N. Quintilian.
(Ex K. Jul.) L. Agronius C. F. C. N. A. Virbius
C. E. C. N. Habitus. Fasti Capitol.

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle.
 Passover, April 9.
 Pentecost, May 30.
 Tabernacles, October 4.

A.D. 9. U.C. 762. Olymp. 197, 1.

C. POPPEUS SADIENUS.
 Q. SEPTICIUS CAMERINUS
 ex Kal. Jul.
 M. PATRUS MITILIS.
 Q. POPPEUS SECVNDVS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XXXII. FROM 27 JUNE.
 COS. XIIL. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. XVI. (This last title is found in conjunction with Cos. xiii. Tr. Pot. xxxii. P. P. Eckhel, vi. 144. The titles of Imp. xvii. xviii. and xix. were assumed in A.D. 9 and A.D. 10, but it is not known on what particular occasions. See Eckhel, vi. 144.)
 TIBERIUS TRIB. POT. XI. FROM 27 JUNE.

Thirteenth year of the reign of Herod Antipas and Herod Philip.

1027. Tiberius returns to Rome in the spring. Ὁ δὲ δὴ Τιβέριος ἐκ τῆν Ῥώμην μετὰ τὸν χειμῶνα, ἐν ᾧ Κύντιος Σουλπίκιος καὶ Γάιος Σεβήσιος ὑπάρχοντων, ἀνεκομίσθη. Dion, lvi. 1.

1028. Germanicus is occupied in Dalmatia.

Οι δὲ γε μετὰ Γερμαῖοι οὐδ' Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπὶ Πάριον τῆς Δαλματίας πόλιν, ἐλθόντες οὐ καλῶς ἀπῆλθαν· Dion, lvi 11

1029. Tiberius is sent to Dalmatia Ἰὼν Τιβερίον ὁ Αὐγούστος ἐς τὴν Δαλματίαν αὐθις ἔ-εμψε Dion, lvi 12

1030. Lepidus, with the army, joins Tiberius, and they have a successful campaign, and bring the war to a conclusion *Intus astitit Lepidus educto hiernus exercitu peruenit ad Caesarem Illa astitit maxime belli consummavit effectus* Vell Pat ii 115

Dion, lvi 12-17 The war in Dalmatia had lasted three years *Nunciata Illi via defectione transit (Tiberius) ad ciuium noui belli, quod triennio gessit* Suet Tib 16 From the summer of A D 6 to the summer of A D 9 would be three years complete (see A D 6, no 1005)

1031 Five days before the close of the war in Dalmatia the report arrives that Varus and his legions had been destroyed *Tantum quod ultimam imposuerat Pannonico ac Dabunatico bello Caesar manum, cum intra quinque consummati ianti operis dies, iunestas ex Germaniâ epistola cæsi Vari, trucidati unque legionum, totidemque alarum et sex cohortium* Vell Pat ii 117 The senate at Rome had just decreed triumphal honours for the victories of Germanicus when the news arrived "Ἀπρὶ δὲ ταῦτα (the triumphal honours) ἔδειξαντο, καὶ ἀγγελία εἰσηγένη ἐκ τῆς Γερμανίας ἐλθοῦσα ἐκώλυσε σφῆς εἰσεορτάσαι, ἐν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἔκειντο χρεῖς καὶ ἐν τῇ Κελτικῇ τὰδε συννέχθη Dion, lvi 18

1032. On receipt of the intelligence at Rome all Gauls and Celts are ordered to quit the city "Ἐπειδὴ τε συγχροὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ Γαλάται καὶ Κελτοὶ, οἱ μὲν ἄλλως ἐπιδημοῦντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Σαρμερικῇ στρατευόμενοι, ἦσαν, ἐφοβήθη μὴ τε τοιοῦτάσῃ, καὶ ταῦτον μὲν ἐκ ἰσθμῶν τινῶν ἀπὸστελε τοῖσι" αὐτοῖς ἐκχωρήσαι τῆς πόλεως προστάξαι Dion, lvi 28 The Jews, when an outbreak was threatened in Judæa, were ordered in like manner to depart from Italy (see A D 52, no 1773) Votive offerings are made for the safety of Augustus *C Poppræo Q Sulpicio coss ludis pro salute Dni Augusti votis* Plin N H vii 49

1033. About this time Coponius, the first procurator of Judæa, is succeeded by M. Ambivius *Κωπώνιος μετ' οὐ πολὺ εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπαναχωρεῖ, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς παρα-γίνεται Μάρκιος Ἰμβιβίους* Jos Ant xviii 2,

2 The exact year is uncertain, but Augustus's policy was to continue his proprietors in office at least three years *Καὶ ἀρχεῖνσαι μήτε ἔλαττον ἑτῶν τριῶν, εἰ μή τις ἀνέλθῃσι τε, μήτε πλείον πεῖτε* Dion, lvi 23, and as Coponius was appointed in A D 6, his term of three years would expire in A D 9 His successor, M. Ambivius, would in like manner be recalled in A D 12, and accordingly we find that his successor, Annus Rufus, was certainly in office in A D 14, at the death of Augustus, and was displaced in A D 15, so that, supposing him to have been appointed in A D 12, he also would have held office for a period of three years (see A D 6, no 1012, A D 12, no 1047)

1034. Birth of Vespasian on 17 November of this year *Vespasianus natus est. quintodecimo Kalendis Decembris, resperit, Quinto Sulpicio Camerino C Poppræo Sabino coss quinquennio antequam Augustus excederet* Suet Vesp 2

1035. The birth of the Apostle Paul may be placed about this year In A D 62 he describes himself as πρεσβύτερος, an elder, Philim v 9 (see A D 62 no 1938), and Philo (whose writings apparently were much studied by the Apostle) divides the ages of man as follows

Child (παιδίον)	up to	7 years
Boy (παῖς)		14
Youth (μεράκιον)		21
Young man (νεανίσκος)		28
Man (ἄνθρωπος)		49
Elder (πρεσβύτερος)		66

Old man (γέρων) from that time forward

(See Philo de Mund. Opif s 36)

If Paul, therefore, was πρεσβύτερος, he was between forty-nine and fifty-six, say fifty-three, in A D 62 In A D 37 he is described as νεανίας, Acts, vii 38, that is, according to Philo, between twenty-one and twenty-eight, and if he was fifty-three in A D 62, he would be twenty-eight in A D 37 His birth upon this footing would be in A D 9

1035 a Coin of Judæa

Kaisaros + L AΘ 1 e in the thirty-ninth year of the Actian Era, and therefore struck between 2 Sept A D 8, and 2 Sept A D 9
Eckhel, iii 497

Coin of Alexandria

Obverse uncertain + T AΘ 1 e in the thirty-eighth year of Augustus from his conquest of Egypt, as dated from 1 Thoth, s c 70, and

therefore struck between 20 Aug A D 8 and
20 Aug A D 9 Eckhel, iv 45

Inscriptions

*Imp Caesar Divi F Pontif Maxim Trib
Potestatem Cos xiii P P Sacri* (Ter-
geste) Muratori, i 220, 4
*Imp Caesar Divi F Augustus Pontifex Mar
Cos xiii Tribunicia Potestate xiiii Imp
xii Pater Patrie Murum Turresque refect*
(at Naples) Id i 441, 1
*Imp Caesar Divi F Augustus Pont Max Tr
Pot xxi*
Tr Caesar Augusti F Divi N Trib Pot x
C Poppaeus Q F Q N Sabinus Q Silpicius
Q F Q N Comeninus
Ex K Jul M Papius M I' M N Motilus
Q Poppaeus Q F Q N Secund
Fasli Capitol

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle

Passover March 29

Pentecost, May 19

Tabernacles, September 23

A.D. 10. U.C. 763. Olymp. 197, 2

P CORNELIUS DOLABELLA

C JUNIUS SILANUS

ex Kal Jul

SER CORNELII S LENTULI S MAECENIENSIS

AUGUSTUS TRIB POT XXXIII FROM 27 JUNE
COS XIII PONT MAX PAT PATR IMP XIV

TIBERIUS TRIB POT XII FROM 27 JUNE

Fourteenth year of the reign of Herod Antipas
and Herod Philip

1036. Tiberius is employed in Germany
Proromo (after the death of *Vnus*) *anno repe-*
titis Germani quon amandis et (Tiberius)
Varianam cladem temeritate et negligentia ducis
accidisse, nihil nos de consiliis sententia egit
Suet Tib 18 Dion, lvi 23.

1037. Tiberius, after a vigorous campaign,
retires into winter quarters. *His auditis* (the
death of *Vnus*) *revolat ad Patrem* (Augustum)
Caesar (Tiberius) *Mittitur ad Germaniam,*
Gallias confinit, etc. *maximamque cum*
gloria, incolum omnium quos transiret at nu-
mero, in hiberna revertitur Vell Pat ii 120

1038. In the time of M Anibivius, procu-
rator of Judaea, dies Salome, the sister of
Herod the Great, having bequeathed Jamnia

Phaselis and Archelais to Julia, or Livia, the
wife of Augustus. 'Εφ' οὗ (M Anibivius) καὶ
Σαλώμη, τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡρώδου ἀδελφῆς, μετα-
τάσσει Ἰουδαίαν λαμβάνει τε καταλείπει καὶ τὴν το-
παρχίαν πᾶσαν, τῇς τε ἐν τῇ πεδίῳ Φασαγλιδα
καὶ Ἀρχαλαΐτα Jos Ant xviii 2, 2, Bell ii
9, 1 (sec BC 4 no 951, A D 39, no 1553).

1038 a Coins of Tiberius

Tr Caesar Augusti F Imp v + Pontifex Tribuni
Potestate vii or Ceres S C.

Tr Caesar Augusti F Imperator v
Eckhel, vi 184

Coin of Judaea

ΚΑΙΣΑΡΩΝ + I M i e in the fortieth year of
the Actian Era, and therefore struck between
2 Sept A D 9, and 2 Sept A D 10
Id iii 497

Coins of Alexandria

Head of Augustus + L AΘ i e in the forty-
ninth year of Augustus from his conquest of
Egypt, as dated from 1 Thoth, BC 30, and
therefore struck between 20 Aug A D 9, and
20 Aug A D 10 Id ii 45

Head of Livia + L AΘ (same date) Id. ii 48

Head of Livia + ΕΙ ΘΗΝΑ L AΘ (same date)
Id ii 40

Inscriptions

P Cornelio Dolabellae Cos vii rno Iptuloni,
Sodah, Ateni Leg Pro Pr Divi Augusti
Civitates Supremioris Pionioris Illyricae (at
Lydaurum in Dalmatia)

Muratori, i 290, 5

P Cornelius P F Dolabella C Junius C F
Silanus Flamen Martialis Cos ex S C fa-
ciendum cum aiorum Idemque probaverunt
Gruter, 176, 2

Imp Caesar Divi F Augustus Pont Max Tr
Pot xxi

Tr Caesar Augusti F Divi N Trib Pot xi

P Cornelius P F P N Dolabella

C Junius C F M N Silanus Flamen Mart

Ex K Jul Ser Cornelius Cu F Cu N Lentuli
Mabug Flamen Dial

Fasli Capitol

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle

Passover April 16

Pentecost, June 6

Tabernacles, October 11

A.D. 11. U.C. 764. Olymp. 197, 3.

M. JEMIL. LEPIDUS. Qui abd. et cum excepit ex
Kal. Jul. L. Cassius Longinus.
T. STATILIUS TAURUS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XXIV. FROM 27 JUNE.
COS. XIII. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. XX.
(Coins exist with the inscription IMP. XX.
TRIBUN. POT. XXXIII. Eckhel, vi. 144.)

TIBERIUS TRIB. POT. XIII. FROM 27 JUNE.

Fifteenth year of the reign of Herod Antipas
and Herod Philip.

1039. Tiberius prosecutes a successful campaign in Germany. *Eadem et virtus et fortuna subsequenti tempore* (viz. after A.D. 10) *imperatoris Tiberii fuit, quæ initio fuerat.* Vell. Pat. ii. 121. The details are given in Dion, from which it appears that Tiberius, in the autumn, was in the neighbourhood of the Rhine. Μάρκου δὲ Αἰμιλίου μετὰ Στρατίωνος Ταύρου ὑπεταίνοντος, Τυβέριος μὲν καὶ Γερμανίκοι ἀντιπύλον ὄρχων ἕς τε τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐσέβησαν καὶ κατέλαβον τινα αὐτῆς, etc. Dion. lvi. 25.

1040. This year there were sixteen prætors, whereas the usual number was twelve. Στρατηγὸς ἑκαταῖκα ἴδραι, ἐπειδὴ τσσοῦροι τε τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπεταίησαν, καὶ οὐκ ἔλα αὐτῶν λυπήσθαι ὁ Αἰγιούστος, οἱ ἐν τοῖσιν ὦν, ἠβήλησαν. Οὐ μὴν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐστὶς ταῦτο ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' οἱ ὁδῶκα ἐπὶ πολὺ κατέστησαν. Dion. lvi. 25 (see B.C. 23, no. 703; A.D. 14, no. 1057).

1041. Apollonius Tyanæus, at the age of fourteen, is, about this time, placed under the tuition of Euthydemus at Tarsus, and was, therefore, at Tarsus at the same time with Saul, afterwards St. Paul. Γεγονότα δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι ὅς ἄγε ἐς Ταρσοῦς ὁ πατὴρ παρ' Εὐθύδημον τὸν ἐκ Φοινίκης. Philost. V. A. i. 7. The fourteenth year of Apollonius may be thus estimated. Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, was summoned to Rome A.D. 15, and Apollonius had then certainly attained his sixteenth year, for προελθὼν δὲ ἐς ἔτος ἕκτον καὶ ἕκαστον ὤρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ηοθαγῶνον βίον, Philost. V. A. i. 7; and ἀπέκτειναν τὸν ὕβριστήν ἐκείνον ὡς ἐν Ἀρχελάῳ τῷ Καππαδοκίᾳ βασιλεῖ (A.D. 15) νεώτερα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαιοῖς πράττοντα. Id. i. 12. And Apollonius had not then attained his twentieth year. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ θεοειῶτα τὸν πατέρα ἥκουσαν ἔδομεν ἐς τὴν Τύαναν . . . τὴν δὲ οὐσίαν λιμπρίον ὄσαν διέλαχε πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν, ἀκίλιστόν τε καὶ φιλοπῶν ὄντα· καὶ τῷ μὲν τρίτον τε καὶ

εἰκάστων ἦν ἔτος . . . ὃδ' αὖ εἰκόσιν ἐγίγοναι. Id. i. 13. As the call of Archelaus to Rome was thus some time between the sixteenth and twentieth year of Apollonius, we may take the eighteenth year as the mean, and then the fourteenth year of Apollonius would coincide with A.D. 11.

1041 a. Coin of Augustus.

Imp. Caesar Divi F. Augustus Imp. xx. + Pontif. Maxim. Tribun. Pot. xxxiii. S. C.
Eckhel, vi. 118.

Coin of Judæa.

Καίσαρος + Λ. M. i. e. in the forty-first year of the Actian Era, and therefore struck between 2 Sept. A.D. 10, and 2 Sept. A.D. 11.
Id. iii. 497.

Coins of Alexandria.

Head of Augustus + Λ. M., i. e. in the fortieth year of Augustus from his conquest of Egypt, as dated from 1 Thoth, B.C. 30, and therefore struck between 20 Aug. A.D. 10, and 20 Aug. A.D. 11.

Καίσαρ Σεβαστος + Λ. M. (same date).
Obverse uncertain + Λ. M. *Εὐφρονα* (same date).
Id. iv. 45.

Head of Livia + Λ. M. (same date). Id. iv. 48.

Inscriptions.

(Imp. Caesar Divi F. Augustus Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. xxxiii.
Tib. Cæsar Augusti F. Divi N. Trib. Pot. xii.
M. Aemilius Q. F. Q. N. Lepidus,
(T. Statilius T. F. T. N. Taurus.)
Ex K. Jul. L. Cassius L. F. . . . N. Longinus.
Fasti Capitol.

Imp. Caesar Divi F. Augustus Pontifex Maximus Trib. Potest. xxxiii. ex S. C. Fulvius Pomerium Ampliat Torque (i. e. Terminavit-que) (at Rome). Muratori, i. 442, 1.

Imp. Cæs. Aug. Pontif. Max. Trib. P. xxxiii.
Cos. xiii. P. P. Victoris Sacr. L. Octavianus
M. F. Pacorus, L. Ainn. L. F. Nipellus .Eh.
ix. xiri D. S. P. F. (Arione in Hispan.)
Gruter, 226, 3.

In one column of a monument is the following inscription:—

T. Statilio Tau . . .

L. Cassio Longino . . .

Cos. x. K. Octobr . . .

Numini Augusti votum suscepit a plebe
Norbonensium in perpetuum.

Quod summum faustum felixque sit Imp. Cæsari
Divi filio Augusto P. P. Pontifici Maximo Trib.
Potest.

11. 1111. Conjugii liboris gentique jus senotai
 Populique Romano et colonia Tacodique
 C. I. P. N. M. qui se nuntii ejus in perpetuum
 colendo obligaverunt plebs Narbonen-
 sium aram Narbone in furo posuit ad
 quam quot annis viii. K. Octobr. quâ die
 eum senuli felicitas orbi terrarum
 rectorem edidit tres equites Romani
 a plebe et tres libertini hostias singu-
 las immolant et colonis et incolis ad
 supplicandum nuntii ejus thus et vinum
 de suo eâ die præsent et viii. K. Octobr.
 thus vinum colonis et incolis item præ-
 sent K. quoque Januar. thus et vinum
 colonis et incolis præsent vii. quoque
 Idus Januar. quâ die primum imperium
 orbi terrarum auspicius est thur-
 rino supplicet et hostias singul. im-
 molent et colonis invectique thus vi-
 num eâ die præsent.
 Et pridie K. Junius quod eâ die T. Sutilis
 Tiberio M. Emilio Lepido cor. jactitia
 plebis decurionibus conjunxit hostias
 singul. immolent et thus et vinum ad
 supplicandum nuntii ejus colonis et
 incolis præsent.
 Haque iis tribus equibus Rom.
 libertis suis . . .

In a parallel column of the monument is the
 following inscription:—

Narbonensis A . . .

Numinis Augusti . . .

erexit.

Legibus iis q. i. n. a.

Numen Caesaris Aug. P. P. quando tibi
 hodie hanc aram dabo dedicabo-
 que his legibus hisque regionibus
 dabo dedicaboque quas hic
 hodie palam dico uti infimum
 solum hujusque aræ titulum omni-
 que est signis tergere ornare
 reficere vult quod beneficii
 causâ fuit jus fiesque esto sive
 quis hostiâ sacrum fuit il qui
 magnanimum nec proculat id-
 circo tamen probe fartum esto si
 quis huius aræ donum dare au-
 gereque vult hæceto eademq.
 hoc ei dono esto quæ aræ est
 ceteræ leges huius aræ titulusq.
 eadem sunt quæ sunt aræ
 Mianæ in Aretino hisce legi-
 bus hisque regionibus sic uti
 dici hanc tibi aram pro Imp.
 Cesare Aug. P. P. Pontificique Mari-
 mo Tribunicia Potestate c. r. v. [lege xxiix.]
 Conjuge liberis gentique ejus

Senatu populoque R. colonis
 invectique cul. Jul. potra. Nari.
 Mart. qui se nuntii ejus in per-
 petuum colendo obligaverunt
 et quoque dedicoque uti aies vultus
 præsentem. (Narbonen.) (Græver, 221.)

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Pasover, April 5.

Pentecost, May 26.

Tabernacles, September 30.

A.D. 12. U.C. 765. Olymp. 197, 4.

GERMANICUS CÆSAR, I.

C. FONTIUS CAPITO, Quem excepit ex Kal. Jul.
 C. Velleius Pater.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XXXV. FROM 27 JUNE.
 COS. XIII. POST. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. XX.

TIBERIUS TRIB. POT. XIV. FROM 27 JUNE.

Sixteenth year of the reign of Herod Antipas
 and Herod Philip.

1042. The war in Germany is not con-
 cluded, at least, at the beginning of this year,
 for Περμάνκοι δὲ περὶ τοῦτο τὴν ἑταίαν ἀρχὴν,
 μὴδὲ σπαρταγήσας. Εἰκότα (Germanicus was
 one of the consuls for this year), καὶ δὲ ὅλου
 αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔτους . . . ἔσχε . . . Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
 γήσαστο (Augustus) παρ' αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ
 Κλαυδίου πόλεμον ποιεῖσιν, μᾶτε ἵκανοι αὐτῶν
 ἡσπάζεσθαι, μὴτ' ἀνακταίειν εἰ μὴκετι συσσωρή
 σήσιν. Dion. lvi. 26. And so Velleius speak-
 of having served nine campaigns in Germany:
 Quippe protinus ab adoptione (Tiberii), a.n. 4,
 see no. 994) misus cum eo (Tiberio) profectus
 equitum in Germaniam, successor officii patris
 mei, celestissimorum ejus optum per annos con-
 tinuus i.e. praefectus aut legatus, spectator, pro-
 cepta mediocritatis mori, adiutor fui. Vell.
 Pat. ii. 104. As the first campaign was in A.D.
 4 (see no. 995), the last would be in A.D. 12.
 But the war was concluded, and Tiberius re-
 turned and celebrated his triumph in the
 course of the year. Proximo anno (after the
 death of Varus, A.D. 9, see no. 1031, and
 therefore in A.D. 10) repetitâ Germaniâ, quum
 adversus verteret (Tiberius), etc. . . a Germanio
 in urbem post biennium (A.D. 12) regressus
 triumphum, quem distulit, egit. Suet. Tib. 18,
 20, and see 17. Eadem et virtus et fortuna
 subsequenti tempore imperatoris Tiberii fuit, qui
 contusus hostium viribus, clavis pedumque
 cap. dromibus, cum res Galliarum morâ emolles,

*accensusque plebis Viennensium dissensiones, coactione magis quam pond, molliisset, et senatus populusque Romanus, postulante patre ejus ut equum ei jus in omnibus provinciis exercitibusque esset, quum erat ipsi, decreto complexus esset (etenim absurdum erat non esse sub illo, quæ ab illis ruidicobuntur, et qui ad opem ferendum primus erat, ad vindicandum honorem non judicari parem), in urbem reversus jam pridem debitum, sed continuatione bellorum dilatum, ex Pannoniis Delmatisque egit triumphum. Vell. Pat. ii. 121. Velleius adds, quem (triumphum) mihi patrique meo, inter principum præcipuisque donis adornatos viros, comitari contigit. Ib. And as Velleius served nine campaigns in Germany (see *supra*), and went thither in A.D. 4, he would be present in Rome at the end of his nine campaigns in A.D. 12. The report of this triumph reached Ovid in Pontus not earlier than the winter of A.D. 12-13.*

Huc quoque Cesarei pervenit firma triumphi.
Epist. Pont. ii. 1, 1; and see ii. 2, 77.

And this was written not earlier than the fourth winter of his exile, for in Epist. Pont. i. 2, 27—

*Hic me pugnantem cum frigore, cumque sagittis,
Cumque meo futo quarta fatigat hiems.*

But the fourth winter of his exile was that of A.D. 12-13; for the sixth winter of his exile was that which followed the death of Augustus, i.e. the winter of A.D. 14-15.

*Nam patris Augusti docui mortale fuisse
Corpus, in ætherius numen obisse domos.*

Ib. iv. 13, 25.

— *sed me jam, Cure, nivali
Sexta relegatum bruma sub axe videt.*

Ib. iv. 13, 30.

In the following year, A.D. 13, a coin was struck with the figure of Tiberius in triumphal procession, so that the triumph had been celebrated at least some time previously: '*Cæsar Augustus divi f. pater Patriæ + Ti. Cæsar Aug. f. tri. pot. æv.*' Eckhel, vi. 118, 186. The 15 Trib. Pot. commenced on 27 June, A.D. 13.

1043. It appears, from the passage cited from Velleius, that just before the triumph, the Senate had decreed to Tiberius a co-ordinate power with Augustus over the *armies and provinces* of the empire; but this power, as is evident from the reflections of Velleius, did

not extend to Rome and Italy. This limited power of Tiberius is confirmed by Suetonius, but is erroneously placed by him after the triumph. *A Germania in urbem post biennium regressus, triumphum, quem distulerat, egit, . . . ac non vultu post lege per consules latæ ut provincias cum Augusto communiter administraret, simulque censum ageret, contra Insubros, in Illyricum profectus est.* Suet. Tib. 20, 21. And Tacitus may be thought to allude to the same circumstance. *Nero (Tiberius) solus æ privigis erat: illuc emata vergere: filius, collega imperii, consors Tribunatûs Potestatis adsumitur, omnesque per exercitus ostentatur.* Tac. Ann. i. 3.

1044. It is the opinion of some that the fifteenth year of Tiberius, referred to by St. Luke (iii. 1) as the year in which John the Baptist began his ministry, is to be dated from this decree by the Senate of imperial honours to Tiberius, and that the fifteenth year of Tiberius commenced, therefore, toward the close of A.D. 26. And in favour of this view, two coins of Antioch (of which city Luke was either a native or an inhabitant) are referred to, on one of which we find the head of Tiberius, with the inscription *Kαισαρ Σεβαστος* EM., i.e. in the forty-third year of the Actian Era, from 2 September, B.C. 81, and therefore in the year A.D. 12-13; and on the other, the head of Tiberius, with the like inscription, but the letters DM., i.e. A.D. 13-14. But the genuineness of these coins is not admitted by Eckhel (see iii. 276); and, on the other hand, it is clear, from Velleius and Suetonius, that Tiberius was not associated with Augustus in the empire generally, but only in respect of the provinces and armies. Neither is there any instance of the computation of the reign of Tiberius from this year. Indeed, the coins of Antioch itself show the contrary, for there are coins of that city with the head of Tiberius, and the date EM. of the Actian Era, i.e. A.D. 14-15, with the letter A, i.e. in the first year of his reign, viz. from the death of Augustus; and other coins with the head of Tiberius, and the date ZM., i.e. A.D. 16-17, with the letter Γ, i.e. in the third year of his reign, viz. from the death of Augustus. See Eckhel, iii. 278. Besides, if Tiberius was already emperor in the lifetime of Augustus, Tiberius could not on his death have been *tantum vetere Republicæ et nobilibus imperanti*, and have suu-

moned the Senate by virtue only of his Tribunitian power. *Ne edictum quidem, quo patres in curiam vocabat, nisi Tribunitiae Potestatis praescriptione posuit sub Augusto acceptae* Tac Ann 1 7. No doubt *defuncto Augusto* *signum praetoris cohortibus ut imperator delectat*, and *litteras ad exercitus, inquam adeptio principatu, misit*, 1b, but the words *inquam* *adepto principatu* show that he had not already obtained the imperial dignity, but had been admitted only to a part of the prerogative, as, as Tiberius said of himself, *se in partem curiarum ab illo vocatum* Tac Ann 1 11. It is clear, from the account of Tacitus, that Tiberius, on the death of Augustus, did not consider himself, and was not considered by others, as already emperor. Suetonius, to the same effect, states that Tiberius, though he immediately, on the death of Augustus, seized on the imperial power in fact, yet pretended to decline it. *Principatum, quamvis neque occupare aperte confectum, neque agere dubitasset, et statione militum, hoc est, ut et specie dominationis assumptis, diu tamen recusavit* Suet. Tib 24. And in A.D. 13 the imperial power was renewed for ten years more to Augustus exclusively, and not to Augustus and Tiberius jointly. To Tiberius the Tribunitian power only was renewed, and it was by virtue of that power that Tiberius, on the death of Augustus, summoned the Senate (see A.D. 13, no 1048, A.D. 14, no 1053).

1045 The birth of Caligula is on 31 August. *C. Caesar natus est pridie Kalendas Septembres, patre suo (Germanico) et C. Fonteio coss* Suet. Calig 8.

1046 Creticus Silanus, about this time, or the year before, is appointed prefect of Syria, in the room of Cyrenius, who had held the office since A.D. 6. Silanus was in office in A.D. 10, when Vonones, king of Parthia, was deposed. *Βασιλέως δὲ παραδίδωσι αὐτὸν Σιλανῶν τῷ τῇ Συρίας στρατηγῇ*. Jos Ant xviii 2, 4. *Reclor Syria Creticus Silanus exultum (Vononem) custodiā circumdat, manente iure et regno nomine* Tac Ann ii 1 (see A.D. 6, no 1012, A.D. 16, no 1078, A.D. 17, no 1090).

1047 Annus Rufus, about this time, is appointed procurator of Judaea, in the place of M. Ambivius. Rufus was certainly in office in A.D. 14, and was succeeded by Gratus in A.D. 15, and as the procurators of Judaea at this time usually held office for three years, the

appointment of Annus Rufus may be placed in this year. *Δαδὲχεται δὲ καὶ τοῦτον (M. Ambivium) Ἀννίος τοῦτος ἐπὶ οὗ δὴ καὶ τελευτᾷ Καίσαρ*. Jos Ant xviii 2 2 (see A.D. 9, no 1033, A.D. 15, no 1073).

1047 a Coins of Antioch

Head of Jupiter + *Αντιόχων Μητροπόλεως ΒΜ*, 1 e in the forty-second year, and therefore struck between 2 Sept A.D. 11, and 2 Sept A.D. 12.

Head of Jupiter + *Αντιόχων επι Σιληνου ΒΜ* (same date) Eckhel, iii 270.

Coin of Alexandria

Head of Augustus + *Λ Μ Α*, 1 e in the forty-first year of Augustus from his conquest of Egypt, as dated from 1 Thoth, B.C. 80, and therefore struck between 20 Aug A.D. 11, and 20 Aug A.D. 12.

Eckhel, iv 45.

Head of Livia + *Λ Μ Α* (same date)

Id iv 48.

Head of Livia + *Λ ηνια Λ Μ Α* (same date)

Id iv 40.

Inscriptions

Imp Caesar Divi F Aug Post Maximus Imp av (lege 12) Consul tui Trib Pot a tuius Pater Patris Diva (at Braccia)

Murator, iv. 2005, 6.

Germanico Cesare C. Fonteio Capite Cos K an Siera Fortuna Ang Saci Ser Fonteus D L Titophimus Cn Pompeius, Cn L Nirephor Mng Vica Souldian Reg m Ann xviii D E Gruter, 79, 5.

Saluti Perpetua Dom Augusti Tr Claudii Divi Augusti Fil Divi Juli Nep, Aug Pont Mar Trib Pot tui Imp n Cos m (lege n) C Julius Successus Praef Corp Fabrum Ferrar Tignar. et Tabular Portuen D S P P (Rome) Id 285, 7.

Germanico Caesar Ti F. Augusti N Divi Pron Cos. L Inellius L F Geminus Aed D S P (In Hispania) Id 236, 3.

(Imp Caesar Divi F Augustus (Pont. Max Trib Pot tui

Tr Caesar) Augusti F Divi N (Tr Pot m Germanicus) Caesar) Ti F Augusti N C. Fonteus C F C N

(Ex K Julius) C Visellius C F C N Vuro Fasti Capitol

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle

Passover, March 25

Pentecost, May 15

Tabernacles, September 19

A.D. 13. U.C. 766. Olymp. 198, 1.

C. SMITH.

L. MIGNATIUS PLANCUS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XXVI. FROM 27 JUNE.

COS. XIII. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. XX.

TIBERIUS TRIB. POT. XV. FROM 27 JUNE.

Seventeenth year of the reign of Herod
Antipas and Herod Philip.

1048. Augustus accepts the empire, the fifth time, for ten years, and the Tribunitian power is renewed to Tiberius. *Ασκλην δὲ ἡ Μορρατίον καὶ Γαίου Σιλίων ἐς τοὺς ὑπατεύοντας ἐγγραφέντων, τὴν τε προστασίαν τῶν κοινῶν τὴν δεκτίαν τὴν πεμπτήν, ἕκωσ δὲ, ὁ Αὐγούστος ἔδωκε, καὶ τῷ Τιβέριῳ τὴν ἑξουσίαν τὴν ἑμπαρχικὴν αἰθεὶς ἔδωκε.* Dion., lvi. 28 (see A.D. 3, no. 986). It will be observed that the supreme power was renewed to Augustus, and not to Augustus and Tiberius jointly, as would have been the case had Tiberius been associated with Augustus in the empire in A.D. 12 (see that year, no. 1043).

1049. Drusus is also made consul elect for the third year after this (inclusive). *Τῷ τε Δρουῳ τῷ ἐκείνῳ ὑπατείας ἐς ἑτὸς τρίτον, καὶ πρὶν στρατηγήσαι, αἰτήσαι ἐπέτρεψε.* Dion., lvi. 28. Drusus was consul in A.D. 15.

1050. Piso is appointed *Præfectus Urbis*. He succeeded Tanus Statilius, and held the office for twenty years, and died A.D. 32. The twenty years were no doubt current years; and if so, he was appointed this year. *Augustus bellis civilibus Stationa Misenatem, equestris ordinis, cunctis apud Romanos atque Italiam preposuit. Max. rerum potitus, ob magnitudinem populū ac tarda legum auxilia, compulsi e consularibus qui coerceret servitū et quod civium, audacia turbidum, nisi vim metuit. Primumque Messalla Corvinus eam potestatem, et paucos intra dies finem accepit, quasi nescius ecerent. Tam Tanus Statilius quamquam proventū aetate, egregie toleravit. Deia Pisonis per annos pariter probatus publico fuisse ex decreto Senatus celebratus est.* Tac. Ann. vi. 11. According to Suetonius, he was appointed when Tiberius was *Princeps*. *In castris tiro, etiam tum propter nitium vini ariditatem pro Tiberio Tiberius, pro Claudio Caudius, pro Nerone Mero vocabatur. Postea Princeps in ipso publicorum morum correctione cum Pomponio Flacco et Lucio Pisonis noctem*

continuūque biduum epulando potandoque consumpsit, quorum alteri Syriam provinciam (see A.D. 29, no. 1127), alteri Praefectura urbis confestim detulit. Suet. Tib. 42. And Pliny (but with some carelessness) copies Suetonius. *Eoque commentatione (of drunkenness) credidit L. Pisonem urbis Romae Praefectum ab eo (Tiberio) delectum, quod biduo duabusque noctibus perpotationem continuasset apud ipsum jam Principem.* Plin. N. H. xiv. 28. The word *princeps* in these passages is commonly understood to mean when Tiberius became Emperor, on the death of Augustus, in A.D. 14; but if so, Piso, who certainly died in A.D. 32, was not prefect, as Tacitus states, for twenty years. But it will be observed that in Suetonius there is an antithesis between the words in *castris Tiro* and *Princeps in correctione morum*; and the latter can only mean when Tiberius was discharging the office of censor. And there was no census at all in the reign of Tiberius, after the death of Augustus, but Augustus and Tiberius concluded in May, A.D. 14, a census which had been made by them jointly (see A.D. 14, no. 1051); and the census, therefore, may have been going on in A.D. 13, when Piso was appointed. The term *princeps* refers either to the association of Tiberius with Augustus in the censorship, or to the participation of Tiberius in the imperial power, as regarded the provinces and armies, which had been conferred upon him in A.D. 12 (see that year, no. 1043).

1050 a. Coins of Augustus and Tiberius.

Cæsar Augustus Divi F. Pater Patria with Head of Augustus + Ti. Cæsar Aug. F. Tr. Pot. xv. with Head of Tiberius; and in others with figure of Tiberius in triumphal car, with sceptre and eagle (see A.D. 12, no. 1042). Eckhel, vi. 118.

Coins of Antioch.

Head of Jupiter + ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΣΕΛΕΥΩΝ ΓΜ. I.e. in the forty-third year, and therefore struck between 2 Sept. A.D. 12, and 2 Sept. A.D. 13.

ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΛΕΥΕΥ ΣΕΛΕΥΩΝ + ΕΠΙ ΣΕΛΕΥΩΝ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ. ΓΜ. (same date). Id. iii. 270.

Coins of Alexandria.

Head of Augustus + L. MB., i.e. in the forty-second year of Augustus from his conquest of Egypt, as dated from 1 Thoth, n.c. 740, and therefore struck between 29 Aug. A.D. 12, and 29 Aug. A.D. 13. Id. iv. 45.

Head of Livia + L. MB. (same date).

Id. iv. 48.

Head of Tiberius + Τηβερών L.T., i. e. in the tenth year from the adoption of Tiberius by Augustus in A.D. 4 (see that year, no. 944).

Id. iv. 50.

Inscription.

(*Imp. Caesar Divi*) *F. Augustus Pont. Max.*

Tr. Pot. xpp.

Ti. Caesar Augusti F. Divi N. Tr. Pot. xiii.

C. Sillos P. F. P. N. L. Munatius, L. F. L. N. Plancus.

Fasti Capitol.

The Sabbatic year.

Passover, April 13.

Pentecost, June 3.

Tabernacles, October 8.

A.D. 14. U.C. 767. Olymp. 198, 2.

SEXTUS POMPEIUS.
SEXTUS APPULCIUS.

AUGUSTUS TRIB. POT. XXXVII. FROM 27 JUNE.

COS. XIII. PONT. MAX. PAT. PAB. IMP. XXI.

(*nomen Imperatoris semel atque vicies partum.*

Tac. Ann. i. 9).

TIBERIUS I. FROM 19 AUGUST, AND TRIB. POT. XVI.

FROM 27 JUNE. (For the date of the Tribunitian Power, see B.C. 6, no. 849, and A.D. 4, no. 993.)

Eighteenth year of the reign of Herod

Antipus and Herod Philip.

1051. A census or lustrum concluded for the third time in the reign of Augustus. *Nuperrime lustrum (egi cum Conlegâ Tiberio, Sext. Pompeio et Sext. Appuleio cos. quo lustrum (censa sunt) Romanorum capita quadrages centum milia . . . ginta et septem mil. Lapis Ancyri ad calcem Sueton. Olymp. 198, 2. Augustus cum Tiberio censam peragens reperit xli. centena et xc. milia centum et septemdecim Romanorum capita. Euseb. Chron. lib. ii. sub anno Augusti 56. The lustrum was concluded by Augustus in person. Quam lustrum in Campo Martio magna populi frequentia conderet, aquila eum (Augustum) sapias circumvolavit. Suet. Octav. 97. And apparently this was about May, for sub idem tempus (with the conclusion of the lustrum) ietu fulminis ex inscriptione statue ejus prima nominis litera effudit. Responsum est centum solos dies posthuc victurum, quem numerum C litera notaret. Suet. Octav. 97. Augustus died on 19 August,*

and one hundred days before that would carry us back to 11 May (see n.c. 8, no. 828; A.D. 48, no. 1716).

1052. Augustus is taken ill at Astura. Suet. Octav. 97. Thence he proceeds to Capree. *Tunc Campanie orâ proximisque insulis circumitis, Caprearum quoque secensus quatribuam impendit.* Suet. Octav. 98. And thence to Naples. *Mox Neapolim trajecit.* Suet. Octav. 98. And then accompanies Tiberius, on his way to Illyricum, as far as Beneventum; and then retires to Nola. *Prosecutus filium (Tiberium) digressusque ab eo Beneventi, ipse Nola petiit.* Vell. Pat. ii. 123.

1053. Augustus dies at Nola on 19 August, at 3 P.M., when he had nearly completed his seventy-sixth year (see B.C. 63, no. 88). *Τῷ γὰρ ἐχόμενῳ ἔτει, ἐν ᾧ Σέξτος καὶ Ἀκουλῆσιος καὶ Σέξτος, Πυρρήσιος ὑπάτευσαν, ἐκωρύθη τε ἐς τὴν Καμπανίαν ὁ Ἀγούστου, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐν τῇ Νεάπολει ἐαθείς, ἔπειτα ἐν Νόλῳ μετήλλαξε.* Dion, lvi. 29. *Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω τῇ ἐνσεκαὶ ἐκότη τοῦ Ἀγούστου, ἐν ᾗ πῶτε τὸ πρῶτον ὑπάτευσαι, μετήλλαξε, ζῆσας μὲν πέντε καὶ ἐξορμήκοντα ἔτη καὶ μῆνας ἑκαὶ ἡμέρας ἕξ καὶ εἰκοσι (τῇ γὰρ τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου ἐγεγίνετο), μοραρχήσας δὲ ἀπ' οὗ πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ ἐνίκησε τέσσαρας καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη, ἑκατηρὶν ἡμερῶν δέοντα.* Dion, lvi. 30. *G. xiv. (Kal. Sept.) Via. F. August. Excess.* Old Calendar. Muratori, i. 305. *Obiit . . . duobus Sertis Pompeio et Appuleio consulibus, decimo quarto Kalendas Septembris, hora diei nonâ, septuagesimo et sexto otatis anno, diebus quinque et triginta minus.* Suet. Octav. 100. *Cum Antonio per duodecim fere annos, novissime per quatuor et quadraginta solus reipublicam tenuit.* Suet. Octav. 8. (Tiberius therefore was not made joint emperor with him in B.C. 12. See that year, no. 1044.) *Pompeio Appuleioque cos. septuagesimo sexto anno aionum caelestem caelo reddidit.* Vell. Pat. ii. 123. Josephus erroneously states his age at seventy-seven instead of seventy-six. *Τελευτᾷ Καίσαρ . . . ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ πενήκοντα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτη, πρὸς οὗς μῆνες ἕξ ἡμέραιν ἐκτὶν πλείονες (τούτου δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ χρόνου τεσσαρεσκατῆκα ἔτη συνῆλθεν Ἀντωνίου) πύσιος ἔτη ἐπὶ καὶ ἐξορμήκοντα.* Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 2. According to Eutropius, he died at Atella. *Reipublicam per quadraginta et quatuor annos solus obtinuit, ante enim xii. annis cum Antonio et Lepido tenuerat. Ita ab initio principatus ejus usque ad finem lci. anni*

fuere. Obiit autem lxxvi. anno, morte communi, in oppido Campanie Atellæ. Eutrop. vii. 8.

The reign of Augustus has been variously estimated by various writers, as: 1. From the death of Cæsar on 15 March, B.C. 44, making fifty-seven years, five months, five days. 2. From the first consulship of Augustus on 19 August, B.C. 43, making fifty-six years. 3. From the Triumphate on 27 November, B.C. 43, making fifty-five years, eight months, twenty-four days. 4. From the battle of Actium on 2 September, B.C. 31, making forty-four years, wanting fourteen days. 5. From his entrance into Alexandria on 29 August, B.C. 30, making forty-three years, wanting ten days. See *Fasti Hellenici*. According to Cassiodorus, Augustus reigned fifty-six years and six months. *Regnavit annis quinquaginta sex mensibus sex.* Cassiod. sub Cons. C. J. Cæsar and M. Agrippa; and see cons. Sext. Pompeius and Sext. Apuleius. According to Clemens Alexand., Augustus reigned forty-six years, four months, and one day. Strom. i. 21, 406.

1054. Augustus is succeeded by Tiberius. *Anno ab urbe condita dccxvii. post mortem Augusti Tiberius Cæsar imperium adeptus est.* Oros. vii. 4. Tiberius, according to Dion, was now fifty-six, *ἡ γὰρ καὶ πενήκοντα ἔτη ἔταγγονε*, Dion, lvi. 2; but he did not enter his fifty-sixth year till 16 November, A.D. 14, for *natus est Romæ in Palatio sexto decimo Kalendas Decembris M. Anul. Lepido iterum L. Menatio Planco cons. post bellum Philippense* (B.C. 42). Suet. Tib. 5. *Τῆς βουλῆς . . . τὸν μῆνα τὸν Νοτίμβριον, ἐν ᾧ τῇ ἑστῇ ἐπὶ δέκα ἔτη γέννητο, Τιβέριον καλεῖσθαι ἀξιώσας.* Dion, lvii. 18.

1055. Tiberius immediately on the demise of Augustus, and before it was made public, procures the assassination of Agrippa, the son of Julia and M. Agrippa. *Excessum Agrippæ non prius publicum fecit, quam Agrippæ juvenem intercepto.* Suet. Tib. 22. *Primum facinus nocti Principatus fuit Postumi Agrippæ cædes.* Tac. Ann. i. 6. *Τὸν μὲν γὰρ Ἀγρίππαν παραχοῖμα, ἀπὸ τῆς Νώλης πέμψας τινα, ἀπέκτεινε.* Dion, lvii. 3.

1056. For two years from the death of Augustus, Tiberius does not stir from Rome, and after that not further than to Antium until his retirement to Capræ. *Biennio continuo post adeptum imperium, pedem portæ non exiit: sequenti tempore, præterquam in propinqui op-*

pido et quam longissimè Antiò tenus, nusquam ulfuit, idque perraro et paucos dies. Suet. Tib. 38.

1057. Twelve prætors (the orthodox number, by the rule of Augustus) are appointed, and the comitia are transferred from the people to the senate. *Candidatos Prætoræ duodecim nominavit, numerum ab Augusto traditum, et, hortante senatu ut angeret, iurejurando se obstrinxit se non excessurum. Tum primum a Campo comitia ad patres translata sunt. Nam ad eam diem, etiam potissima arbitrio Principis, quædam tamen studiis tribunum fiebant. Neque populus adeptum jus questus est, nisi inam rmore, et S. natus, longioribus ac precibus sordidulis exolutus, libens tenet, nocturnante Tiberio, ne plures quam quatuor candidatos commendaret sine repulsâ et ambitu designandos.* Tac. Ann. i. 14, 15, and see ii. 36 (see A.D. 11, B.C. 1040; A.D. 42, no. 1636).

1058. Seius Strabo is at this time prefect of the Prætorium. *Apudque eos* (who took the oath of allegiance) *Seius Strabo et C. Turranus, ille Prætoriarum cohortium Præfectus hinc ansona.* Tac. Ann. i. 7. And his son Ælius Sejanus was shortly after made his colleague. *Ælius Sejanus collega Straboni, patri suo, datus.* Tac. Ann. i. 24, and see vi. 8. *Ἐκείνου (Strabò) ἐς τὴν Αἰγύπτου πεμφθέντος, μόνος (Sejanus) τὴν προστασίαν αὐτῶν (the Prætorian) ἔσχε.* Dion, lvii. 19 (see A.D. 31, no. 1353 and 1357).

1059. Tiberius at first refuses the offers of divine honours. *Ὅθρι ὀρνύται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν αὐτοῦ Τόχρην συνεχόμεν, οὐδ', εἰ καὶ ὁμόσους τις αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ὡς καὶ ἐπαρκητικῶς ἔλαβεν, ἐπέχει . . . Ταῦτα τε οὐδ' ἡμερωτικῶς ἐτάκει, καὶ οὐτε ἐμένισμα αὐτῷ, οὐκ ὅπως αὐθαίρετον, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἄλλως τότε γε ἐτεμερίσθη . . . καὶ τὸ ἡμερίσθαι πρὸς τινος (Ἀσπίριον τε γὰρ ἦν καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ὀνόμαζον, καὶ εἰς ἐπ' αὐτῷ πῶλλας ἔσθιον), ἥκιστα πρῶσιποιτο.* Dion, lvii. 8 and 9 (see A.D. 15, no. 1165).

1060. The mutinies of the Pannonian and German legions are suppressed by Drusus and Germanicus. Tac. Ann. i. 16. Dion, lvii. 4. Suet. Tib. 25. In the course of the mutiny in Pannonia an eclipse of the moon occurs in Pannonia. *Noctem minacem et in scelus erupturam fors lenivit, nam luna claro repente cælo visa languescere.* Tac. Ann. i. 28. *Τῆς δὲ ἐν σελήνης ἐκλείψεως ἀπημυλίνθησαν.* Dion, lviii. 1. This was toward the winter, for

ad eam militum curas praestatura hrens. Tac. Ann. i. 30. And in fact the eclipse took place on 27 September, A.D. 14, at 5 A.M. for the meridian of Paris (see Pingré's Tables).

1061. Death of Julia, the daughter of Augustus, soon after the accession of Tiberius. *Eodem anno Julia supremum diem obiit, ob impudicium olim* (N.C. 2, no. 962) *a patre Augusto Pandatoris insula, mox oppido Rhaginiorum qui Siculam fretum uerolunt, clausa,* etc. Tac. Ann. i. 53.

1062. About this time (the demise of Augustus) Phraates, king of Parthia, is put to death by his son Phraataces, who succeeds to the throne (see B.C. 37, no. 516); and shortly afterwards Phraataces himself is taken off, and the Parthians set up Orodes II., who himself is slain not long after. Josephus having related the death of Augustus and the Jewish affairs under Tiberius, proceeds: Τελεινὰ δὲ καὶ Φρατήρης ὁ Παρθυνίων βασιλεὺς κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ἐπιβουλῆς αὐτῷ γενομένης ἐπὶ Φραυτάκου τοῦ νέως . . . Στάσει περιελυσθεὶς (Phraataces) πρότερον ἢ φῶναι μέγας ἐξέλιπε τὸν πραγμάτων καὶ οὕτω θνήσκει, συμφρονήσαντες δὲ οἱ γενναῖοιταὶ Πάρθων . . . Ὀρώδεον ἐκάλουν πρεσβεύσαντες . . . Τοῦτον μὲν δὲ (Orodes) συστάτες ἀποκτείνουσιν . . . Πρεσβεύσαντες δὲ εἰς Ῥώμην ἤρουντο βασιλεῖα τῶν ἀμνησθέντων, καὶ πέμπεται Βοδώνης προκρεβίς τῶν ἀδελφῶν. Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 4. It is evident that Phraataces was not long king, for he had not time to get a firm footing; and besides, he was succeeded by Orodes II., and then by Vonones (see A.D. 15, no. 1075); and the latter, after taking possession of the throne, was expelled from it in A.D. 16 (see A.D. 16, no. 1077).

1062 a. Coins of Tiberius.

Ti. Caesar Divi Aug. F. Augustus + Imp. vii. Tr. Pot. xvi.

Ti. Caesar Divi Aug. F. Augustus Imp. vii. + Clementiae S. C. or Moderationi S. C. Eckhel, vi. 180.

Coins of Antioch.

Head of Jupiter + Ἀντισίων ἐπὶ Σίλανον ΔΜ. I. e. in the forty-fourth year, and therefore struck between 2 Sept. A.D. 13, and 2 Sept. A.D. 14.

Κοίσην Σεβαστῆς Σεβαστοὶ + Ἐπὶ Σίλανου Ἀντισίων. ΔΜ. (same date). Id. iii. 276.

Coin of Judaea.

Τεθ. Κασσαο. + Ιουδαία L. A. and therefore struck in the first year of his reign.

Ιουδαία + L. A. (same date). Eckhel, iii. 498.

Coin of Alexandria.

Head of Augustus + L. M. I. e. in the forty-third year from the conquest of Egypt by Augustus, as dated from 1 Thoth, N.C. 30, and therefore struck between 29 Aug. A.D. 13, and 29 Aug. A.D. 14. Id. iv. 45.

Inscriptions.

Imp. Caesar Divi F. Augustus Pontifex Maximus. Cos. xiii. Imp. xxi. Tribunic. Potest. xxxvii. P. P. (Arimini).

Murator. i. 223, 5; id. iv. 2003, 1.

(Cassari) August. . . (Imper. xxvii. . . Cl. Flavianio Gallo C. Rustico Ga. . . o. (Vindobonae). Id. i. 226, 8.

Imp. Caesar Divi Aug. F. Aug. Cos. ii. Trib. Pot. xvi. Imp. xii. Pont. Mar. M. ii. (at Santa Cara in Spain). Id. i. 443, 1.

First year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 2.

Pentecost, May 23.

Tabernacles, September 27.

A.D. 15. U.C. 768. Olymp. 198, 3.

DRUSUS CAESAR, I.
C. NORBANUS FLACCUS.

TIBERIUS II. FROM 19 AUG. TRIB. POT. XVII. FROM 27 JUNE. COS. II. IMP. VII.

Nineteenth year of the reign of Herod Antipas and Herod Philip.

1063. Tiberius became Pontifex Maximus on 10 March of this year. vi. (Id. Mart.) *serie ex S. C. q. . . Ti. Caesar Pontifex Max. fac. est Druso et Norbano. Fasti Verriani. vi. Idus Martias. Quia hac Ti. Caesar Pont. Mar. felicissime creatus est. Lapis apud Gruterum, 228, 8.*

1064. Germanicus, in the opening of spring, makes a successful campaign against the Catti, *Druso Caesare C. Norbano Coss. decernitur Germanico triumphus, manente bello, quod, quantum in salutem summam ope parabat, initio veris et repentino in Cettos exereu procepi,* Tac. Ann. i. 55; and against the Cherusci and other nations who were under the

leadership of Arminius, Tac. Ann. i. 60; and buries the bones of Varus's legions the sixth year after the defeat, which was in A.D. 9 (see no. 1031). *Igitur Romanus qui alevat exercitus, sextum post cladis annum, trium legionum ossa . . . condebant.* Tac. Ann. i. 62. Arminius and his army are defeated. Tac. Ann. i. 68. See Dion, lvii. 18, where the honours paid to the remains of Varus's legions are placed in A.D. 17, but this part of Dion is mutilated and corrupt.

1065. Tiberius restores the Laws of Treason in all their vigour. *Legem majestatis reduxit.* Tac. Ann. i. 72 (see A.D. 14, no. 1059; A.D. 41, no. 1618).

1066. Achaia and Macedonia, complaining of their burdens as the senate's or people's provinces under proconsuls, are transferred to the emperor and governed by propraetors. *Achaiam et Macedoniam, onera deprecantes, leviori in praesens proconsulari imperio, tradique Censori placuit.* Tac. Ann. i. 76 (see B.C. 27, no. 606; A.D. 44, no. 1682).

1067. The proconsul of Crete dies, and his quaestor and legate take the command. *Ἐπι μὲν Δρόνου τοῦ νέου αὐτοῦ Γαίου τε Νορβάνου ὑπάτων . . . ἡ Κρήνη, τοῦ ἀρχαντος αὐτῆς ἀποθανόντος, τῷ τε Ταυμιά κὶ τῷ Παρέτρῳ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον προεστράφη.* Dion, lvii. 14. Whence it appears as elsewhere (see A.D. 6, no. 1009; A.D. 22, no. 1110), that the senate's or people's provinces were governed by a proconsul and one quaestor and one legate.

1068. Granus Marcellus is at this time prefect of Bithynia, and is indicted for treason. *Granium Marcellum, praetorem Bithyniae, quaestor ipsius, Cripio Crispianus, majestatis postulavit.* Tac. Ann. i. 74. The province of Bithynia comprised Bithynia proper, Paphlagonia, Propontis, and the part of Pontus from Heraclea to Amisus. See Noris. Cenot. Pis. i. 290.

1069. All prefects of provinces are ordered for the future to quit Rome for their respective provinces before 1 June. *Ἐπειδὴ τε ἀνχίοι τῶν τὰ ἔθνη κληρουμένων ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἔν τε τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ λοιπῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐνέστησαν . . . ἐκελευσε σφίσις ἕως τῆς τοῦ Ἰουνίου νομηνίας ἀφορμῶσθαι.* Dion, lvii. 14 (see A.D. 42, no. 1637; A.D. 43, no. 1655).

1070. Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, is summoned to Rome in the 50th year of his reign. He had been appointed king in B.C. 36.

Rex Archelous quinquagesimum annum (see B.C. 36, no. 551) *Cappadociā potiebatur, invias Tiberio, quod cum Rhodi agentem nullo officio cohuisset . . . Ut* (Tiberius) *versū Caesarem nolote, imperium adeptus est, elicit Archelium matris literis . . . Ille . . . in urbem properat, exceptusque inuanti a principe et mox accusatus in Senatu.* Tac. Ann. ii. 42. *Τὸν δὲ δὴ Ἀρχέλουον τὸν τῆς Καππαδοκίας βασιλεῖα δι' ὀργῆς σχών, . . . μετεπέμψατο ὡς καὶ νεωτερίζοντά τι καὶ τῇ τῆς γεροντίας ψήφῳ παρέδωκεν . . . Τότε μὲν οὕτως ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ἐώσθη, ἄλλως δ' οὐ πολλὰ ἔσπερον ἀπέθαινε.* Dion, lvii. 17 (see B.C. 36, no. 551; A.D. 17, no. 1087).

1071. The propraetor of Cilicia is assassinated at the same time on the plea of having conspired with Archelaus. *Ἀπέκτεταν τὸν ὑποστῆν ἐκείνου ὡς ἐὼν Ἀρχέλαφ τῷ Κιλικιαντικῆς βασιλεῖ νεώτερον ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους πρίντοντα.* Philost. V. A. i. 12 (see B.C. 22, no. 712; A.D. 57, no. 1832).

1072. Apollonius Tyaneus is now at Λέγας, and is between sixteen and twenty, for before this he is said to be sixteen. *Προελθὼν δὲ ἐς ἔτος ἑκονταετίαντος, ὤρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Πυθαγόρου βίον,* Philost. V. A. i. 7; and after this he is called twenty. *Ὁ δ' αὖ εἴκοσις ἐγγράνευ.* Id. i. 13.

1073. Valerius Gratus is sent this year to succeed Annus Rufus as procurator of Judaea. *Διείχετο δὲ τῷ Καίσαρι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Τιβέριος Νέρων . . . καὶ πεμπτός ἐπ' αὐτὸν παρὴν Ἰουδαίῳ ἑπαρχῷ, ἐκείνῳ ἐν τῷ Ῥούβρι, Οὐαλέριος Γράτος.* Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 2. Coponius, M. Ambivius, and Annus Rufus filled up the interval from A.D. 6 until the reign of Tiberius; and, allowing three years to each (see A.D. 9, no. 1033), their respective periods of office would expire in A.D. 9, A.D. 12, and A.D. 15; and that Annus Rufus was superseded this year by Valerius Gratus may thus be shown. Pilate was removed in A.D. 36 (see that year, no. 1493), and had held office for ten years; and, therefore, had been appointed in A.D. 26; καὶ Πλάτος, ἐκεῖ ἐτεον διαπίψας ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίῳ, εἰς Ῥώμην ἡγεύετο, ταῖς Οὐτέλλῳ πειθόμενος ἐνδοκτεῖ, οὐκ ὦν ὑπεταπεινὸν πρὶν δὲ ἢ τῇ Ῥώμῃ προσχεῖν αὐτὸν φθάνει Τιβέριον, μεταστὰς (16 March, A.D. 37), Ant. xviii. 4, 2; and Gratus, his predecessor, was in office for eleven years, καὶ Γράτος μὲν ταῦτα πράξας εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπαναχωρεῖ, ἐνδεκα ἔτη διαπίψας ἐν Ἰουδαίῳ, Ant. xviii. 2, 2; Gratus, therefore, had succeeded

Annus Rufus in A.D. 15 (see A.D. 12, no. 1047; A.D. 26, no. 1160).

1074. Gratus removes Annas from the high-priesthood and appoints Ishmael, and not long after disposes him and appoints Eleazar. Πῦσας ἱερᾶσθαι Ἀνάου, Ἰσμάηλον Ἀρχιερέα ἀποφαίνει, τὸν τοῦ Φαριζ' καὶ τοῦτον δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ μιτυσθῆσας, Ἐλεάζουρον, τὸν Ἀνάου τοῦ Ἀρχιερέως υἱῶν, ἀποδέκνυσεν Ἀρχιερέα. Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 2 (see A.D. 7, no. 1022; A.D. 16, no. 1085).

1075. Vonones, son of Phraates, and who had been sent as a hostage to Rome (see B.C. 10, no. 810), arrives from Rome in Parthia as successor to Orodes. *Post fluxum Phraatis et sequentium regum (Phraates et Orodes), ob internas caedes venire in urbem legati a principibus Parthis, qui Vononem, reventissimum liberorum ejus, accirent. Magnificum il sibi credidit Caesar, aurisque opibus; et accipere barbari lotantes, ut ferre ad imperia nova. . . Ubi illam gloriam trucidantium Crassum, exturbantium Antonium, si maucipium Caesaris tot per annos servitutum perpassum Parthis imperitet?* Tac. Ann. ii. 2. Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 4 (see A.D. 14, no. 1062; A.D. 16, no. 1077).

1076. Birth of Vitellius, afterwards emperor, on 24 September. *Aulus Vitellius, L. filius, Imperator, natus est octavo Kalendas Octobris vel, ut quidam, septimo Idus Septembris, Druso Cæsare Norbano Flacco cos. Suet. Vit. 3.*

1076 a. Coins of Tiberius.

Ti. Caesar Divi Aug. F. Augustus + Imp. vii. Tr. Pot. xvi.
Ti. Caesar Divi Aug. P. Augustus + Pontif. Maxim.
Ti. Divi F. Augustus + Tr. Pot. xvii.
Ti. Caesar Divi Aug. F. August. Imp. vii. + Pontif. Maxim. Tribun. Potest. xvii. S. C. Eckhel, vi. 187.

Coin of Antioch.

Κοινον Σεβαστου Σεβαστου + Επὶ Σελανου Αντιοχειου
RM. i. e. in the forty-fifth year, and therefore struck between 2 Sept. A.D. 14, and 2 Sept. A.D. 15. Id. iii. 276.

Coin of Judaea.

Ιουδια + Ι. Β. i. e. in the second year of the reign of Tiberius, and struck in honour of his mother Julia, or Livia. Id. iii. 497.

Inscription.

Ἀρχων καὶ ἱμενος (Δροουσὸν Ὑπατον) Ξεῖνον
Μετ' αὐτὸν Φαεινός
Βασιλεὺς Πραάτης, Ἀρσασαδωρὸς Σαήτης,
Πολιάρχου ε' Ἀλκίτην Ἀλκίτου Περσέως.
Θάνατος ἐστὶν Ἀκρίων Σάπτιος Κη, ἱμενος
Φιλώτας Θεοφάνου γ' (εἰ) Μοριούτης
Διμητρίου Κινου Κούδ' ἡραεινός
Σάπτιος Δευκίου Διραδίου
Αἰθριούρου Βιργιανὸς Φριαρριός
Αἰλίκανδρος Ἀλεξανδρου Θρησιος
Κηρὸς τῆς ἐξ Ἀκσιόπαγου Βουλγῆς
Ακσιούτης Ακσιούτου Μελίτης
Κηρὸς Ἀρχοντι Σαούρων Βαρμά
Αἰλητῆς τῆς ἀπὸς Ἀσκληπιάδου Αἰφροκίης
Ακσιόργος Ἐστίας Δωνισίου Μελήνης (at
Athens). Muratori, i. 800, 2.

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 2^d.

Pentecost, May 12.

Tabernacles, September 16.

A.D. 16. U.C. 769. Olymp. 198, 2.

L. STATILIUS SISALINA TACRUS.

SEPTIMONIUS LIBO. Quem excep. ex Kal. Jul. Julius Pompejus Gracilius.

TIBERII III. FROM 19 AUG. TRIB. POT. XVII.
FROM 27 JUNE. COS. II. PONT. MAX. IMP. VII.

Twentieth year of the reign of Herod Antipas and Herod Philip.

1077. Disturbances arise in the East in this consulship, and the Parthians, dissatisfied with Vonones, send for Artabanus, king of Media, who at first is vanquished by, and then vanquishes, Vonones, and establishes himself in the kingdom. *Sisennus Statilio Tauro L. Libone cos. nota Orientis regni provincieque Romanæ initio apud Parthos orto, qui peditum acceptumque regem, quamvis gentis Arsacidarum, ut exterrum, aspernabantur. Is fuit Vonones, obses Augusti datus a Phraate. . . Igitur Artabanus Arsacidarum e sanguine apud Dulcis aditus, crectur, primoque congressu fuit, reparat vires regnoque patitur.* Tac. Ann. ii. 1-3. Παράχρημα δὲ (οἱ Πάρθοι) ἐβάλον Ἀρτάβανον, Μηδείας βασιλεύοντα, γένος Ἀρσασιδῶν· πείθεται δὲ Ἀρτάβανος, καὶ μετὰ στρατιάς ἔπεισεν· ὑπαντάξει δὲ αὐτὸν Βουάνης, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον . . . παραταξάμενος ἡττηθείς φεύγει πρὸς τοὺς ὕδους τῆς Μηδείας Ἀρτάβανος, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ συναγαγὼν πολλὴν στρατιὰν συμβίβληται Βουάνῃ.

καὶ νικᾷ . . . κἀκείνους μὲν (Artabanus) ἐβασίλευεν ἤδη Πάρθους. Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 4 (see A.D. 15, no. 1075; A.D. 42, no. 1648).

1078. Vonones, being ejected from Parthia, takes possession of Armenia, then vacant by the expulsion of Erato, who had succeeded Ariobarzanes (see A.D. 2, no. 984; A.D. 18, no. 1102); but on the Parthians threatening an invasion, Vonones repairs to Creticus Silanus, then prefect of Syria, and lives there under surveillance. *Victo Vononi per fugium Armenia fuit, vacua tunc . . . Ariobarzane morte fortuita absumpso, stirpem ejus haud tolerare, tentatogue fœmina imperio cui nomen Erato . . . profugum Vononem in regnum accipiunt; sed ubi mimitari Ariabanus . . . rector Syria Creticus Silanus exitum custodiâ circumdat, manente luxu et regio nomine.* Tac. Ann. ii. 3. Βορώνης δὲ εἰς Ἀρμενίαν διατρέπει, καὶ καταρχὴ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς χώρας, ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ Γιβέριος μὲν ἀπέπει, πρὸς τὴν ἀνατρεῖαν καὶ τοῦ Πάρθων τὰς ἀπειλὰς . . . παραδίδωσιν αὐτὸν Σιλανῷ, τῷ τῆς Συρίας στρατηγῷ, κἀκεῖνους μὲν . . . ἐν Συρίᾳ παραφυλάττετο. Τὴν δὲ Ἀρμενίαν Ὀρώτρῃ δίδωσιν Ἀρτάβανος, ἐνὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παίδων. Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 4. As Creticus Silanus was displaced for Cneus Piso, in A.D. 17, these occurrences must have taken place about A.D. 16.

1079. Germanicus is now making his third campaign in Germany. *Tertium jam annum belligerenti.* Tac. Ann. ii. 5 (see A.D. 14, no. 1060). He gains a victory, in the summer, over Arminius and the Cherusci, Tac. Ann. ii. 17; and then places his troops in winter quarters. *Sed, æstate jam adultâ, legionum alia itinere terrestri in hibernacula dimissæ, plures Cæsar classi imposuit per flumen Amisiam Oceanum transire.* Tac. Ann. ii. 23. *Reductus inde in hiberna miles.* Tac. Ann. ii. 26.

1080. A decree is made at Rome for the expulsion of astrologers and sorcerers from Italy. *Facta et de mathematicis magisque Italiam pellendis Senatus consulta.* Tac. Ann. ii. 32. Dion, lvii. 15 (A.C. 34, no. 571; A.D. 19, no. 1123).

1081. A centurion, at Rome, is not allowed to give his evidence in the Senate in Greek, though the use of Greek there had been a common practice. *Ἐκπονητάρχου Ἑλληνιστὶ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ μαρτυρῆσαι τὴν ἐθελήσαντος, οὐκ ἡτέσχετο (Tiberius), καίπερ πολλὰς μὲν ἑκάς ἐν τῇ διαλέκτῳ ταύτῃ, καὶ ἐκὲν λεγομένης, ἀκούων, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπερωτῶν.* Dion, lvii. 15.

1082. The quaestors of this year not being

numerous enough to supply proquaestors for the provinces, the quaestors of the preceding year are taken for the purpose. *Ἐκ τῶν πένονσι τεταμεικτόων ἐς τὰ ἔθνη τινὲς ἐξεπέρφησαν, ἐπειδὴ περ οἱ τότε ταμεικότες ἑλάττωες αὐτῶν ἦσαν.* Dion, lvii. 16. This shows how the quaestors for the provinces were usually supplied.

1083. A pseudo-Agrippa, claiming to be the son of Julia and M. Agrippa, appears in Gaul. Dion, lvii. 16. Tac. Ann. ii. 40. Suet. Tib. 33 (see A.D. 14, no. 1055).

1084. Rise of the power of Sejanus, son of Seius Strabo, prefect of the praetorian guard (see A.D. 31, no. 1353).

1085. Gratus, procurator of Judea, displaces Elcazar, and appoints Simon, son of Camithus, high-priest. *Ἐναντιῷ δὲ διαγινόμενον καὶ τόν τε (Elcazar) παύσας, Σίμωνι τῷ Καμίθου τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην παραδίδωσιν.* Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 2 (see A.D. 15, no. 1074; A.D. 17, no. 1096).

1085a. Coin of Tiberius.

Pontif. Maxim. Tribun. Potest. aviti. S. C.
Eckhel, vi. 180.

Coin of Judea.

Ιουδία + L.F. I. e. In the third year of Tiberius, and struck in honour of his mother Julia, or Livia. Id. iii. 497.

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 10.

Pentecost, May 31.

Tabernacles, October 5.

A.D. 17. U.C. 770. Olymp. 199, 1.

C. CASSIUS BLES.

L. POMPEIUS FLACCUS.

TIBERII IV. FROM 19 AUG. TRIB. POT. XIX.
FROM 27 JUNE. COS. II. COS. DESIG. III.
PONT. MAX. IMP. VII.

Twenty-first year of Herod Antipas and Herod Philip.

1086. Triumph of Germanicus, on 26 May. *C. Cassilio L. Pomponio cons. Germanicus Cæsar a.d. vii. Kal. Jun. triumphavit de Cherusciis, Cattisque, et Angrviriis, quæque alie nationes usque ad Albin colunt.* Tac. Ann. ii. 41.

1087. The death of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, at Rome, when Cappadocia becomes a Roman province. *Rex Archelaus . . . siccum vilit, sponte an fido, implevit (his cons.).* Tac. Ann. ii. 42. Καὶ ὁ Καραδοκία τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων ἐγένετο, καὶ ἑπὶ ἐπικράτη. Dion, lvii.

17. Eutrop. vii. 11. Archelaus had been made king in B.C. 36 (see that year, no. 551) and was summoned to Rome in A.D. 15 (see that year, no. 1070).

1088. Antiochus III., king of Commagene (see B.C. 20, no. 728; A.D. 18, no. 1104), and Philopator, king of Cilicia Amaneniensis, or the parts about Mount Amanus (see B.C. 20, no. 727; A.D. 41, no. 1023), die about the same time with Archelaus. *Per idem tempus Antiocho Commagenorum, Philopatore Cilicum, regibus defunctis, turbabuntur nationes, plerisque Romanum, aliis regium imperium cupientibus* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. ii. 42. Ἐρεβέρπτον τε καὶ ὁ τῆς Κομμαγηνῆς βασιλεὺς Ἀντιόχος. Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 5. This is related by Josephus after the flight of Venones from Parthia, A.D. 16 (see no. 1078), and just before the appointment of Germanicus to the East, late in A.D. 17 (see post, no. 1089). At what time Antiochus became king of Commagene does not appear, for in B.C. 20 (see that year, no. 728) Mithridates, a minor, was nominated to the kingdom. As to Philopator, on the death of Tarecondimotus I., just before the battle of Actium his son Philopator assumed the crown; but Augustus deposed him (see B.C. 31, no. 618), and afterwards appointed Tarecondimotus II., another son of Tarecondimotus I., to be king of Cilicia Amaneniensis, except a portion of the seacoast, which was made over to Archelaus, king of Cappadocia (see B.C. 20, no. 727). It was perhaps on the death of Tarecondimotus II. that this Philopator (either the brother, who may have made his peace with the Emperor, or a son of Tarecondimotus II.) was appointed to succeed (see A.D. 41, no. 1023).

1089. After the triumph of Germanicus, and therefore after 26 May, and probably late in the year, Tiberius proposes to the Senate, and it is decreed, that the provinces of the East be committed to Germanicus. *Decreto patrum permissa Germanico provincie quæ mari dividuntur, majusque imperium, quoquo cûisset, quæ his, qui sorte aut missu principis obtinerent* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. ii. 43. καὶ ψηφίζεται ἡ Συγκλητὸς Γερμανικὸν πῦμπεν διαβάσασθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολήν. Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 5.

1090. Before this, Tiberius had already appointed Cn. Piso prefect of Syria, in the place of Creticus Silanus. *Sed Tiberius demoverat Syriâ Creticum Silanum*. Tac. Ann. ii. 43; and

see Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 5; Dion. lvi. 18; Suet. Tib. 52; Calig. 2 (see A.D. 12, no. 1046; A.D. 19, no. 1113). And it was not long before, for Piso thought his own appointment was connected with that of Germanicus. *Nec dubium habebat se delectum, qui Syriæ imponeretur, ad spes Germanici coercendus*. Tac. Ann. ii. 43. Neither Piso nor Germanicus reached the East until early in the following year.

1091. Vipsanius Gallus, the prætor, dies, and during the election of a new prætor Germanicus and Drusus are both at Rome. *Germanicus atque Drusus (nam etiam tunc Rome erant) Iulium Agrippam, propinquum Germanici, forebant*. Tac. Ann. ii. 51.

1092. Not long after the appointment of Germanicus to the East, Drusus proceeds to Illyricum. *Nec multo post* (the appointment of Germanicus) *Drusus in Illyricum missus est*. Tac. Ann. ii. 44. And at the close of the year, Germanicus was with Drusus in Illyricum (see A.D. 18, no. 1099).

1093. Twelve, or according to some thirteen, cities of Asia are overthrown by an earthquake. *Eodem anno* (A.D. 17) *duodecim celebres Asiæ urbes eodipase nocturno motu terræ*. Tac. Ann. ii. 47. *Terræ motu tredecim urbes corruerunt, Ephesus, Magnesiæ, Sardes, Moshene, Ægeæ, Hierocæsarea, Philadelphus, Tmolus, Tomarus, Myrhina, Apollonia Dia, Hyrunia*. Euseb. Chron. Eusebius records the event under the year from Abraham 2032, ending October, A.D. 17, before which time therefore the catastrophe must have occurred. Cyme is here omitted by mistake, but is found in Syn-cellus, and is also mentioned in Tacitus Ann. ii. 47. See Pliny N. H. ii. 86; Senec. Nat. Quæst. vi. 1. Ephesus, the thirteenth and disputed city, suffered perhaps very slightly. Strabo (xii. and xiii.) alludes to this earthquake as having then recently (*νῦν*) occurred.

1094. M. Aletius, a prætor, is appointed to and charged with the relief of the cities which had suffered by the earthquake. Tac. Ann. ii. 47. Dion. lvi. 17.

1095. The law of treason is still further strained. *Adolescebat interea Lex Majestatis*. Tac. Ann. ii. 50.

1096. Gratus displaces Simon from the pontificate, and appoints Joseph, otherwise Caiaphas. *Ὁ δὲ πλῆον καὶ τῷδε* (Simon) *ἐπιστοῦ τὴν τμητὴν ἐχούτι διεγένετο χρόνος, καὶ ἰώσηπος, ὁ καὶ Καίφας, ἐπαύχος ἦν αὐτοῦ*. Jos.

Ant. xviii. 2, 2 (see A.D. 16, no. 1085; A.D. 37, no. 1496).

1097. Asinaus and Anilaus, two Jewish brethren, taking advantage of the dissensions amongst the Parthians, set up for themselves in Babylonia about this time. In A.D. 18 they were so strong that Artabanus was obliged to come to terms with them. Jos. Ant. xviii. 9, 1 (see A.D. 18, no. 1105).

1097 a. Coin of Tiberius.

Pontif. Maxim. Trib. Pot. xviii. Cos. Des. S. C.
Eckhel, vi. 180.

Coin of Antioch.

Καίσαρ Σεβαστος Σεβαστου & ΕΙΛΑΘΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΣ.
ZM. i. c. in the forty-seventh year, and therefore struck some time between 2 Sept. A.D. 16, and 2 Sept. A.D. 17. Id. iii. 270.

Coin of Seleucia.

ΕΠΙ ΕΙΛΑΘΟΥ, ZM. (same date). Id. iii. 325.

Inscriptions.

Ti. Cæs. Divi Aug. F. Augustus Pont. Max. Imp. Trib. Potest. xviii. Cos. Desig. Tert.
(Nono in Dalmatiâ).

Muratorî, i. 223, 3.

J. O. et Mercurio Nestuci ab redditum M. Clevii Lucati, M. Vibius, M. Lili. Geminus iic. Tod. P. C. Cecilio L. Pomponio Flacco Cos.
(Sancti Blasii in Lucania).

Id. i. 301, 1.

Ti. Claudius Drusi F. Cæs. Aug. Germ. Trib. Pot. ii. (lege xiv.) Cos. Desig. iii. Imp. iii. (lege vii.) P. P. Dedit ob memoriam Patris sui Dæ, vii. Collegi. Fabrum xxi. ii-a. Clo N. Liberalitate donavit sub hac emulione ut quotannis rosas ad monumentum ejus deferant et ibi epulenter dinstaret in v. Idus Julias, quod si neglexerint tunc ad viii. ejusdem collegii pertinere debet condicione supra dicta.
(Ravennæ.) Gruter, 237, 5.

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 30.

Pentecost, May 20.

Tabernacles, September 24.

A.D. 18. U.C. 771. Olymp. 199, 2.

Tib. Claud. Nero Cæsar Augustus fil. Quem excep. L. Sejus Tiberio.

Germanicus Cæsar, fil. Quem excepit Rabellius Blaesus.

TIBERIUS FROM 19 AUG. TRIB. POT. XX. FROM 27 JUNE. COS. III. PONT. MAX. IMP. VII.

Twenty-second year of the reign of Herod Antipas and Herod Philip.

1098. Tiberius continued in the consulship for a few days only. *Nec amplius quam omnino tres consulatus (viz. after his accession to the empire), unum (A.D. 18) paucis diebus, alterum (A.D. 21) tribus mensibus, tertium (A.D. 31) absens usque in Idus Maius gessit.* Suet. Tib. 26.

1099. On 1 January of this year Germanicus is at Nicopolis, at Actium, having just arrived there from Illyricum on his way to the East. *Eum honorem (the consulship) Germanicus inijt apud urbem Achaie Nicopolin, quo venerat per Illyricam oram, viso fratre Druso in Dalmatiâ agente, Hadriliaci ac mox Ionii maris adveccam navigationem perpressus.* Tac. Ann. ii. 53. Thence he proceeds successively to Athens, which he treats as a free city, Eubœa, Lesbos, Perinthus, Byzantium, and the Black Sea, and on his return to the south visits Ilium, Colophon, and Rhodes. *Hinc (from Actium) ventum Athenas, foederique sociâ et venata urbis dictum, ut suo lictore uteretur . . . Pelidâ inde Eubœâ transijt Lesbum . . . Tum extrema Asia Perinthumque ac Byzantium, Thracias urbes, mox Propontidis angustias et Os Ponticum intrat . . . Ad Ilio . . . relegit Asiam appellitque Colophonâ . . . apud insulam Rhodum.* Tac. Ann. ii. 53-55.

1100. Cnæus Piso passes through Athens on his way to Syria after Germanicus had left it, and then, sailing across amongst the Cyclades, overtakes Germanicus at Rhodes. *At Cn. Piso . . . civitatem Athenensium . . . oratione sævâ increpat, oblique Germanicum obstringens . . . Erin navigatione celerî per Cycladas et conpeditu maris, adsequitur Germanicum apud insulam Rhodum.* Tac. Ann. ii. 55.

1101. Piso hastens from Rhodes to Syria. *Piso . . . inquit Germanicum prævenitque.* Tac. Ann. ii. 55.

1102. Germanicus proceeds to Armenia, and appoints Zeno, son of Polemo, king by the

name of Artaxias. *Perverti ad Armenios insantior evit fuit* . . . *Favor nationis inclinabat in Zenonem, Ptolemonis regis Pontici filium* . . . *Igitur Germanicum in urbe Artaxata, adprobantibus nobilibus, circumfusa multitudine, insigne regum capiti ejus imponit. Ceteri venerantes regem Artorium consulavere, quod illi vocabulum indiderant ex nomine urbis.* Tac. ii. 56. Strabo refers to this event. 'Ο Ζή (Zeno) νῦν στί καθίσταται τῆς Μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας βασιλεὺς. Strabo, xii. 8. And he therefore wrote the twelfth book after this date (see A.D. 16, no. 1078; A.D. 34, no. 1461).

1103. Cappadocia is settled as a province, and Q. Veranius is appointed legate. *At Cuppadoces in foveam provincie redacti Quint. Veranium legatum accepere.* Tac. Ann. ii. 56 (see A.D. 17, no. 1087; A.D. 51, no. 1758). Cilicia Aspera, which had belonged to Archelans (see B.C. 25, no. 675), is now probably incorporated with the Roman province of Cilicia, i. e. Cilicia Campestris, which had been annexed previously to Syria, and had a proprietor of its own (see B.C. 51, no. 191). In A.D. 37 Cilicia Aspera was annexed to the kingdom of Commagene (see B.C. 25, no. 677; A.D. 37, no. 1805).

1104. Commagene also is made a Roman province, and Q. Servus is appointed proprietor. *Commagenis Q. Servus preponitur, tum prius ad jus pratoris translatus.* Tac. Ann. ii. 56. It remained a Roman province until A.D. 37 (see A.D. 17, no. 1088; A.D. 37, no. 1505).

1105. Artabanes, king of Parthia (see A.D. 16, no. 1078), conciliates Asineus and Anchus (see A.D. 17, no. 1097), and appoints the former satrap of Babylonia. *Μαρκιατάβην ἐξ σοὶ (Asineus) δίδωμι (Artabanes loquitur) τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν γῆν. . . Πάντα τε ἤδη τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας πρὸς αὐτοῖς (Asineus) ἡμῶ πρόγματι, προέκπετρε αὐτῷ ἡ ἐνδομῶνία ἐπὶ ἑτη πεντεκαίδεκα.* Jos. Ant. xviii. 9, 4. The accuracy of the present date depends upon the time when the fifteen years expired (see A.D. 33, no. 1457).

1105 a. Coins of Tiberius.

Ti. Divi F. Augustus + Tr. Pot. xx.

Ti. Caesar Divi Aug. F. Augustus Imp. vii. + Pontif. Maxim. Tribuna. Potest. xx.

Eckhel, vi. 189.

Inscriptions.

Παλιὰ ὑπογεγραμμένη καὶ σφραγισμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος τῶν Ὁμαρὶων Διογῆς (Corymbus). Muratori, i. 224, 3.

Germanico Cesari Ti. F. Aug. Pontif. Q. Cos. ii. D. D. (Deixia). Gruter, 236, 2.

... erminio

... avari

... Augusti F.

... in Augusti N.

... in Julii Pron.

... ugi Flam. Aug.

... Cos. ii. Imp. ii. (Romae).

Id. 236, 4.

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 19.

Pentecost, May 9.

Tabernacles, September 13.

A.D. 19. U.C. 772. Olymp. 199, 3.

M. JUNIUS STANUS.

L. NORKANUS BALBUS. P. Petronius consul suff.

TIBERIUS VI. FROM 19 AUG. TIBERIUS. POT. XXI. FROM 27 JUNE. COS. III. PONT. MAX. IMP. VII.

Twenty-third year of the reign of Herod Antipas and Herod Philip.

1106. The Laws of Treason are rigorously enforced at Rome. *Τὴν δέσποιναν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἡρᾶς, καὶ τοῦ τῆς Ἀσπιδίας δίκαιος, εἰ τις οὐκ ὄσον ἐς τὸν Αἰγυπτίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκείνους, τὴν τε μητέρα αὐτοῦ, πράξας τὴν καὶ αὐτὸν ἀνεπαύειν, ἐπεκλήθη. δεινὸς ἐπέζη.* Dion, lvi. 19 (see A.D. 15, no. 1065; A.D. 33, no. 1417).

1107. Germanicus visits Egypt in this consulship, *M. Silano L. Norbano cons. Germanicus Aegyptum proficiscitur.* Tac. Ann. ii. 59; and is at Alexandria. *Tiberius . . . acerrime increpuit, quod contra instituta Augusti, non sponte Principis, Alexandriam introisset.* Tac. Ann. ii. 59. He proceeds up the Canopic mouth of the Nile to Thebes and Syene. *Germanicus . . . Nilō subvehabatur, oras oppido a Canopo . . . Morvixit veterum Thebarum magna vestigia.* Tac. Ann. ii. 60, 61.

1108. The same summer that Germanicus is in Egypt Drusus is winning laurels in Germany. *Dum ea actus Germanico plures*

per provincias transigitur, haud leve decus Drusus quaesivit, inducens Germanos ad discordias, etc Tac Ann ii 62 Drusus appoints Vannius king of the Quadi *Dato rege Vannio gentis Quadorum* Tac Ann ii 63 Vannius reigned upwards of thirty years (see A.D. 50, no 1743)

1109 Vonones attempts to escape from Cilicia, and is slain. Tac Ann ii 68. Suet Tib 49 (see A.D. 16, no 1078)

1110. Germanicus returns from Egypt, and quarrels with Piso, who resolves on leaving the province, but Germanicus falls ill, and Piso waits to see the issue *At Germanicus Aegypto remeans, etc* *Dein Piso acrie statuit moa adversâ Germani valetudine detentus* Tac Ann ii 69

1111. Germanicus recovers for a time, and Piso is about to embark at Seleucia, when Germanicus again falls ill Germanicus orders Piso from the province, and Piso sets sail *Tum (Piso) Seleuciam digneditur, opperens agilitudinem quâ rursus Germanico acciderat*. *Addunt plerique jussum (Pisonem) provincâ decedere* *Nec Piso moratus ultra navis solvit* Tac Ann ii 69, 70

1112. Germanicus dies at Epidaphne, near Antioch, and is thought to have been poisoned by the machinations of Piso Tac Ann ii 72 Dion, lvi 18 Suet Tib 52, Calig 2, 3 Jos Ant xviii 2, 5 The day of the death was 9 October *vu Id Infer Germanic* Old Calendar, Muratori, i. 804

1113 The legates and chief men of Syria choose Cn Sentius prefect of the province *Inter Vibam Marsum et Cn Sentium du quaesitum* *Dein Marsus seniori et acrius tententi Sentio concessit* Tac Ann ii 74 (see A.D. 17, no 1090, A.D. 20, no 1128)

1114. The news of Germanicus's death reaches Piso at Cos *Pisonem interea apud Coss insulam nuntius adsequitur excessisse Germanicum* Tac Ann ii 75. Piso, with the view of repossessing himself of Syria, sends Domitius Celer forward to Syria, and opens a communication with the chiefs of Cilicia for their armed assistance *Domitium pergere in Syriam jubet* *Regulis Ciliicum, ut se auxilium jurent, scribit* Tac Ann ii 78

1115. Domitius lands at Laodicea, where the sixth legion is now in winter quarters, but has no success *Domitrus Laodiceum, ubi bem Syriae,*

adpulsus, cum lubeina sexta legionis peteret a Pacuvio legato praevenitur Tac Ann ii 79

1116. Agrippina, with the ashes of Germanicus, her husband, on her way to Rome, and Piso, on his return from Cos to Syria, pass each other off the coast of Lycia and Pamphylia Tac Ann ii 79. Agrippina continues her voyage during the winter, and reaches Corcyra and then Brundisum. Tac Ann ii 1

1117 Piso fortifies himself in the castle of Celenderis, but is attacked by Sentius, and is obliged to surrender, and is sent to Rome Tac Ann ii 80, et seq

1118. It may have been from these commotions in Cilicia that the family of Saul (afterwards St Paul) quitted Tarsus and took up their abode at Jerusalem, and placed Saul under the tuition of Gamaliel Saul was certainly brought up at Jerusalem, *ἀγαθθαυμέως δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ*, Acts, xxii 3, from his youth from the very first *ἡν μενούν βίωσιν μου τῇ ἐκ νεότητος τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γενομένην ἐν τῇ εἶναι μου ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμοις ἰσαί πάντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, προκινώσαντες με ἀνωθεν* Acts xxvi 4 The Jews at twelve years old were examined as to their proficiency before becoming disciples of the Law, and Saul, now about ten years old, may have been taken to Jerusalem to be placed under the tuition of Gamaliel for instruction in the Law preparatory to his examination (see A.D. 9, no 1035)

1119. The news of the death of Germanicus had already reached Rome, and mourning was observed during the festivals of December *Etiam per festos Decembris mensis dies* Suet Calig 6 The festivals of December were almost exclusively in the latter part of the month

1120. Rhescuporis, king of Northern Thrace, puts to death by artifice Cota, king of Southern Thrace (see A.D. 38, no 1598), and possesses himself of the whole kingdom Tac Ann ii. 64-66

1121. Tiberius appoints Pomponius Flaccus to the prefecture of Mœsia, the adjoining province to Thrace *Defuncto Pando* (prefect of Moesia), *quem sibi infensum Rhescuporis arguebat, Pomponium Flaccum veterem stipendius et arcuâ cum rege (Rhescupore) amicitia, eoque accommodatorem ad sustulendum, ob id maxime, Mœsiae prefecti* (his cos.) Tac Ann ii 66.

1122. Plautius gets Rhescuporis into his power and sends him to Rome, when Northern Thrace is given to Rhemetalees, son of Rhescuporis, and Southern Thrace to the children of Cotrys, under the regency of Trebellianus Rufus. Tac. Ann. ii. 67 (see A.D. 38, no. 1533).

1123. Jewish and Egyptian rites are prohibited at Rome; and four thousand of those who professed these rites are sent to Sardinia, and the rest are ordered out of Italy. *Actum et de sacris Aegyptiis Judaicisque pelleutis, factisque patrum consensum, ut quatuor millia libertini generis ea superstitione infecta, quæ idonea erat, in insulam Sardinianam veherentur coercendis illic atrocitatis, et si ob gravitatem calis interissent vile damnum; ceteri celerent Italiam nisi certam ante diem profanos ritus exuissent* (his cons.). Tac. Ann. ii. 85. Josephus refers the edict to the Jews only. Καὶ ὁ Τιβερίους . . . κελεύει πάν το Ἰουδαϊκὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπελαθῆναι· οἱ δὲ ὑπάτοι τετρακισχιλίου ἀιθώπων ἐξ αὐτῶν στρατολογήσαντες ἐπεμφαν εἰς Σαρδῶν τὴν νῆσον, πλείστον δὲ ἐκίλασαν μὴ θέλοντας στασιάζεσθαι ἐν φυλακῇ τῶν πατριῶν νόμων, καὶ οἱ μὲν . . . ἡλαύνοντο τῆς πόλεως. Jos. Ant. xviii. 3, 5 (see B.C. 21, no. 719).

1123 a. Coin of Judæa.

Iulia + Λ. S. I. e. in the sixth year of Tiberius, and struck in honour of his mother Julia, or Livia. Eckhel, iii. 497.

Inscription.

Ti. Caesar Divi Aug. F. Aug. Pontifex Max. Trib. Pot. xxi. Refecit et Restituit (Nemausi). Muratori, i. 443, 2.

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 7.

Pentecost, May 28.

Tabernacles, October 2.

A.D. 20. V.C. 773. Olymp. 199, 2.

M. VALER. MESSALA.

M. AUGEL. COTTA.

TURNER VII. FROM 19 AGO. TRIB. POT. XXII. FROM 27 JUNE. COS. III. COS. DESIG. IV. PONT. MAX. IMP. VII.

Twenty-fourth year of the reign of Herod Antipas and Herod Philip.

1124. Agrippina is met by Drusus at Terracina, and enters Rome with the ashes of Germa-

nicus (his cons.). Tac. Ann. iii. 2. This was before 4 April, for *Iulorum Megalensium* (which began 4 April) *spectaculum suberat*. Tac. Ann. iii. 6.

1125. Soon after Drusus returns to Illyricum. *Tum exuto iustitio reditum ad munia, et Drusus Illyricos ad exercitus profectus est*. Tac. Ann. iii. 7.

1126. Piso sends his son forward to Rome, and proceeds himself to Illyricum to try to appease Drusus, at *Pison, premisso in urbem filio, . . . ad Drusum pergit*, Tac. Ann. iii. 8; and then proceeds by way of Ancona to Rome. *Piso, Dulmatice mari transito, relicisque apud Anconam navibus, per Picenum ac mox Flaminianam viam, etc. Nare ac mox Tiberi devectus, auxil vulgi iras, quia navem tumultu Cæsarium adpulerat*. Tac. Ann. iii. 9.

Death of Piso by his own hand. Tac. Ann. iii. 15. Dion, lviii. 18.

1127. Under this year, Tacitus relates the trial of Lepida, the wife of P. Sulpicius Quirinus, or Cyranus. It began at the close of the year, for Drusus is spoken of as consul designatus, *exeruit etiam Drusum, consulem designatum, etc.*, Tac. Ann. iii. 22; but, the holidays intervening before the conclusion of the trial, it was adjourned to the first term in the following year, A.D. 21. *Lepida, Iulorum diebus quæ cognitionem interceperant, theatrum cum clavis fœminis ingressu, etc.* Tac. Ann. iii. 23. The condemnation must have been in A.D. 21, as Suetonius places it twenty years after the marriage of Quirinus, in A.D. 2. *Post vicessimum annum*. Suet. Tib. 49 (see A.D. 2, no. 983). The death of Quirinus himself followed soon after (see A.D. 21, no. 1031 a).

1128. Lucius Pomponius Flaccus, who had been consul A.D. 17, may perhaps have been appointed prefect of Syria about this time. Tac. Ann. vi. 27. Jos. Ant. xviii. 6, 2 (see A.D. 19, no. 1113; A.D. 33, no. 1456). The date of Flaccus's appointment is conjectural. Lucius Aelius Lania, who, in A.D. 32, was appointed *præfectus urbis*, Dion, lviii. 9, and died in A.D. 33, Tac. Ann. vi. 27, is described at the latter period as having been for a long time previously the nominal prefect of Syria. *Ex-tremo anni* (A.D. 33) *mors Aëlii Laniæ funere censorio celebrata, qui administrandæ Syriæ invigine tandem exsolutus, ubi præfuerat*. Tac. Ann. vi. 27. Arruntius was in detention at Rome in the same way from the province of

Spain for ten years. Tac. Ann. vi. 27, and see Suet. Tib. l. 63. But L. Ælius Lamma had not been appointed to Syria for the same length of time, for in A. D. 23 he was prefect of Africa. *Ælius Lamma et L. Apronius Africam obtinuerunt* Tac. Ann. iv. 13. The general rule of Augustus had been to continue prefects from three to six years, and while the procurators of Judæa exemplified the three years, the prefects of Syria commonly exemplified the six years. Cn. Piso had been deposed from the prefecture of Syria by Germanicus, in A. D. 19, and his successor would naturally arrive in A. D. 20. Supposing Flaccus to have been then sent and to hold office for six years, this would bring us to A. D. 26, and six years more for the prefecture of L. Ælius Lamma would bring us to A. D. 32, when Ælius Lamma was made prefect of the city. During these last six years, L. Ælius Lamma had been in name only the prefect of Syria, as Flaccus had not been recalled. Flaccus was, in A. D. 19, appointed to Mæsia, but this was on a special mission, for the purpose of reducing Rhescuporis, king of Thrace, who was in revolt, and as Flaccus was enabled in a short time to get Rhescuporis into his power and send him to Rome, he may very well have quitted Mæsia in A. D. 20, and have been rewarded for his services by the prefecture of Syria. Accordingly, in A. D. 21, when disturbances again broke out in Thrace, we find, not Pomponius Flaccus, but P. Velleius interfering. *Quæ nbi cognita P. Velleio (is proximum exercitum præsidebat), etc.* Tac. Ann. iii. 39, see iv. 5. Supposing Flaccus to have been appointed to Syria in A. D. 20, he held office, as he died in A. D. 33, for thirteen years, and thus long duration of government would agree with the statement of Suetonius that Tiberius, after his retreat to Caprææ, in A. D. 27, made no changes in the prefectures of provinces. *Regesque in insulari Republica quidem curam usque adeo abiecit ut postea non Provinciarum principes illos mutarent* Suet. Tib. 41. In A. D. 34 Pomponius Labeo was accused of maladministration in his province of Mæsia (Tac. Ann. vi. 29), and if so, his return from Mæsia was probably in the latter half of the preceding year, A. D. 33, but Labeo held office in Mæsia for eight years, Dion. lvi. 24, which would place his appointment in A. D. 25, and he was certainly in Mæsia at the beginning of A. D. 26. Tac. Ann. iv. 47. It is possible, therefore,

that, as Pomponius Flaccus was appointed in A. D. 19, his prefecture *may* have continued till A. D. 26, but this does not follow, as the interval between A. D. 20 (supposing Flaccus to have been then transferred to Syria) and A. D. 25 or 26 may have been occupied by P. Velleius or some prefect not named. It is much more likely that a prefect of Mæsia should have been passed over by history *sub silentio* than a prefect of Syria.

1128a Coins of Tiberius

Ti. Divi F. Augustus + Ti. Pot. a. vii.

Ti. Cesar Divi Augusti F. Augustus + Pont. Maximi Cos. iii. Imp. vii. Tr. Pot. a. vii. Eckhel, vi. 190

Inscription

Tib. Potest. a. vii. Cos. iii. Imp. vii. Id. vi. 191

Coin of Judæa

ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ + ΛΖ. and therefore struck in the seventh year of his reign. Id. iii. 498

Inscriptions

Ti. Cesar Divi Augusti F. Augustus Pontifex Maximus Tribunicia Potestate vii. Refect. of Restitut. (Sancti Canani in Provincia)

Muratori, i. 442, 9

Ti. Cl. Drus F. Ces. Aug. Germ. Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. v. (lege vii.) Cos. iii. Des. iii. Imp. ii. (lege vii.) P. P. ex S. C. C. Calpurnius Statius Sex. Matidius M. Perperna Lucio T. Salinus Decianus curat. Tabul. Pub. Fec. Cur. (Rome) Gruter, 237, 8

The Sabbatic year

Passover, March 27

Pentecost, May 17

Tabernacles, September 21

A. D. 21. U.C. 774. Olymp. 200, 1

TIB. CLAUD. NERO AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, II.
DIEBVS CÆSARIS, II.

TIBERIUS VIII FROM 19 AUG. THIS POT. VIII FROM 27 JUNE COS. IV. PONT. MAX. IMP. VIII (see Eckhel, vi. 190)

Twenty-ninth year of the reign of Herod Antipas and Herod Philip

1129 Tiberius is consul for three months only. *Nec amplius quam omnino tres consulatus* (after his accession to the empire) *nummi* (A. D. 18) *pauca diebus, alterum* (A. D. 21) *tribus mensibus, tertium* (A. D. 31) *obitus usque in Idus Martis* *q. et* Suet. Tib. 26.

1130. Tiberius withdraws into Campania at the opening of the year. *Ejus anni principio Tiberius, quasi firmandæ valetudini, in Campaniam concessit, longum et continuum absentiam paulatim meditans.* Tac. Ann. iii. 31.

1131. M. Lepidus proceeds as proconsul to Asia. *Igitur missus (M. Lepidus) in Asiam.* Tac. Ann. iii. 32. His successor was probably C. Silanus (see B.C. 14, no. 766; A.D. 22, no. 1137).

1132. Cæsius Cordus, proconsul of Crete, returns to Rome at the expiration of his office. *Aucharius Priscus Cæsium Cordum Proconsulem Crete postulerat repetundis (his coss.).* Tac. Ann. iii. 38.

1133. Illness of Drusus at the close of the year. *Finis anni C. Lutorium Priscam . . . conripuit delator, objectans agro Druso commensuras (caruam) quod, si exstinctus foret, majore præmio vulgaretur.* Tac. Ann. iii. 49.

1134. A decree made that after condemnation by the senate there should be no execution for ten days, in order that the Emperor might have time to grant a pardon. *Factum S.C. ne decreta patrum ante diem declinam ad ararium deferrentur, idque inter spatium damnavis prolongaretur (his coss.).* Tac. Ann. iii. 51. Δόγμα τι παραδόντων ἐκτελεσθαι, μὴ ὑποβήσκειν ἐντός ἑκά ἡμερῶν τὸν καταψηφισθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῶν, μήτε τὸ γράμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ γεγήμενον ἐς τὸ ἡμέρων ἐντός τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνον ἀποτίθεσθαι, ὥπως καὶ ἀποζημιῶν προσηυθάνηται τὰ δόξαντα σφίσι καὶ ἐπιδικασθῇ. Dion. lvi. 29.

1134 a. The death of P. Sulpicius Quirinus, called by Luke Cyrenina. *Sub idem tempus ut mors Sulpicii Quirini publicis exsequiis frequentaretur, (Tiberius) petiit a Senatu (his coss.).* Tac. Ann. iii. 48 (see B.C. 4, no. 955).

1134 b. Coin of Tiberius.

Pont. Marin. Cos. iiii. Imp. viii. Tr. Pot. xviii. Ekkehl, vi. 180.

Coin of Judæa.

Γεβριων Καίσαρος Ι.Η. + Ιουδæα Καίσαρος, and therefore struck in the eighth year of his reign. Id. iii. 408.

Inscription.

Ti. Caesar Divi Augusti Filius Divi Julii N. August. Pontifex Maxim. Cos. iiii. Imp. viii. Trib. Potest. xviii. (Arminii). Muntzeri, iv. 2006, 1; id. l. 223, 5.

First year of the Sabbatic cycle.
Passover, April 15.
Pentecost, June 5.
Tabernacles, October 10.

A.D. 22. U.C. 775. Olymp. 200, 2.

DEC. PATRIUS ACRIPTA.
C. SULPICIUS GAYUS
ex Kal. Jul.
M. COCCETUS NERVA.
C. VLAUS ROFERTUS.

TIBERIUS IX. FROM 19 AUG. TRIN. POT. XXIV. FROM 27 JUNE. COS. IV. PONT. MAX. IMP. VIII.

Twenty-sixth year of the reign of Herod Antipas and Herod Philip.

1135. Peace prevails during the year in the provinces. *C. Sulpicius, D. Paterius coss. sequuntur. Interbidus externis rebus annus.* Tac. Ann. iii. 52.

1136. The Tribunitian power is conferred on Drusus (his coss.). Tac. Ann. iii. 56. Drusus at this time had been tried in public affairs for eight years. *Necne nunc propere, sed per octo annos capto experimento, compressa seditionibus, compositis bellis, triumphalem et bis consulem, noti laboris participem sumi.* Tac. Ann. iii. 56 (see A.D. 14, no. 1060).

1137. The province of Asia falls by lot to Servius Maluginensis, the flamen Dialis. *Ut Asiam sorte haberet,* Tac. Ann. iii. 58; but it was adjudged that, as flamen Dialis, he could not hold the office. Tac. Ann. iii. 71. The person who was eventually proconsul of Asia appears to have been Lucilius Capito (see A.D. 21, no. 1131; A.D. 23, no. 1149).

1138. The privilege of the Temple of Diana of Ephesus as a sanctuary or asylum for debtors, etc., is called in question, and is put under new regulations. Tac. Ann. iii. 61–63.

1139. Julia, or Livia, or Augusta, the mother of Tiberius, is taken ill; and Tiberius, who was still on good terms with her, is obliged to return from Campania to Rome. *Sub idem tempus (his coss.) Julia Augusta valetudo atrox necessitatem Principi fecit festinati in urbem reditus.* Tac. Ann. iii. 64. Dion. lvi. 21.

1140. C. Silanus, who had been proconsul of Asia, is accused by the provincials, and even by his own quæstor and his own legate. *C. Silanum, Proconsulem Asiae, repetundarum a sociis*

ferred to by Josephus, because the presence of Drusus's friends recalled the grief of Tiberius for the loss of his son, *δὲ δὲ ἀρεθίζεσθαι πρὸς τὸ λυπεῖσθαι, μνημονεύων τοῦ παιδὸς, θεωρίᾳ τῇ ἐκείνῳ*, Jos. Ant. xviii. 6, 1, cannot have occurred at this period, but must be referred to A.D. 31, when Tiberius really grieved on discovering for the first time that Drusus had been carried off, not by his own excesses, but by the artifices of Sejanus (see A.D. 31, no. 1358).

1148. Tiberius retires to Campania. *Secl orbatus utroque filio . . . secessum Campanie petiit*. Suet. Tib. 39.

1149. Lucilius Capito, ex-procurator of Asia, is accused of mal-administration. *Adleo ut procurator Asiae Lucilius Capito, accusante Procinid, causam diceret (apud senatum) (his coss.)*. Tac. Ann. iv. 15. Dion, lvii. 23 (see A.D. 22, no. 1137; A.D. 24, no. 1152).

1149 a. Coin of Tiberius.

Ti. Divi F. Augustus + Tr. Pot. xrv.

Eckhel, vi. 194.

Inscription.

xi. *K. Oct. Q. Teolus O. L. Germulua. xvi. K. Nov. Oppia M. F. Pariete. iiii. Col. ii. Q. Junio Bleoso L. Antistio Vet. x. K. Jan. Ser. Camptotus Ser. I. Eutartus. Pariete ii. Col. i. C. Tyfo Geninio L. Rubellio Geninio Cos. iiii. Idus Mai ossa inlata Luriae P. L. Aprilis Pariete ii. Col. iii. (Roma)*. Muratori, i. 301, 4; who suggests that Q. Jun. Bleosus was consul suffectus for C. Asinius Pollio, and that the prænomen of Antistius Veter was not Caius according to the Fasti, but Lucius according to the inscription.

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 24.

Pentecost, May 14.

Tabernacles, September 18.

A.D. 24. U.C. 777. Olymp. 200, 4.

SERVIVS CORNEL. CETEGOR.
L. VESILLIVS VARRO.

TIBERIUS XI. FROM 19 AUG. TRIB. POT. XXVI.
COS. IV. PONT. MAX. IMP. VIII.

Twenty-eighth year of the reign of Herod
Antipas and Herod Philip.

1150. The first ten years of the rule of Tiberius expire, and the people are banqueted; but there is no decree for a renewal of the

imperial power, as deemed unnecessary. *Διελθόντων δὲ τῶν δέκα ἐτῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ, ψήφισματος μὲν ἐκ τῆν ἀνάλυψιν αὐτῆς οὐδένως ἐδείθην (οὐδὲ γὰρ εἴετο, κατατίμων αὐτὴν ὥσπερ ὁ Διόγοντας, ἀρχεῖν) ἡ μάλιστα πανήγυρις ἡ ἐκακιστηρὶς ἐποιήθη*. Dion, lvii. 24.

1151. The end of the African war against Tacfarinas. Tac. Ann. iv. 23. Ptolemy is at this time king in the room of his father Juba. *Raptabat African Tacfarinas, avchis Maurorum auxillis, qui, Ptolemæo Jube filio juveni incursio, libertos regios et servilis imperia bello militaverat*. Tac. Ann. iv. 23. Juba, however, had died some years previously (see D.C. 1, no. 968).

1152. Fonteius Capito is apparently proconsul of Asia this year, for in the year following he was accused of maladministration. Tac. Ann. iv. 36 (see A.D. 23, no. 1149; A.D. 25, no. 1155; A.D. 26, no. 1158).

1152 a. Coins of Judea.

Τετρίων Κωνσταντος Λ. ΙΑ. + Ιουδία Κωνσταντος, and therefore struck in the eleventh year of his reign.

Τη. Κωνσταντ + Ιουδία Λ. ΙΑ. (same date).

Eckhel, iii. 408.

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 12.

Pentecost, June 2.

Tabernacles, October 7.

A.D. 25. U.C. 778. Olymp. 201, 1.

M. ASINIUS AGRIPPA.
COSUS CORNELIVS LENTULUS.

TIBERIUS XII. FROM 19 AUG. TRIB. POT. XXVII.
FROM 27 JUNE. COS. IV. PONT. MAX. IMP. VIII.

Twenty-ninth year of the reign of Herod
Antipas and Herod Philip.

1153. Cremutius Cordus is accused. *Cornel. Cossio Asinio Agrippâ Coss. Cremutius Cordus postulat*. Tac. Ann. iv. 34. Dion, lvii. 24.

1154. Cizicus is deprived of its liberty (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. iv. 36. Dion, lvii. 24.

1155. Fonteius Capito, ex-proconsul of Asia, is accused of maladministration and acquitted. *At Fonteius Capito qui Proconsul Asian curaverat, absoluitur* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. iv. 36.

1156. L. Piso, prefect of Spain, is waylaid and assassinated (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. iv. 45.

1156 a. Inscription.

Ti. Caesar Divi Augusti F. Augustus Pontif. Max. Trib. Potest. xrviii (In ponto Tagi apud Alcantarum). Muratori, i. 221, 2.

Fifth year of the Salubatic cycle.

Passover, April 1.

Pentecost, May 22.

Tabernacles, September 26.

A.D. 26. U.C. 779. Olymp. 201. 2.

CN. LENTULUS CESTICUS.

C. CALPURNIUS SABINUS.

Quos excep. ex Kal. Jul. Q. Marcus Barba, T. Radus Nummius Gallus.

TIBERIUS XIII. FROM 19 AUG. TRIB. POT. XXVIII. FROM 27 JUNE. COS. IV. PONT. MAX. IMP. VIII.

Thirtieth year of the reign of Herod Antipas and Herod Philip.

1157. Sabinus, assisted by Pomponius Labeo (then prefect of Moesia), and by Rhemetalcus, king of part of Thrace, subdues a rebellion in Thrace. *Lentulo Gretulico C. Calvisio, Coss. decreta triumphi insignia Poppæo Sabino*. Tac. Ann. iv. 46 (see A.D. 19, no. 1122).

1158. The province of Asia falls to the lot of M. Lepidus (*his* *cos.*). Tac. Ann. iv. 56. See Ann. iii. 32 (see A.D. 24, no. 1152; A.D. 40, no. 1602).

1159. Tiberius retires to Campania, and never afterwards returns to Rome (*his* *cos.*). Tac. Ann. iv. 57. He was there for three years before the death of Livia, his mother, who died A.D. 29 (see that year, no. 1176). *Toto quidem triennio, quo vivente matre abfuit, senel omnino com. . . vidit*, Suet. Tib. 51; and for six years after the death of Sejanus, in A.D. 31 (see that year, no. 1353), *cuncte ejus (Sejani) patratâ sex postea annos pari secreto conjuncti*. Tac. Ann. iv. 57. Tiberius was absent from Rome for eleven years before his own death, in A.D. 37 (see that year, no. 1500). *Neque enim tam incredibilem casum providebunt, ut undecim per annos libens patriâ crederet*. Tac. Ann. iv. 58; and see Suet. Tib. 39.

1160. Pontius Pilate, towards the close of this year, arrives in Judæa, as successor to Gratus; for Pilate was removed at the close of A.D. 36, and had then been in office for ten years. *Και Πιλᾶτος ἔδικα ἔγενεν διατριψάς ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας εἰς Ῥώμην ἡλείκετο . . . πρὶν εἰ ἢ τῇ Ῥώμῃ*

προσχεῖν θάψει Τηλέριος μετὰρας (16 March, A.D. 37). Jos. Ant. xviii. 4, 2. The occurrences during the procuratorship of Pilate are related Jos. Ant. xviii. 3, 1-3, and xviii. 4, 1 and 2; Bell. ii. 9, 2-4. Philo thus sums up the enormities of Pilate's administration. *Τὴν ἐμποδοσίαν, τὰς ὕβρεις, τὰς ἀρπαγὰς, τὰς αἰκίας, τὰς ἐκρηγίας, τοὺς ἀπίστους καὶ ἐπαλλήλους φόβους, τὴν ἀνήμερον καὶ ἀργαλειωτὴν ὁμώτητα*. Phil. Leg. 38 (see A.D. 15, no. 1073; A.D. 36, no. 1493).

1160 a. Coins of Tiberius.

Ti. Divi F. Augustus + Tr. Pot. xxviii.

Ti. Caesar Divi Aug. F. Augustus Imp. viii. + Pont. Max. Tr. Pot. xrviii.

Beckhel, vi. 105.

Inscriptions.

Ti. Cesari Divi Aug. F. Divi Juli N. Augusto Pont. Max. Trib. Potest. xxviii. Cos. iiii. Imp. viii. Auguri an. vir S. F. vii. vir Epulonum T. Papirius Severus (apud Pontom de Vinis in Hispaniâ). Muratori, i. 223, 6.

Ti. Cesari Divi Aug. F. Juli N. Augusto Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. xxviii. Cos. iiii. Imp. viii. Auguri xv. viro. S. F. vii. viro. Epulon. T. Papirius Ecras. Decordo ordinis Iheroniciensis A. F. Q. Marcio Baroni T. Rustio Nummio Cos. (in Hispaniâ). Gruter, 235, 10.

Ετος NE, Φωφ ΚΕ. (Anno 55, Phasph 25) ἐκ συλλογῶν τῆς Σκευοπηγίας ἐπὶ Ἀρχόντων Κλειανδρον τὸν Στρατοῦτικον Ευφρανὸς τὸν Δριστὸνος Σοσιγένης τὸν Σωσιππου Ἀνδρόμαχον τὸν Ἀνδρομαχον Μαρκον Λαλδιον Οὐανασιον τὸν Ἀπολλωνιον Φιλωνίδου τὸν Δημόνιον Αὐτοκλῆον τὸν Ζηνωνος Σωμικου τὸν Θεόδωτον Ἰωσήφου τὸν Στρατωνος. Ἐπὶ Μαρκος Τιβτίος Σέξτον υἱὸς Αἰμιλία ἀνερ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς παραγενθὴς εἰς τὴν Ἐπαρχίαν ἐπὶ Δεμοσίων πραγμάτων τὴν τε προστασίαν αὐτῶν ἐπιμερᾶστο φιλανθρώπων καὶ καλὸς ἐν τε τῇ ἀναστρέφῃ ἡσυχῶν ἢ οὐς εὐκένωμενος αἰ ἐυτέλως τετραχειν οὐ μόνον ἐν ταῖς ἡβαστῇ αὐτῶν παρεσχεται ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς κατ' αὐτὴν ἐντυχάνουσι τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπὶ εἰ καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πολιτεμάτων ἥσαν Ἰουδαίους καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν ἐνχορῶστον προστασίαν ποιούμενος οὐ διαλείπει τῆς αὐτῆς καλοκαγαθίας ἀξία πράσσειν ὧν χάριν εὐθε τοὺς Ἀρχαίους καὶ τοὺς πολιτῆματι τῶν ἐν Βερνίκῃ Ἰουδαίῳ ἐστίναι τε αὐτὸν καὶ στεγάζουσι ὀνομαστὶ καθ' ἑσπερὴν συνόδον καὶ νομῆμιναν στείφουσιν ἐλασύνει καὶ λημνίσκει τοὺς τε Ἀρχόντας ἀναγράφει τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λίθου Παρίου καὶ θίπει εἰς τὸν ἐπιστημοτάτον τοπὸν τὸν Ἀμρίδιατρον, Λεικὰ πασὰς (at Tripoli). Muratori, li. 562, 1.

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle.
Passover, March 21.
Pentecost, May 11.
Tabernacles, September 15.

AD. 27. U.C. 780. Olymp. 201, 3.

M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
L. CALPURNIUS PISO.

TIBERII XIV. FROM 19 AUG. TRIB. POT. XXIX.
FROM 27 JUNE. COS. IV. PONT. MAX. IMP.
VIII.

Thirty-first year of the reign of Herod
Antipas and Herod Philip.

1161. Great loss of life from the fall of an amphitheatre at Eidenæ (*his* *co*ss.), Tac. Ann. iv. 62; and Tiberius, on the occasion, crosses from Capreae to the continent. *Transiit* (Tiberius) *in continentem, potestatemque omnibus adeundi sui fecit.* Suet. Tib. 40. Part also of Rome on Mount Cælius is consumed by fire (*his* *co*ss.). Tac. Ann. iv. 64.

1162. Tiberius again shuts himself up in Capreae. *Perosus tamen municipia et colonias omnique in continenti sita, Capreas se in insulam abdidit.* Tac. Ann. iv. 67.

1163. Herod Antipas is in high favour with Tiberius, and builds Tiberias, on the Sea of Galilee, in his honour. Πόντιος δὲ Πλάτος διάτοχος αὐτῷ (Grato) ἦκεν. Ἡρώδης δ' ὁ Τετράρχης, ἐπὶ μέγα γὰρ ἦν τῷ Τιβερίῳ φιλίας προελθὼν, οἰκοδομεῖται πόλιν ἐπώνυμον αὐτῷ Τιβερίαν. Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 2 and 3. This follows immediately after the appointment of Pilate, and may therefore be placed about this time.

1163 a. Coin of Judæa.

Τῷ Κ. Καίσαρ + Ἰουδαία Λ. Λ. Δ., and therefore struck in the fourteenth year of his reign.

Ezekiel, iii. 408.

Coin of Alexandria.

Τιβερίως Καίσαρ Σεβαστος Λ. ΙΔ. + Θεος Σεβαστος
(same date).

Id. iv. 50.

Inscription.

M. Crasso Frugi L. Calpurnio Pisone Cos. iii. Non. Febr. Civitas Themetra ex Africa Hospitium fecit cum C. Sillio C. F. Fab. Asiola cum liberis posterisque ejus sibi liberis posterisque suis patronum evocaverunt. C. Silius C. F. Asiola civitatem Themetrensem liberos posterisque eorum sibi liberis posterisque suis in

fidem clientelamque suam recepit. Egerunt Davano Hemitia P. Sopes. Aztribat Haisillicia F. Iddital Basiharis F. Lay. (Verinae). Muratori, i. 302, 1, where will be found another similar inscription.

The Sabbatic year.

Passover, April 9.

Pentecost, May 30.

Tabernacles, October 4.

A.D. 28. U.C. 781. Olymp. 201, 4.

ATT. JUN. SILANUS.
P. SILIUS NERVA.

TIBERII XV. FROM 19 AUG. TRIB. POT. XXX.
FROM 27 JUNE. COS. IV. PONT. MAX. IMP.
VIII.

Thirty-second year of the reign of Herod
Antipas and Herod Philip.

1164. The year begins at Rome with the arrest of Titus Sabinus, the friend of Germanicus, under the pretext of treasonable practices, Tac. Ann. iv. 68; and soon after he is executed without a trial, and his body thrown into the Tiber. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπύρως ἐβάρη. Dion. lviij. 1.

1165. Death of Julia, the granddaughter of Augustus, twenty years after her banishment, at Trimerus, an island off Apulia. *Illic viginti annis exilium toleravit, Auguste ope evadentata* (*his* *co*ss.). Tac. Ann. iv. 71 (see A.D. 8, no. 1025).

1166. War with the Frisii in Germany (*his* *co*ss.). Tac. Ann. iv. 73.

1167. Tiberius refuses to come from Capreae to Rome, and the senate, knights, and people pay servile court to him and Sejanus in Campania (*his* *co*ss.). Tac. Ann. iv. 74.

1168. The marriage of Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, to M. Domitius (*his* *co*ss.). Tac. Ann. iv. 75. It was prognosticated, from the infamous character of both, that no good could come from their union, and Nero the emperor was the fruit of this marriage.

1169. The approaching advent of the Messiah is revealed to John the Baptist in the wilderness, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, and therefore some time between 19 August, A.D. 28, and 19 August, A.D. 29. Ἐν ἔτει δὲ παντακιδεκάτῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, ἡγεμονιούντος Παντίου Πλάτου τῆς Ἰουδαίας

(see A D 26, no 1160), καὶ Τετραρχοῦνται τῆς Γαλιλαίας Ἡρώδης (viz. Herod Antipas, see B C 4, no 949), διέκλυον δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Τετραρχοῦντος τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Τραχανιτιδαί χῶρας (see B C 1, no 950), καὶ Λυσανίου τῆς Ἀβυλῆς καὶ Τετραρχοῦντος (see B C 36, no 537, A D 41, no 1620), ἐπ' Ἀσχευρίων Ἀννα καὶ Καϊάφα (see A D 17, no 1096), ἐγένετο ῥῆμα θεοῦ ἐν Ἰωάννῃ τῷ Ζαχαρίου νιὸν ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ Luke, iii 1

Lysanias the *Tetrarch* was no doubt the descendant of Lysanias, the *king* of Abylene, who had been put to death by Mark Antony, at the instance of Cleopatra, in B C 36 (see that year, no 537) Lysanias the *Tetrarch* may have been partly of Jewish extraction, for Ptolemy Menneai, the father of Lysanias the *king*, married Alexandra, the daughter of Aristobulus Jos Ant xiv 7, 4 And this connection with the Jewish people may be the reason why Lysanias the *Tetrarch* is here particularly mentioned by Luke Mention is made of Lysanias the *Tetrarch* in an ancient inscription found at Abyla Ὑπερ τῆς τῶν κυρίων Σε(βαστῶν) σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς συμ(πα)ρίας αὐτῶν οἰκον Νυμφαίου Λυσανίου Τετραρχου ἀπελ(ε)υθέρως τὴν οἰκὸν κτισαὶ ὑπερ(υπο)ν καὶ τοι ναὸν οὐκ(ε)νο(ρ)ήσας τὰς περὶ αὐτοὺς φύτεας πάσας ἐφυ(τευσεν) ἐκ τῶν οἰκῶν ἀναλωμάτων Boeckh Corp Ins no 4521

1170. Annas and Caiaphas are here named together as high-priests But Caiaphas, the son-in-law of Annas, or Ananias, was, according to Josephus, actual high-priest However, it sometimes happened that a relative of the high-priest was associated with him in the office In the case of Matthias, for instance (see B C 5, no 896), his kinsman Joseph became his colleague, though only for a day, on a particular occasion Καὶ δια τοῦτο οὐ δύναμειον (Matthias) ιεροουργεῖν, Ἰώσηπος δὲ τοῦ Ἑλλήμου συνιτρεῦσας το αὐτῷ, συγγενὴς ὢν Jos Ant xvii 6, 4 Or, perhaps, as Annas had been long high-priest himself (see A D 7, no 1022), and was father-in-law of Caiaphas, and still exercised great influence over the discharge of the pontifical duties, the common people (whose sentiments are reflected in the Gospels) may have regarded Annas and Caiaphas as joint high-priests, though not such in the strict sense Or, Annas and Caiaphas may have exercised the office in alternate years, and this hypothesis would remarkably agree with the incidental

notices of the pontificate of Caiaphas in the Gospels The year of office would begin from 1 Nisan, the commencement of the Jewish sacred year, and thus the fifteenth year of Tiberius (viz from 19 August, A D 28, to 19 August, A D 29) would comprise parts of two pontificates, i e first, from 19 August, A D 28, to 1 Nisan, A D 29, and, secondly, from 1 Nisan, A D 29, to 19 August of that year Supposing Annas to have been high-priest from 1 Nisan, A D 28, until 1 Nisan, A D 29, and then Caiaphas from 1 Nisan, A D 29, to 1 Nisan, A D 30, Caiaphas would be high-priest again from 1 Nisan, A D 31 to 1 Nisan A D 32, and again from 1 Nisan, A D 33, to 1 Nisan, A D 34, and, accordingly, after the raising of Lazarus, in January, and therefore before 1 Nisan, A D 32, Caiaphas is spoken of as the high-priest of that year, Ἀρχιερεὺς ὢν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου, John, xi 51 (see A D 32, no 1375), and again, on 15 Nisan, A D 33, the Passover of the Crucifixion, Caiaphas was the high-priest also of that year Ὅτι ἡ αρχιερεὺς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου John, xviii 18 (see A D 33, no 1440)

1171. John the Baptist must have warned the people of the coming of Christ soon after 19 August, A D 28, when the fifteenth year of Tiberius commenced, for during the interval that elapsed between John's announcement of the coming Messiah and the close of the forty days' temptation (which was shortly before the Passover, April 16, A D 29, see no 1182) John had pursued his mission long enough to attract the attention of the Sanhedrim of Jerusalem, and they had sent a deputation to inquire into his pretensions (see A D 29, no 1184) As the birth of John was in the sixth month current before that of Christ (see B C 6, no 869), the commencement of John's ministry may have preceded that of Christ by about six months, and if so, as Our Lord was baptized in February, A D 29 (see that year, no 1180), John may have entered upon his office late in August, or at the beginning of September, A D 28

John may now, for the first time, have received his commission to proclaim the near approach of the Messiah, but we are not to conclude that this was his first appearance in the desert He had not improbably led an ascetic life, and been a public teacher, from the time of his manhood, and he was now thirty-

three (see *a.c.* 6, no. 853). He had many converts, for we find some of them as far off as at Ephesus. Acts, xix. 3. Such a life is not without a parallel, as Josephus mentions that, when a youth, he retired for three years into the same desert, and placed himself under one Banan, who seems to have practised a life like that of the Baptist, for he is described as *ἐσθίει μὲν ἀπὸ ζιζνῶν χρώμενος, τροφήν δὲ τὴν αὐτομάτως φερόμενν προσφερομένων, ψυχὴν δὲ ὕδατι τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν νύκτα πολλάκις λουόμενος πρὸς ἀγνείαν*. Jos. Vit. 2. Banan, like the Baptist, had his disciples, or Josephus would not have gone to him.

John the Baptist is called in the new Dispensation Elias or Elijah, Luke, i. 17; Matt. xvii. 12, 13; xi. 14; and they were alike, not only in their prophetic office, but also in their apparel, for Elijah was 'a hairy man,' i.e. wore sackcloth, or a garment woven of camel's hair, 'and was girded with a girdle of leathern about his loins,' 2 Kings, i. 8; and so John 'had his raiment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins.' Matt. iii. 4. Mark, i. 6.

The scene of the Baptist's labours was the desert, Luke, i. 80; iii. 2; vii. 24; Matt. xi. 7; viz. the Ghor, the valley of the Jordan, between the sea of Tiberias and the Dead Sea. 'Ο Ἰορδάνης . . . πολλὴν ἀναμετρούμενος ἐρημίαν εἰς τὴν Ἀσφαλτίνην ἔξεισι λίμνην. Jos. Bell. iii. 10, 7. It was also called the Great Plain, τὸ Μέγα Πεδίον (being thirty miles long, and fifteen wide, Bell. iv. 8, 2), and sometimes the Aulon. Ant. xvi. 5, 2. The banks of the Jordan are clothed with a jungle, which is alluded to by Our Lord in 'the reed shaken with the wind.' Κάλαμον ὑπὸ ἀνέμου σαλευόμενον. Matt. xi. 7. Luke, vii. 24. And beyond the jungle runs, on each side, a belt of trees, and then follows the arid desert, strewn with stones. Stanley's Palest. 294, 311. And it is to these trees and these stones that the Baptist refers in the passage, *λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, ὅτι ζῶνται ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν λίθων τούτων ἐγείρει τέκνα τῷ Ἀβραάμ, ἥτιι δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀξίνη πρὸς τὴν ρίζαν τῶν ἐν ἔρῳ κείται, etc.* Matt. iii. 9. John's habitation may have been a hut woven of the boughs and reeds which grew on the banks of the Jordan, or he may have found shelter in one of the numerous caves in the adjoining mountains.

1172. The Pharisees and Sadducees are at first favourable to John's baptism, Matt. iii. 7;

but fall off and become hostile on his disclaiming the Messiahship, and, instead of adopting their temporal views, preaching repentance. *Ἠθελήσατε ἀγαλλιασθῆναι πρὸς ὥραν ἐν τῷ φῶρι αὐτοῦ.* John, v. 35.

1173. Amongst others who came to John's baptism were the 'soldiers.' Luke, iii. 14. As John was baptizing in Perea, part of Herod's dominions, these soldiers must have belonged to Herod's army. It appears from Josephus, that Aretas (the Greek form of the Arabic Hareth), the king of Petra, had troops at this time at, or near, Machærus, the castle on the confines of the tetrarchy of Herod and the kingdom of Aretas, Ant. xviii. 5, 1; and Herod, for his safety, must also have had a standing force in the same neighbourhood, and therefore near the Jordan, where John was preaching. In the following year, A.D. 29 (see that year, no. 1214), Herod and Aretas quarrelled, and Herod would naturally increase his army on the frontier; and as Luke does not assign any particular date to the delivery of the Baptist's warning to the soldiers, it may have been spoken in the following year and addressed to the troops who were on their march from Galilee through Perea to the borders of Arabia. The monition to the soldiers of Herod, 'to be content with their wages,' Luke, iii. 14, was peculiarly appropriate, as not long after (see A.D. 32, no. 1414) Herod's general was defeated in battle by the general of Aretas, through the treachery of some deserters from Herod's army.

1174. In entering upon the narrative of the four Gospels, we may observe that the publication of the Gospel is distributable, according to the three first Evangelists, into two parts: first, the preaching of John the Baptist, from his call in the desert to his imprisonment, a period of about a year; and, secondly, the preaching of Christ, from the imprisonment of John to the Crucifixion, a period of about three years and a half. But, according to the fourth Evangelist, the publication of the Gospel is distributable into three periods: first, the preaching of John the Baptist *alone*, from his call to the ministry of Our Lord, at the Passover, A.D. 29, an interval of about six months; secondly, the preaching of John and Our Lord *jointly*, from the Passover, A.D. 29, to the imprisonment of John, in the latter part of the same year, an interval of about six months; and, thirdly, the

preaching of Christ *alone*, from the time of John's imprisonment to the Crucifixion, a period of about three years and six months. The reasons for the omission, in the three first Gospels, of the labours of Our Lord during the ministry of John and Our Lord jointly may be conjectured to be these: the sojourn of Our Lord in Judæa during this time was short, and extended at the most to half a year only, and though Our Lord was preaching and working miracle, He was not considered to have displaced John. Our Lord also, during this period, made no circuits (though obliged occasionally to shift His residence from an apprehension of the Pharisees), and, what is more to the purpose, had not yet attached to Himself any constant attendants. The listeners to His discourses came and went at pleasure, varying from time to time in number and person. But on the imprisonment of John, Our Lord succeeded to the Baptist's office as preacher, and then it was that Our Lord first made circuits, and first called permanent disciples, who left all and followed Him. Indeed, the disciples of Our Lord were chiefly those of John, and who, therefore, during the continuance of the Baptist's ministry, would not have abandoned him. Peter and Andrew, James and John, Philip and Nathanael, otherwise Bartholomew, were all of them, either certainly or probably, disciples of the Baptist. Matthew, the publican, may also have been one of the publicans who came to John's baptism. Luke, iii 12.

1175. The consecutive ministries of John and of Our Lord must be regarded as forming together one whole, and this will serve to explain the conduct of Herod towards the Baptist and Our Lord for while John was at large, Herod knew nothing of Christ, but looked only to John, and, fearing the rapid growth of his sect, cast him into prison. Even after that event, Jesus was still regarded by Herod as one of John's disciples, until the Baptist's death, when Herod for the first time became cognisant of Our Lord as a distinct religious teacher. Herod was then anxious to see Jesus, Luke, xxiii 8, and though he dared not take violent measures against Him, he in secret entertained sinister intentions, Luke, xiv 31, and was at last a party clandestinely to the death of Our Lord Acts, iv 27. The ministry of John the Baptist began in the first year of the Sabbatic cycle, and the ministry of Our Lord

closed in the sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle, so that the joint labours of John the Baptist and of Our Lord extended into, though they did not completely fill, the six years of work which preceded the seventh year of rest.

1175 a. Coin of Tiberius

Tr P rii Eckhel, vi 105

Inscriptions

1. *Cæsar Aug F Augusto Imperato Pont Max T Pot rrr Ieg iiii Scythia v Maced (Oronas in Servia)*

Murator, i 229, 4

2. *Cæsar Divi Aug F Aug Pontifex Max Tribu Pot rrr Refect et Restitut (Santo Caræ in Spun)* Id i 443, 3

3. *Imp Tiberius Cæsar Divi Aug F Augustus Pontifex Maximus Irib Potat rrr Restitut (Aterni)* Id i 443, 4.

First year of the Sabbatic cycle

Passover, March 29

Pentecost, May 19

Tabernacles, September 23

A.D. 29. U.C. 762. Olymp. 202, 1

L. ROMILIUS CRESCENS

C. F. VILS GEMINUS

ex Kal Jul

Q. POMPONIUS SEVERUS

M. SANGULINUS MAXIMUS

Or, according to Muratori,

A. FLAVIUS

L. NONIUS ASPERNAS

TIPERII ANI FROM 19 AUG TRIB POT XXXI FROM 27 JUNE COS IV. PONT MAX IMP VIII

Thirty-third year of the reign of Herod Antipas and Herod Philip

1176. Livia, or Julia, or Augusta, the wife of Augustus and mother of Tiberius, died at the very beginning of the year, being the first event recorded by Tacitus under this consulship. *Anthologia et Fasti ross, quorum utriusque Geminus cognomen, Julia Augusta mortem obiit, ætate ex æmâ Tac Ann v 1* At the age of eighty-two, according to Pliny *Julia Augusta lxxxii annos vitæ Pucino vino retulit acceptos*, Plin N H xiv 8, but according to Dion, at the age of eighty-six. *Εν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τοῦτ' ἔχρησεν καὶ ἡ Διοῦτα μετὰ λαζεν δὲ καὶ σφδαιμον-α ἔτη ἑξήσασα* Dion, lviiv 2. The funeral oration was pronounced by Cains, afterwards the emperor Caligula. *Laudata est pro rostris a Caiso Cæsare pronepote,*

qui mor rerum potius est. Tac. Ann. v. 1. She was buried in the tomb of Augustus, Dion, lviil. 2; and mourning was ordered to be worn by the ladies of Rome for a whole year. Παρ' ὅλον τὸν ἑταυρόν. Dion, lviil. 2. The death of Julia was three years after the retirement of Tiberius to Capreae, in A.D. 26 (see that year, no. 1159). *Toto quidem triennio, quo vivente matre absuit, semel omnino, nec amplius quam uno die, paucissimis vidit horis.* Suet. Tib. 51.

1177. The power of Sejanus, which had been held in check by Julia, now becomes unbounded, Tac. Ann. v. 8; Dion, lviil. 2; and Sejanus is courted by the most influential persons, as the only channel of obtaining promotion, and he is regarded as *quasi* Emperor. 'Ὁ δὲ ἐν Σηϊανὸς καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν καὶ φοβηρότερος δει γίνετο, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς βουλευτὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀλλοιους ἐκείνῳ μὲν ὡς καὶ αὐτοκράτορι προσέχουσιν, τὸν δὲ Τιβερίῳ ἐν ἀντιγραφῇ ποιεῖσθαι. Dion, lviil. 4.

1178. Herod Antipas, on hearing of the death of Julia, the emperor's mother, sails to Italy to offer, according to the custom of the age (see Suet. Tib. 52), his condolence to Tiberius, his great patron. On his way to embarkation (while waiting, perhaps, for a vessel or a favourable wind) he is entertained by his brother Philip (not the tetrarch, but another son of Herod of the same name and called by Josephus Herod), and becomes enamoured of Herodias, the wife of Philip, and makes a secret compact with her that, on his return from Rome, he should put away his own wife, the daughter of Aretas, king of Petra, and marry Herodias. 'Ἡρώδης ὁ Τετράρχης . . . στελλόμενος ἐπὶ Ῥώμης, κατέχεται ἐν Ἡρώδῳ, ἀδελφοῦ ὅντος ἀρχιεμπροσίου (ἐκ γὰρ τῆς Σίμωνος τοῦ Ἀρχιερέως θυγατρὸς Ἡρώδης ἐγγόνει), ἐρασθεὶς δὲ Ἡρωδιάδος τῆς τοῦτον γυναικὸς, . . . τολμῇ λόγων ἄπτεσθαι περὶ γάμων, καὶ δεξιμένης, συνθήκει γίνονται μετοικεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὅποτε ἀπὸ Ῥώμης παραγένοιτο. . . Καὶ ὁ μὲν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔπλει, ταῦτα συνθέμενος. Jos. Ant. xviii. 5, 1.

This compact between Herod and Herodias was a gross infraction of the Jewish law, for there had been issue of the marriage between Philip and Herodias, a daughter named Salome, and, according to the Mosiac law, a woman after issue born could not even after her husband's death marry her husband's brother. In case there had been no issue, the marriage to the husband's brother on the husband's death

was not only allowable, but commanded. 'Ἡρωδιάς δὲ ἡ ἀδελφὴ γήμεται Ἡρώδῃ Ἡρώδου τοῦ μεγάλου παιδὶ . . . καὶ αὐτοῖς Σαλώμη γίνεται, μεθ' ἧς τὰς γονίς Ἡρωδιάς, ἐπὶ συγχύσει φροήσασαι τῶν πατρῶν, Ἡρώδῃ γήμεται τοῦ ἀνδρός τῷ ἐμποατρίῳ ἀδελφῇ, ἑταστάῃ ζώντος. τὴν δὲ Τυλιδαίων τετταρχίαν εἶχεν οὗτος. Jos. Ant. xviii. 5, 4. This quotation from Josephus is valuable as showing how scandalous the marriage contract between Herod and Herodias was regarded by the Jews at the time.

1179. Livia had died possessed of Jamnia, Phasaelis, and Archelais, bequeathed to her by Salome, the sister of Herod the Great, Jos. Bell. ii. 9, 1 (see B.C. 4, no. 951); and Herod Antipas may have had in view a grant of these, or some part of them, by the emperor to himself. Herod certainly made a voyage to Rome about this period, and the death of Julia, and the consequent necessity of offering condolence to the emperor, and the hope of some further acquisition of territory are sufficient reasons for placing the voyage at this time.

Herod would arrive in Italy in the second quarter of the year, and as the business upon which he went would be soon dispatched, he would not be long absent from Judaea. Διαπραξάμενος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπ' ὑπερ ἑσθάρω. Ant. xviii. 5, 1. Rome, in this passage, must stand for Italy, as Tiberius and Sejanus were at this time at Capreae.

1180. Jesus, quitting Nazareth in Galilee, where He had hitherto resided, repairs to John the Baptist, now on the banks of the Jordan, and is baptized by him, and the Holy Ghost descends upon Jesus in the form of a dove. Matt. iii. 13. Mark, i. 9. Luke, iii. 21. The baptism was probably in the first half of February, as between the baptism and the Passover, A.D. 29 (16 April), occurred the following events: the temptation of forty days; a journey to Cana of Galilee; and thence to Capernaum; and thence, after a few days, to Jerusalem, at the Passover. The month of February in Judaea is very different from the same month in the north of Europe. Thus, Van de Velde (i. 205) writes under the date of 15 February: 'The weather so delightful! No cold to make you chilly, and no summer-heat, but a warm temperature, pleasantly cooled by a southwest breeze from the sea.' And another traveller observes 'that the sun in the early spring, in the Aulon (the valley of the Jordan), is as power-

ful as at Jerusalem at midsummer,' and he styles the Aulon, or valley of the Jordan, 'the torrid zone' of Judæa Dupuis' Holy Places, 1 265, 273

Jesus is described by Luke as of *about* thirty years when He began His ministry *Kai avtós ðv ð 'Iησοφς, ώσει έτώς τριάκοντα άρχόμενος* Luke, iii 23 His age (as we have placed the birth) was thirty-three years and upwards (see n c 6, no 869) That Luke uses the word *ώσει* with considerable latitude, see Luke, ix 28, as compared with Matt xvi 1, Mark, ix 2 That Our Lord at this time was not *exactly* thirty is evident, for John the Baptist did not *open* his mission till the fifteenth year of Tiberius, i e after 19 August, A D 28, and Our Lord, therefore, could not have been baptized until the end of A D 28, at the earliest; and then, if He was thirty years old, His birth would fall at the close of n c 3, and the death of Herod the Great at the beginning of n c 2, which is impossible Luke probably means that Jesus had attained the age allowed by the Law for the full exercise of the priesthood i e thirty years Numbers, iv 3 23, 30, 47. 1 Chron xxi 3, just as he had before stated that when Jesus was twelve years old, the age required for becoming a son of the Law, He went up to Jerusalem (see A D 8, no 1026) As Luke states that Jesus on the latter occasion was *twelve years old*, but that when He began His ministry He was of *about thirty*, the inference arises that Luke had not the same accurate information in respect of the age of Jesus when He began His ministry as of His age when He went up with His parents to the Passover It is improbable that either Joseph or Mary, who could have given more precise information, was still living at the publication of Luke's Gospel

1181. Luke had a little before stated that *John the Baptist* began his ministry in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, and as he now states the *age of Jesus* when He began, without mentioning the *year of Tiberius*, it seems to be implied that the baptism of Jesus was also in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, which it would be if placed in February, A D 29

1182 Jesus returns into the wilderness, where He is tempted forty days Luke, iv 1 Mark, i 12 Matt iv 1 The temptation would expire about the end of March The barren tract of the Aulon, between the lake of Tiberias and the Dead Sea, was called the wilderness, and

tradition assigns the desert on the right, or western, bank of the Jordan, near Jericho (called hence Quaiantania), as the scene of the forty days' temptation But Stanley (Sinai and Palest) thinks that the desert on the eastern side of the Jordan was the true locality, and that the high mountain from which the kingdoms of the world were pointed out to Jesus, was one of the mountains of Moab, six or seven miles from the Jordan, and which command a view over all Palestine Pisgah, from whose summit Moses had his first and last view of the Holy Land, was one of this range, and is described as 'over against Jericho' Dent xxxiv 1 There were also two other wildernesses at a greater distance from the Jordan, one some way to the east, and the other a day's journey to the south, and the wilderness in question has been thought by some to be the wilderness to the south, because we find Jesus on His return from the temptation passing through Bethabara, on His way to Galilee

1183 One of the temptations was the placing Our Lord on *τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ Ἱεροῦ*, at Jerusalem This was probably the south-eastern corner of the Temple, at the eastern extremity of the *στοὰ βασιλική* or grand southern portico From this spot the height above the valley of Cedron on the south-east was so vast as to make the eyes of the spectator swim Jos Ant xv 11, 5 James the Just was posted upon the same *πτερύγιον τοῦ Ἱεροῦ* that the people might see and hear him Euseb ii 28 It may be objected to this account of James that the multitude would not be found there, inasmuch as the Temple in this part overhung the valley; but while the view to the south-east was into the valley, there was to the east of the Temple a platform, or vacant space, called *Κεράσιος φάραγξ*, lying between the eastern wall of the Temple and the wall distinct from that of the Temple, which continued the outer line of fortification round the city Bell v 6, 1, v 4, 2, vi 3, 2 We learn from Josephus himself that the eastern end of the *στοὰ βασιλική* was the place from which the priest proclaimed to the people below the commencement and close of the Sabbath Bell iv 9, 12

1184 The fame of the Baptist having greatly spread, the Pharisees, who were in daily expectation of the Messiah (see n c 6 no 863), call a council of the Sanhedrim, when

certain priests and Levites of the sect of the Pharisees are commissioned to inquire into the character of the Baptist. Ἀποστείλαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐκ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευῖτας, ἵνα ἐρωτήσωσιν αὐτὸν, Σὺ τίς εἶ; John i. 19. Καὶ οἱ ἀπεσταλμένοι ἦσαν τῶν Φαρισαίων. John i. 24. This embassy of the Pharisees implies not only that John had been baptizing long enough to attract attention, but also that the interval had not been great; for as John, from the novel character of his baptism, would rise at once into notice (Jos. Ant. xviii. 5, 2), the Sanhedrim would soon bestir themselves to investigate his claims. We should place the arrival of the embassy about the end of March, so that between the commencement of John's ministry and the arrival of the embassy would be an interval of about seven months.

1185. John the Baptist was at this time at Bethabara, beyond Jordan. Ταῦτα ἐν Βηθαβαρᾷ ἐγένετο, πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, ὅπου ἦν Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων. John i. 28. Many of the most ancient MSS. have ἐν Βηθβαρί for ἐν Βηθαβαρᾷ, and this reading is adopted by Griesbach and Lachmann. If Bethabara be the true reading, it would seem to be the same as Bethbara. Judg. vii. 24. Bethbara, the house of passage or the ferry, was one of the four ferries over the Jordan. The first was just below the lake of Tiberias; the second just above the confluence of the Jabbok and Jordan, near Succoth; the third a little above Jericho; and the fourth a little below Jericho. Stanley's Sinai and Palestine, p. 291. Robinson's Palestine, i. 538. Bethabara, however, may have been a general name for all the ferries over the Jordan. The common opinion is that the Bethabara in question was one of the two ferries near Jericho, but Stanley thinks it was the ferry over the Jordan near Succoth, and the Bethbara of Judges vii. 24 would certainly appear from the context to have been near Succoth.

1186. Jesus at this time had not yet opened His public ministry, for John the Baptist tells the Pharisees μέλλετε ὑμῶν ἔσθαι, ὃν ὑμεῖς οὐκ οἴσθε, John i. 26, which could scarcely have been said had Jesus already proclaimed His divine mission. Besides, we know that Our Lord did not perform any miracle until His return into Galilee at Cana. And that He had not baptized hitherto is evident from the fact, that the disciples of John did not hear of Jesus's bap-

tizing until it was reported to them in the summer or autumn of this year, when Our Lord had retired from Jerusalem into the rural districts of Judæa. John iii. 24 (see *infra*, no. 1210).

1187. The day after the arrival of the embassy from the Sanhedrim Jesus returns from the wilderness, at the close of the forty days' temptation, to the Baptist, when John testifies that Jesus was the Lamb of God. Τῇ ἑπαύριον (after the arrival of the embassy) βλέπει ὁ Ἰωάννης τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐρχόμενον πρὸς αὐτὸν, etc. John i. 29. John's testimony was that God, from whom he had received his commission, had said that He upon whom he should see the Spirit descending, He it was that should baptize with the Holy Ghost. John i. 33. And this reference is remarkable as exemplifying the supplemental character of John's Gospel, for it assumes the reader's knowledge of the fact that the Spirit had descended upon Jesus at His baptism; whereas the baptism of Jesus and the descent of the Spirit are not recorded by John at all, but are found only in the three first Gospels. Matt. iii. 16. Mark i. 10. Luke iii. 22.

1188. The next day John the Baptist again points out Jesus as the Lamb of God to two of his disciples, one of whom was Andrew, and the other apparently John the Evangelist, but who from a natural feeling suppresses his own name. Τῇ ἑπαύριον πάλιν εἰσέρχεται ὁ Ἰωάννης, καὶ ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ἐξέειπε, etc. Ἦν Ἀνδρέας ὁ ἀδελφὸς Σίμωνος Πέτρου εἰς ἐκ τῶν ὄντων. John i. 35, 41. The two disciples follow Jesus home, and remain with Him from the tenth hour, or 4 o'clock p.m., until the close of the day. Καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ ἔμειναν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, ὥρα δὲ ἦν ὥς δεκάτη. John i. 40. Daylight, therefore, at this season lasted some time after 4 p.m., which would be the case in March. It can scarcely be thought that John is here reckoning from midnight, so that the tenth hour should be 10 a.m. The astronomers measured time in this way, but the universal custom in common life was to reckon from 6 a.m.

1189. Andrew finds his brother Peter, and tells him that he had discovered the Messiah. John i. 42. The Jewish people at this time were in anxious expectation of the Messiah, and Andrew thus spake of Jesus from his own preconceived ideas. So Peter (John vi. 69) and Martha (John xi. 27) afterwards addressed Our Lord as the Messiah. But Jesus himself,

except at His interview with the Samaritan woman, in the absence of His disciples (John iv 26), never until near the close of His ministry at Caesarea Philippi (see A.D. 32, no 1380) directly declared His Messiahship. The title which He commonly gave Himself was the Son of Man or the Son of God. To have announced himself as the Messiah would have led to political disturbances, as the prevalent notion of the Messiah was that of a temporal prince who should deliver his people from the Roman yoke.

1190. The next day Jesus sets out for Galilee, and invites Philip, of Bethsaida the city of Andrew and Peter, to follow Him, and Philip brings Nathanael to Jesus. *Τῇ ἐπαύριον (after the coming of Peter) ἤθελησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ἐξελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, καὶ εὗρισκεὶ Φίλιππον, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ, Ἀκολούθει μοι. Ἦν δὲ ὁ Φίλιππος ἀπὸ Βηθσαῖδα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ἀνδρέου καὶ Πέτρου, etc.* John i 44.

Greswell makes a distinction between *ἀπὸ* and *ἐκ* in this passage, and holds the former to denote the place of residence, and the latter the place of birth, and argues that, as Simon Peter's house was at Capernaum, Luke iv 38, Matt viii 14, Mark i 29, Peter could not have been an inhabitant of Bethsaida. But admitting that Peter, when he became a constant disciple of Our Lord, was a resident at Capernaum, it does not follow that he had not been a youth or two before an inhabitant of Bethsaida, more particularly as the two places must, at all events, have been in immediate proximity to each other. According to Epiphanius, Peter was a native of Bethsaida, but married a wife from Capernaum, which may have been the occasion of changing his residence. *Τοῦ μὲν Πέτρου ἀπὸ Βηθσαῖδα ὄντος, γήμιστος δὲ ἀπὸ Καφαρναούμ, οὐ μακρὰν ὄντων τῶν τοπων τούτων.* Epiphanius Adv. Haer. ii 437.

As to the words addressed to Philip, *ἀκολούθει μοι*, this phraseology is generally applied by the evangelists to the call of a disciple permanently, but is sometimes used, as here, in a more lax sense. If Philip now became a constant attendant upon Our Lord, it would be an exceptional case, for Jesus did not attach any other disciples to Himself until the imprisonment of John the Baptist, when Peter and Andrew, and James and John, who had been followers of the Baptist, became disciples of Jesus. Not long after Matthew also was called. Of the seven

others no call is specially recorded, and perhaps they received none until they were ordained amongst the twelve Apostles. Undoubtedly between the time of Our Lord's baptism and the imprisonment of John, and before the Marriage Feast at Cana of Galilee, Our Lord had a few followers about Him, for His disciples were invited to the marriage banquet. But the persons thus alluded to must have been Peter and Andrew and John, and Nathanael and Philip, and it would be absurd to suppose that the three first of these were then permanent disciples of Jesus, for the disciples of John were not called to be Our Lord's disciples until many months afterwards. We should therefore conclude that Philip also did not now receive his final call, but became a disciple in the same sense only in which Peter and Andrew and John were so at this time, but who were afterwards called in a more solemn and formal manner. It may be added that the words *ἀκολούθει μοι* are figurative, and refer to our Lord's custom of walking before His disciples as a shepherd before His flock. See Mark, x 32.

Nathanael had just before been reposing himself under a fig-tree. *Υπὸ τὴν συκῆν εἰδὼς αὐτὸν* John, i 49. This must have been for shade, and agrees with the month of March. Barclay, in his Calendar for Judea, in 'The city of the Great King,' p 422, observes of the month of March, 'Trees all in full leaf,' and Van de Velde (vol i 322), under the date of 2nd March, writes, 'Having seated ourselves beneath the shade of a huge oak, we once more opened our Bibles,' etc., and again, on 8 March, he speaks (vol i 329) of 'the oppressively sultry heat.' In no part of Judea was the vegetation so forward as in the Aulon, or valley of the Jordan. That at the time of the Passover the fig-tree was in full leaf even in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem we know from the fact that in a subsequent year Our Saviour, at the Passover, found leaves only on the barren fig-tree. Mark, xi 13. Matt xxi 19.

1191. On the third day after the interview between Our Lord and Nathanael occurs the Marriage Feast at Cana of Galilee (not Cana simply, but Cana of Galilee). The marriage may have been that of some near relative of Our Lord, which would account for the circumstance that Jesus' mother and brethren, and Jesus himself and His disciples, were pre-

sent. Καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ γάμος ἐγένετο ἐν Κανᾷ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, etc. John, ii. 1.

1192. Nathanael, one of Our Lord's followers, was himself a native or inhabitant of Cana. Ναθαναὴλ ὁ ἀπὸ Κανᾶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας. John, xxi. 2. And one of the two Simons is also called the Cananite, Σίμων ὁ Κανανίτης, Matt. x. 4; Mark, iii. 18; from, as some think, the town of Cana; but others consider that by Simon the Cananite is meant Simon the Zealot, the word Cananite in Hebrew signifying the Zealot, Acts, i. 13.

1193. It has been much disputed whether Cana of Galilee be identical with Kefi Kenna, a little to the south-east of Sepphoris, or with Kana-al-Jelil, i. e. Cana of Galilee, a little to the north of Sepphoris. The balance of evidence is in favour of the latter. See Robinson's Palestine, ii. 340.

1194. From the mention of Our Lord's mother, and not of Joseph, at Cana of Galilee, we should infer that Joseph was no longer living. He must certainly have been dead, four years later, at the Crucifixion, A.D. 33, or Jesus would not have commended His mother to the care of the beloved disciple. John, xix. 26. The words οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ, οὐ ἡμεῖς οἶδμεν τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα; John, vi. 42, do not necessarily imply that Joseph was then alive.

1195. The miracle wrought at Cana of Galilee was περίεργον τι, and in anticipation of Christ's public ministry. He had before, by His fast of forty days and by collecting followers, prepared for the ministry, but He did not solemnly open it until the Passover of this year (A.D. 29) at Jerusalem. He said Himself at this time, 'Mine hour is not yet come.' John, ii. 4. Had Jesus now preached publicly in Galilee He would no doubt have also wrought miracles; but this was not the case, for on His return from Judæa into Galilee after the Passover of this year (A.D. 29), the miracle which He then performed is said to have been the *second* only in Galilee. John, iv. 54. The Galileans also on the latter occasion received Him gladly, not for any works which had been wrought in Galilee, but for those which they had witnessed at Jerusalem at the Passover, for they also, it is said, had gone up to the feast. John, iv. 45.

1195. After the marriage banquet Jesus and His mother and brethren and disciples go down to Capernaum, and sojourn there for a few days

previously to the Passover (April 16). Μετὰ τοῦτο (the marriage feast) κατέβη εἰς Καπέρναον, αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμειναν οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας, καὶ ἔγγενε ἦν τὸ πᾶσχα τῶν Ἰουδαίων. John, ii. 12. The circumstances that Jesus now sojourned a few days at Capernaum is mentioned by John, not as having any bearing upon the journey to Jerusalem, or as the beginning of a new subject, but in continuation of the previous narrative, in which John had traced the movements of Our Lord day by day from the time of His interview with the Baptist at Bethabara. John usually commences a new subject with the expression μετὰ ταῦτα, but here the expression is μετὰ τοῦτο, which has a more limited signification.

1197. It will be observed that Our Lord's brethren are mentioned in this passage, but not his sisters. It would seem that the latter were married and settled at Nazareth. The language of the Nazarenes on the occasion of Our Lord's presence amongst them in one of His circuits is, οὐχὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ λέγεται Μαριάμ, καὶ οὐτε ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἰωσήφ καὶ Σίμων καὶ Ἰούδας; καὶ αἱ ἀδελφαὶ αὐτοῦ οὐχὶ πᾶσαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰσι; Matt. xiii. 55. Mark, vi. 3. And from the statement that the sisters (but not the mother and brethren) were still at Nazareth, it may be presumed that the mother and brethren had migrated from Nazareth and taken up their residence elsewhere, probably at Capernaum. If, as we conjecture, the sisters were domiciled at Nazareth, we may conclude that Mary did not leave Nazareth until after the marriage of her daughters. The inducement to remove to Capernaum may have been that Capernaum offered a better prospect than Nazareth to Our Lord's brethren for gaining a livelihood by fishing. Capernaum also was the residence of Mary's sister Salome, whose sons James and John were fishermen on the lake of Gennesaret.

1198. It has been supposed by some that the four persons, James, Joscs, Simon, and Judas, called the brethren of Our Lord were in fact His *cousins*, viz. the sons of Mary, the wife of Cleophas or Alphæus, and that this Mary was the sister of Mary Our Lord's mother. But this notion has arisen from a mistaken interpretation of the passage in John, εἰσῆλθαισαν δὲ παρὰ τῷ στανῶν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ

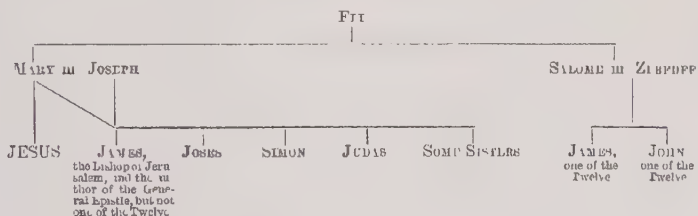
καὶ Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνή, John, xix 25, as if the sister of Our Lord were here called the wife of Cleophas. It is inconceivable, however, that two sisters should both have been named Mary, and clearly the passage should be read and pointed thus 'Mary the mother of Our Lord, and her sister, and Mary the wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene'. By comparing together the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and John, we shall find that the sister of Our Lord's mother was not Mary, but Salome, and was the wife of Zebedee.

Matt xxvi 66	Mark, xi 40	John, xix 25
Μαρια η Μαγ- δαληνη	Μαρια η Μαγ- δαληνη	Μαρια η Μαγ- δαληνη
Μαρια η τῆς Ἰακωβου και Ἰωσή μητρη	Μαρια η τοῦ Ἰακωβου τοῦ μικροῦ και Ἰωσή μητρη	Μαρια η τοῦ Ἰακωβου
Ἡ μητηρ τῶν υἱων Ἰακωβου	Σαλωμη	Ἡ ἀδελφη τῆς μητρὸς υἱοῦ

Here we have mentioned in the three evan-

gels 1. Mary Magdalene 2. Mary the mother of James the Less and Joses, who was the same person as Mary the wife of Cleophas, for while James the Less is here said to be the son of Mary, he is elsewhere called the son of Alphæus, Matt x 3, Mark, iii 18, Luke, vi 16, so that Cleophas and Alphæus are the same name. In fact, Cleophas and Alphæus are the different Greek forms of the Hebrew צִלְפָּנַי, pronounced either Chalpai or Chelopai, and the former, by omitting the aspirate, becomes Alphæus. 3. As we can thus establish the identity of 'Mary the mother of James the Less and Joses' with 'Mary the wife of Cleophas' it follows that the mother of Zebedee's children in Matthew must be identical with 'Salome' in Mark, and 'the sister of Our Lord's mother' in John, that is, the sister of Mary Our Lord's mother was named Salome, and was the wife of Zebedee.

The genealogy of Our Lord's family would therefore stand thus —



James, the Lord's brother, was not one of the Twelve, but was an apostle in the same sense that Paul and Barnabas were, 2 Gal i 19, and was afterwards constituted Bishop of Jerusalem, and as such presided at the great council of Jerusalem, Acts, xv 13, 19, and wrote the General Pastoral Epistle to the Twelve Tribes dispersed amongst the Gentiles.

1199. JESUS sets out from Capernaum, and is at Jerusalem at the Passover. Καὶ ἔγγυς ἦν τὸ Πάσχα τῶν Ἰουδαίων, καὶ ἀνέβη εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα ὁ Ἰησοῦς. John, ii 13. Jesus and His parents had been accustomed to keep this feast at Jerusalem Luke, ii 41.

THE FIRST YEAR OF OUR LORD'S MINISTRY MAY BE DATED FROM THIS PASSOVER, 16 APRIL, A D 29.

1200. The duration of the ministry may be

collected from the number of successive Passovers. The first was that which He now attended, A D 29, and is mentioned John, ii 13, and was before John the Baptist was cast into prison, John, iii 21. The second, A D 30, was that which a little preceded the incident recorded by the three first Gospels, when Our Lord passed through the corn-fields on the δευτεροπρωτῆς σάββατον, Luke, vi 1, Matt xii 1, Mark, ii 23, for this must have been soon after some Passover when the harvest began, and was after John the Baptist was cast into prison Matt iv 12 Mark, i 14. A third, A D 31, was at hand at the feeding of the Five Thousand. Ἦν δὲ ἔγγυς τὸ πάσχα John, vi 4. A fourth, A D 32, occurred when the corban, or Temple-tax, was demanded of Our Lord at Capernaum, Matt xvii 24, for the corban, or Temple-tax,

was actually demanded at the Passover. And the *plith*, A.D. 33, was the Passover of the Crucifixion.

1201. That a fourth Passover intervened between the feeding of the Five Thousand at the Passover A.D. 31, and the Passover of the Crucifixion, further appears thus: while Our Lord was on His last circuit, on His way from Capernaum to Jerusalem, the blood of some Galileans was shed by Pilate over their sacrifices; i.e. at the celebration of one of the great festivals at Jerusalem, for on no other occasion would the Galileans be at Jerusalem. Luke, xiii. 1. If, then, no Passover intervened between the feeding of the Five Thousand and the Passover of the Crucifixion, the festival at which the massacre of the Galileans took place must have been either the next Pentecost, or the next Tabernacles, or the next Dedication (*Exaltion*), or the next Feast of Purim after the Passover when the Five Thousand were fed. But it could not be any of these; for it was not the Pentecost next after the feeding of the Five Thousand, for between the feeding of the Five Thousand and the news of the Galilean massacre are recorded so many events (as the visit to Tyre and Sidon, Decapolis, and Casarea Philippi, and the long account from Luke, xi. 18, to end of xii.) that they could not possibly have fallen within the compass of fifty days. Again, it was not the Feast of Tabernacles, or the Dedication, for both these feasts are mentioned by John himself as occurring after the feeding of the Five Thousand; and at both of these feasts Jesus, according to John, was not in Galilee, where He heard of the massacre, but at Jerusalem. Nor could it have been the Feast of Purim, which began on 13 Adar, and ended on 15 Adar, for this would not allow time for the events during Our Lord's last journey to Jerusalem which are related *subsequently* to the news of the Galilean massacre, for Our Lord, during this interval, taught on one Sabbath, Luke, xiii. 10; preached in various cities and villages, xiii. 22; ate bread with a Pharisee on another Sabbath, xiv. 1; passed along the borders of Samaria and Galilee, xvii. 11; descended down the left bank of Peræa, teaching as usual, xviii. 15 (compare Matt. xix. 13, Mark, x. 13); and arrived at Jerusalem a week before the Passover, John, xii. 1; and from 15 Adar, the end of the Feast of Purim, to 8 Nisan, a week before the Passover, would be

only about three weeks, an interval which would be quite insufficient for the occurrences on the road subsequently to the Galilean massacre.

1202. The ministry of Our Lord measured from the Passover A.D. 29 to the Passover A.D. 33, the date of the Crucifixion, would be just four years, the period indicated by the parable of the fig-tree, the emblem of the Jewish nation, where the Lord of the vineyard is represented as saying, *Lo! These three years I come seeking fruit on this fig-tree, and find none; and the Vinedresser, i.e. the Son of Man, answers, 'Lord, let it alone this year also, until I dig about it, and dung it, and if it bear fruit, well; but if not, then after that thou shalt cut it down.'* Luke, xiii. 7. The fig-tree was thus to be tried for a fourth year, and was then, if still barren, to be cut down.

1203. The arena of Our Lord's ministry during these four years was as follows:—He began to preach at *Jerusalem*, the Jewish capital; but the Pharisees were jealous of His success, and He was obliged to retire into the rural districts of *Judæa*. The hostility of the Pharisees still pursued Him, and He then quitted *Judæa* altogether, and retreated to *Capernaum in Galilee*, which, being on the lake, was a safe refuge, as affording the means of ready escape into the tetrarchy of Herod Philip. For two years after this, Jesus made Capernaum His headquarters, and commenced from thence His various circuits. At the end of that time, He was obliged, from the persecution of His enemies, to withdraw into *Herod Philip's tetrarchy*, and was engaged first along the borders of Tyre and Sidon, and then in *Decapolis*. After this, He made another attempt to preach, but cautiously, in *Judæa*, and sojourned there for some three or four months, but eventually was obliged to quit *Judæa*, and again retired to the northern extremity of Palestine, viz. the villages about *Casarea Philippi*, the capital of Philip's tetrarchy. From this time He set His face steadily in the direction of Jerusalem, Luke, ix. 51; and entered upon His last great circuit, which was to terminate with His death upon the cross.

In the course of these four years, Our Lord, though not permitted after the first Passover, A.D. 29, to take up His abode at Jerusalem, yet several times visited it at the public festivals, when the worshippers either had immunity by law or were protected from violence by the

force of public opinion. The order in which Our Lord attended the festivals is remarkable. The three great feasts were the Passover, the Pentecost, and the Tabernacles, and of these three, Our Lord attended one in each year, and on each successive occasion He attended the feast which followed next in order after that of the preceding year. Thus, in A.D. 29, He went up to the *Passover*, in A.D. 30, to the *Pentecost*, and in A.D. 31, to the *Tabernacles*. This may have been the result of accident, but it may also, in some degree, have resulted from design. Our Lord's presence at Jerusalem always provoked hostility from the Pharisees, and prudence may have required an interval of more than a year from the last feast before attending another. As the Jews usually went up, not to all the feasts, but to some one in each year, and generally to the same feast. Our Lord, by varying the time of His own visit to the capital, may have thought to excite less commotion, and, at the same time, also to extend the sphere of His ministry by presenting Himself at each feast to new multitudes.

1204. Jesus, when at Jerusalem, at the Passover A.D. 29, opens His ministry by expelling the money-changers from the Temple. His Father's House John, ii 14, and when asked for a sign in justification, He answers, *λύσατε τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον, καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἔγερῶ αὐτόν* John, ii 19. Thus, at the very commencement of His ministry, Our Lord foretold His death and resurrection. It will be remembered that every Jew learnt a trade, and that Jesus was a carpenter, *ὁ τέκτων* Mark, vi 3. He would therefore naturally illustrate the resurrection from the dead by the figure of rebuilding the House.

1205. At this time, the Temple is said to have already occupied forty-six years in building. *Τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἕξ ἔτεσιν φεδομήθη ὁ ναὸς οὗτος* John, ii 20. And this was the fact, for the Temple had been commenced by Herod the Great at the Passover B.C. 18 (see that year, no 745), and from that time to the Passover A.D. 29 would be just forty-six years. Supposing the Temple to have been begun some months either earlier or later than the Passover B.C. 18, the statement of the Jews, being in round numbers, would still be sufficiently accurate.

1206. Jesus, at the Passover, works many miracles in attestation of His divine mission. *Θεωροῦντες αὐτοῦ τὰ σημεῖα, ἃ ἐποίει* John, ii

23. *Οὐδεὶς γὰρ ταῦτα τι σημεῖα δέει αὐτοῦ ποιεῖν, εἰ σὺ ποιεῖς, ἔαν μὴ ᾗ ὁ θεὸς μετ' αὐτοῦ.* John, iii 2. But He is obliged to beware of the plots of the Pharisees, John, ii 24, and Nicodemus, one of the Sanhedrim, visits Him by stealth at night. *Οὗτος ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν νυκτὸς* John, iii 1, vii 50.

1207. Jesus, at this time, predicts also the form of His own death, by an allusion to the lifting up of the serpent. *Καὶ καθὼς Μωυσῆς ὑψώσεται τὸν υἱὸν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, οὕτως ὑψωθήναι δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου,* John, iii 14, that is, His death was to be, not by stoning at the hands of the Jews, but He was to be lifted up on the cross, at the hands of the Romans.

1208. The Passover ended on 23 April, and soon after, Our Lord to avoid the persecution of the Pharisees, retires with His disciples from Jerusalem into the rural districts of Judæa. *Μετὰ ταῦτα ἦλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν γῆν* John, iii 22. He may have proceeded to Ephraim, on the north-west of Jerusalem, near the desert, or to the valley of the Jordan, whither He retreated on a subsequent occasion. See John, xi 54. Judæa being Our Lord's native country (as He was born at Bethlehem), and the people of Judæa standing higher in public estimation than the Galileans, Jesus, when obliged to quit Jerusalem, sought to prosecute His ministry in Judæa rather than in Galilee.

1209. Jesus remains long enough in Judæa to make disciples, *καὶ ἐκεῖ διέτριβεν μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐβάπτιζεν,* John, iii 22, and, indeed, to make more disciples than John. *Πλείους μαθητὰς ποιεῖ καὶ βαπτίζει ἢ Ἰωάννης.* John, iv 1. *Ῥαεῖνοι* (Jesus) *δεῖ αὐδᾶναι, ἐμὲ δὲ* (Johannem) *ἐλαττοῦσθαι* John, iii 30. This was before the imprisonment of the Baptist, who was now at Ænon, near Salena. The reason assigned for John's being at Ænon is because water was found there, from which we may infer that it was now the season of drought in Judæa. Salena was evidently the principal place, and Ænon a village near it. *Ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἰωάννης βαπτίζων ἐν Αἰνὼν ἔγγυς τοῦ Σαλείμ, ὅτι ἐδάρτα πολλὰ ἦν ἐκεῖ, καὶ παρεγίνοντο καὶ ἐμβαπτίζοντο οὕτω γὰρ ἦν βεβλημένοις εἰς τὴν φυλάκην ὁ Ἰωάννης* John, iii 23, 24. Salena and Ænon were on the western side of the Jordan, for Bethabara was certainly on the eastern side, and the disciples of John, now

but this fact is so much at variance with all history that it may justly be called in question. Machærus had never belonged to the kings of Pétia, but always to the Herodian family. The passage of Josephus itself also contains strong indications that Herod at this very time had possession of Machærus. How else could the wife of Herod have asked or could he have consented, that she should visit Machærus? It is stated also that when she arrived at Machærus, *she set out for Arabiā τῶν ἡ* (at Machærus), *καὶ ἀπομάρται εἰς τὴν ἡραβία*. Machærus itself then was not part of Arabia. But further John the Baptist was arrested shortly afterwards by Herod and is expressly said by Josephus to have been imprisoned by Herod at Machærus, Ant. xviii 5 2, so that the fortress was unquestionably at that time under the dominion of Herod, and how could it have changed hands during the interval? The only solution attempted of this objection is, that when Herod was at Rome he might have contrived by his influence at court to obtain the cession of Machærus either in exchange for some of Julia's possessions (Archelaus, Phasaelus, and Jamnia) to be granted to Aretas or for part of Herod's own domains about Gamala. But if the voyage was attended with this important result, how could Josephus have passed it over in silence? All the difficulty appears to have arisen from the mistake of the transcriber in writing *rare* for *rare*. The sentence as it came from the pen of Josephus must have stood thus: *προειπεσθαι γὰρ ἐκ πλειουσιν ἐν Μαχαιρούντῃ, τὰ τε πατρὶς αὐτῆς ὑποτέλει, καὶ ὅτι* she had laid the train of her escape by sending to the frontier castle of Machærus, *and to the parts beyond which were subject to her father's jurisdiction*, and then, by the measures of the officer charged with the plot, *πατρὶς ὑπομνησθῆναι ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατηγού*, and by being passed on from one officer to another, *κομῆν τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκ διαδοχῆς*, she arrived in safety at her father's capital. If this change of a single letter be adopted, the narrative becomes consistent with itself, and the stumbling block which has caused so much perplexity is removed.

1216. John the Baptist, as soon as Herod's compact with Herodias becomes public, expostulates with Herod in the hope of averting the marriage, when Herod, stimulated by Herodias and fearing the consequences of John's influence with the people, takes John prisoner by treach-

ery *ἡσυχίᾳ κατέδωκεν*, Matt. xv 14, Mark, i 14, and casts him into prison. Matt. xiv 3, Mark, vi 17, Luke, iii 19, Ant. viii 5, 1 (see the passage from Josephus cited at p. 31, no. 1290). John was kept in prison for some time, for Herod often sent for him and conversed with him (as Felix afterwards sent for Paul, his prisoner, and conversed with him, Act. xxi 24-26) *καὶ συνεθήκει αὐτῷ, καὶ κοινῶσαι αὐτοῦ πολλά ἐποίησεν καὶ ἤδωκεν αὐτῷ ἡσυχίαν*, Mark, vi 20.

1217. The general character of Herod induces us to think that John's imprisonment as afterwards his death, was owing more particularly to the malice and revengeful temper of Herodias. The same headstrong disposition and disregard of consequences in Herodias led eventually to the dethronement of Herod by Caligula (see A D 40, no. 1592). Herod feared John and, if left to himself, would not have dared to use violence; and now, when the Baptist was imprisoned by the instrumentality of Herodias, Herod appears to have softened the matter as much as possible by frequent interviews with him, and a semblance of respect.

1218. At what period Herod became bold enough, in defiance of Jewish prejudices, to marry Herodias is nowhere said, but probably not until some little time after Herod's return from Rome. The expression of the Evangelists at this period is *ἡσυχίᾳ αὐτῷ*, Matt. xiv 4, Mark, vi 18, from which we should infer that Herod was not then married (see the use of *ἡσυχίᾳ* in 1 Cor. v 1). The admonition of the Baptist is rather that of a person seeking to prevent an intended outrage than the rebuke of an offence already perpetrated. Certainly, Mark employs the expression *ὅτι αὐτὸν ἐγάμησεν*, Mark, vi 17, but this may be a statement of what afterwards followed, or, if not so, the force of the language is much diminished when we remember that the Jews applied the word *γάμος* not only to actual marriage, but also to the marriage contract. Thus Josephus tells us that Herod the Great had married Mariamne Bell. i 12 3 and 17, 8, Ant. xiv 12, 1 and 13, 7, xiv 15, 14, xiv 5, 1, though at that time the marriage contract only existed, and the nuptials were not celebrated until many years afterwards.

1219. The Pharisees of Jerusalem, hearing of the success of Jesus in making converts in

Judea, lay plots against Him, which coming to the knowledge of Jesus, He retires into Galilee. This is the reason assigned by John's Gospel for Our Lord's retreat from Judea, and is no doubt the correct one. *Ὡς αὖν ἔγνω ὁ Κόμης ὅτι ἤκουσαν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι, ὅτι πλείονας μαθητὰς ποιεῖ, καὶ βαπτίζει ἢ Ἰωάννης . . . ἀφῆκε τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, καὶ ἀπῆλθε πάλιν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν.* John, iv. 1. According to Matthew, Our Lord's retreat into Galilee may be attributed to his hearing of the imprisonment of John. *Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι Ἰωάννης παρὰ ἔδθῃ, ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, καὶ καταλὼν τὴν Νιζαρέτ, ἔλθων κατήχησεν εἰς Καπερναούμ τὴν παραθαλάσσιον . . . ἀπὸ τότε ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς κηρύσσειν.* Matt. iv. 12. However, the cause assigned by John and that assigned by Matthew are not inconsistent. The Baptist was the forerunner of Our Lord, and Jesus was baptized by him, and the disciples of John became the disciples of Jesus, and, from this intimate connection between the two, when Herod Antipas began the persecution of the Baptist's sect in his dominions by the imprisonment of John, the Pharisees may have followed it up in Judea by active proceedings against Jesus. But the language of Matthew does not necessarily imply that the arrest of the Baptist was the cause of Our Lord's retreat into Galilee; for why, it may be asked, if Our Lord was apprehensive of Herod, should He seek Herod's dominions? The word *ἀκούσας* in Matthew, instead of being referred to what immediately follows, viz. the retreat into Galilee, may be referred to the more remote sequel in the same sentence, viz. that on Our Lord's hearing of John's captivity, He fixed His residence at Capernaum as offering, from the proximity of the lake, the greatest security; or the word *ἀκούσας* may even be carried on to the still more remote statement as to the commencement of Jesus's preaching, so that Matthew's meaning may be, that, from the time of Our Lord's hearing of the imprisonment of John, He began to preach. *Ἀπὸ τότε ἤρξατο, &c.* Mark states that Jesus retired into Galilee *after* the imprisonment of John, but does not assign the imprisonment of the Baptist as the cause of the retirement. Mark, i. 14. Luke, who writes with greater precision and grammatical accuracy than either Matthew or Mark, does not connect Our Lord's return into Galilee with John the Baptist at all. *Καὶ ὑπέ-*

στρεψεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ ὑπάρσει τοῦ Πιλάτου εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν. Luke, iv. 14.

1220. The arrest of John forms an important epoch in the history of Our Lord. Hitherto Jesus had wrought miracles, and preached, and baptized, but had not yet made any circuits. So marked indeed is the distinction between the ministry of Our Lord *before* and *after* John's imprisonment, that, according to the three first Gospels, His ministry commenced from the imprisonment of John, see Matt. iv. 12; Mark, i. 14; Luke, iv. 14; and lest it might be thought that Mark and Luke merely followed the account of Matthew in this particular, without any independent authority, we find the same fact more than once asserted incidentally in the Acts of the Apostles. Thus, in the address of Peter, *ὁ Κόμης Ἰησοῦς ἀπέμεινε ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος Ἰωάννου, ὥς τῆς ἡμέρας, ἥς ἀνελήφθη ἀπ' ἡμῶν.* Acts, i. 22. This passage, if it stood alone, might be considered ambiguous, as meaning either that Jesus began from the baptism of Himself *by* John, or from the close of John's ministry; but that the latter is the true interpretation is established indisputably by the following passage in another address of Peter: *ἦμεν ὅτε τὸ γινόμενον βῆμα καθ' ὅλης τῆς Γαλιλαίας, ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα, ὃ ἐποίησεν Ἰωάννης.* Acts, x. 37; and see Acts, xiii. 24, 25.

1221. Jesus passes on His way from Judea into Galilee through Sychar, a city forty miles from Jerusalem, on the high road to Gadilee. *Ciriths Neapoli . . . Inde millia cccviii. cantibus Hierusalem in parte sinistra est villa, quæ dicitur Bethar . . . Inde Hierusalem mil. vii.* Anton. Itin. It was also called Shechem, Sychem, or Sicama, all modifications of the same word. The route from Judæa to Galilee in this part passes through a valley running from south to north, and on the left another valley branches off to the west, leaving Mount Ebal on the north or right hand, and Mount Gerizim on the south or left hand. Sychar was on Gerizim, the southern mount, and on the northern slope of it. *Σίκμα . . . κειμένην πρὸς τῷ Γαρζείμ ὄρει . . . Το ὄρος Γαρζείμ ὑπερέκειται ἐκ τῆς Σαβιών πόλεως.* Jos. Ant. xi. 8, 6; v. 7, 2. As you enter the side valley which runs off northward from the main valley to the city of Sychar, Jacob's well, protected by a raised wall round the mouth, is on the right hand. It is 120 feet

deep, with 15 feet water, according to some. Bib Cyclop aruc 'Water,' but according to others 75 or 80 feet deep, and dry. See Robinson's Palest., 1852, p. 132, and Robinson's Palest., 1858, ii. 283. The absence or presence of water in the well depends probably upon the season of the year.

1222. Our Lord arrives at Jacob's well at the sixth hour, or 12 o'clock, and being weary with His journey, sits on the well's mouth. Ὁ οὖν Ἰησοῦς λεοσπικῶς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοπορίας ἐλαβετο οὕτως ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ. John, iv. 6. The weariness of Our Lord at noon from the heat of the journey would indicate the summer or autumn, and the same inference is suggested by the circumstance that the Samaritan woman came thither to draw water, the cause of which was no doubt the drought at the time, so that the springs nearer home were exhausted.

1223. In the course of conversation with His disciples at the well, Our Lord uses this remarkable language. Οὐχ ὑμεῖς λέγετε, ὅτι ἐτι τετράμηνός ἐστι καὶ ὁ θερισμός, ἔρχεται, ἰδὼν λέγει ὑμῖν. Ἐπάρατε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑμῶν καὶ θεάσαθε τὰς χώρας ὅτι λευκαὶ εἰσι πρὸς θερισμόν. ἦν, καὶ ὁ θερίων μισθὸν λαμβάνει καὶ συνάγει καρπὸν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. John, iv. 35. Commentators, from a natural anxiety to discover any circumstance that would serve to fix a date in the history of Our Lord, have wrested this passage in opposite directions. Some, as Wieseler, place the scene in midwinter, and render the words οὐχ ὑμεῖς, etc., 'Say ye not, that from the present time to the harvest is yet four months?' and as the harvest was in April at the earliest the discourse would thus be held in the month of December, and great stress is laid by those who support this view upon the word ἔτι, 'it is yet four months.' The hypothesis, however, that the journey of Our Lord was in midwinter is at variance with the whole context. The weariness of Our Lord, and the fact of the woman coming from a distance to draw water, both imply a season of heat and drought. As for the word ἔτι, it is easily referrible, not to the time of the speaker's address, but to the time of sowing, whenever it might be. 'Are ye not wont to say when ye sow, It is yet four months before we can reap?' Others, as Greswell, argue that the discourse of Our Lord was delivered at a time when harvest was still going on, and rely on the words θεάσαθε τὰς

χώρας ὅτι λευκαὶ εἰσι πρὸς θερισμόν. ἦν. This interpretation would place the journey of Our Lord a little before midsummer, when the corn is dead ripe, and, as travellers describe it, 'white' for the harvest. The language, however, appears to be throughout purely metaphorical, and though it was no doubt suggested by the surrounding scene (for the valley in which Jacob's well lay was one great cornfield, Stanley's Palest. 229), it does not follow that the corn was then actually standing. If the harvest was meant to be taken literally, then so were the reapings, but the latter part of the passage is clearly figurative, καὶ ὁ θερίων μισθὸν λαμβάνει καὶ συνάγει καρπὸν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. Our Lord was holding out to His disciples a matter of wonder, but to point to the ripe cornfields, a fact obvious to any one who had eyes, would be but a trifle and trite remark.

1224. The drift of the whole discourse is this. The disciples had gone into Sychar to buy bread. During their absence, Our Lord entered into conversation with the Samaritan woman, and at the close of the interview she hurried away to Sychar with such a marvellous tale, that the Shuclenites in great multitudes poured out in their white gabardines to the well to see the newly found Messiah. Meanwhile the disciples had arrived, and invited Our Saviour to eat, and he answers, ἔγω βρώσιν ἔχω φαγεῖν, ἢν ὑμεῖς οὐκ οἰστέ. John, iv. 35. The disciples did not understand this, and Our Lord proceeds, ἔμὸν βρώμά ἐστιν, ἵνα ποιῶ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με, καὶ τελειώσω αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔργον, iv. 34, 'that His food was not bread, but to do the will of His Father,' viz. to carry out the good work which He had begun, and then addressing His disciples, He adds, 'Are ye not wont to say when ye sow, It is yet four months before we can reap?' but (pointing to the approaching multitudes), 'Lo! the seed which I have sown,' viz. the discourse with the Samaritan woman, 'has ripened to the harvest already,' and He then exhorts His disciples to join with Him in gathering in the harvest, for 'he that reapeth receiveth wages, and gathereth fruit unto life eternal, etc.' vv. 36-38. Our Lord's language, therefore, neither leads to the inference that it was seed time, as Wieseler supposes, nor harvest, as Greswell supposes. The whole discourse is metaphorical and grew naturally

enough out of the surrounding corn lands and the invitation of the disciples to eat bread. The figure of speech may appear hyperbolic to European minds, but the metaphor of God's word producing an instantaneous harvest white for the sickle is not stronger than the representation of the Christian doctrine, on the same occasion, as a well of water of which he who drank should never thirst again. The corn-field was a favourite illustration with Our Lord, and He refers to it in a similar way in the mission of the Twelve, Matt. ix. 37, and again of the Seventy, Luke, x. 2. We should place the journey of Our Lord through Samaria after mid-summer, but the exact time must be matter of conjecture.

1225. Jesus sojourns two days at Sychar, *ἔμεινεν ἐκεῖ δύο ἡμέρας*, John, iv. 40; and then passes on to Cana of Galilee, where at the beginning of the year He had wrought the miracle of converting the water into wine. *Μετά δὲ τὴς τοῦ ἡμῶρας ἐξῆλθεν ἐκείθεν, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐμυρμήρην ὅτι προσήλθε ἐν τῇ ἰδέῃ πατριῇ (Judæa) τιμὴν οὐκ ἔχει . . . ἦλθεν οὖν ὁ Ἰησοῦς πάλιν εἰς τὴν Καρὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας*. John, iv. 43-46. The words *τῇ ἰδέῃ πατρίῃ* in this passage are generally referred to Nazareth, the city where He had been brought up, and which lay on or near the road from Sychar to Cana of Galilee; but the words may be referred with greater propriety to Judea, of which Jesus, as born at Bethlehem, was a native, but from which He had been driven by persecution. In either case the supplemental character of John's Gospel is manifest, as the birth of Christ had not been placed by him at Bethlehem, nor His education at Nazareth, though the former fact is tacitly assumed by John, vii. 42, and the latter is in harmony with all that appears in his Gospel.

The labours of Our Lord in Judea, except at certain public festivals, were now for a time concluded, and for the next two years He exercised His ministry in Galilee.

1226. On the entry of Jesus into Galilee, the Galileans receive Him gladly from the miracles which they had witnessed at 'the feast,' i. e. the last feast of the Passover at Jerusalem. *Ὅτε οὖν ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, ἐδέξαντο αὐτὸν οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι, πάντα ἑσπαράτες, ὃ ἔποιετο ἐν Ἱερουσαλὶμοις ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ*. John, iv. 45. The return of Jesus, therefore, was

within a year (it was only a few months) from the Passover of A.D. 29. This reception of Jesus by the Galileans is also corroborative of the fact that Our Lord had not hitherto opened His ministry in Galilee, else the Galileans would have welcomed Him, not from the miracles which they had witnessed at Jerusalem, but from the display of His supernatural powers (had such been the case) in Galilee itself.

1227. While Jesus is at Cana of Galilee, the courtier (*βασιλικός*) of Capernaum, hearing of Jesus's arrival in Galilee, sends to Him to heal his son, which is done. John, iv. 46. This was the *second* miracle in Galilee, and is another proof that Jesus was now commencing His ministry there for the first time. *Ταῦτο πάλιν δεύτερον σημεῖον ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ἔλθων ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν*. John, iv. 54. The *βασιλικός*, or courtier, was, perhaps, Chuzas, the procurator of Herod Antipas, and whose wife Joanna was a convert. Luke, viii. 3. The miracle was performed at 1 o'clock in the afternoon; for as the *βασιλικός* was returning, his servants met him with the intelligence. *Ὅτι χθὲρ ὤμων ἐπέδωκεν, κ.τ.* John, iv. 52. Cana of Galilee was about a day's journey from Capernaum.

1228. Hitherto we have drawn our materials from John's Gospel, which alone contains any account of Our Lord's labours in Judea at the commencement of His ministry. From this time forward we derive our information from the three first, called the synoptic Gospels, with only supplemental matter occasionally found in the fourth Gospel. As regards chronological order, Luke is followed, who professes the intention, and must have had the means, of recording events from the first with accuracy and regularity. *Ἀνωθεν . . . ἀκριβῶς . . . καταέθηκε*. Luke, i. 3. Mark may be said, in every material respect, to coincide with Luke. The aim of Matthew, on the contrary, was not to write a chronological narrative, but to group together events and discourses according to their subject and bearing. As a proof that Matthew himself did not regard his Gospel as chronologically disposed, we may mention that, with the exception of those events which follow in Matthew in the same order as in Mark and Luke, there are no connectives indicating any sequence of events, but the matters related are independent of each other, and are introduced by such general formulæ as *τότε, ἐν ἐκείναις*

ταῖς ἡμέραις, ἐν ἑκαστῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐν ἑκαστῇ - τῷ καιρῷ, καὶ ἰδοὺ, etc., or with a participle, as Ἰδὼ τοὺς ἄγγελοι καὶ ἔλθω etc. Indeed, the Gospel of Matthew might be re-arranged by a transposition of the several parts so as to harmonize with Mark and Luke, and no one would discover from the language that the Gospel had ever been written in a different order.

1229. From Cana of Galilee Our Lord passed on to Capernaum-on-the-Sea Matt iv 18 Capernaum from its position on the Lake of Tiberias offered the greatest security, and was henceforth the terminus a quo and terminus ad quem of Our Lord's various excursions. He had no house of His own, even at Capernaum (for He had not where to lay His head), but He found an asylum in the house of Peter and his partners. That Capernaum was regarded as the domicile of Our Lord we may collect from the words of Matthew, ἐκθὼν κατακλῆσεν ἐν Καπernaούμ, Matt iv 18 and it was here that the collectors of the corban, or poll-tax for the Temple applied to Our Lord for His contribution Matt xvii 24.

1230. Capernaum was properly Capharnaïm, or Nahum's Town, and is now by abbreviation called Tell-hum, or Hum's-heap. It stood midway between the northern corner of the plain of Gennesaret and the mouth of the Jordan, being three miles from each. The lake there makes a bend to the east so that the town had the lake on the south, and an acclivity running up for a mile or more at the back or north. In the time of Our Lord the suburbs, no doubt, extended a good way up the hill, whence Our Lord's apostrophe, καὶ σὺ Καπernaούμ ἡ ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐψωθέῃσα, ἕως ἄδου παραβιβασθήσῃ Luke, x 15 Matt xi 23 Capernaum was not a πόλις or city, for it had no walls, and yet it was larger than a mere κώμη or village, and was what was called a κομπούκη, i. e. a village grown to the dimensions of a city.

At the northern point of the triangular plain of Gennesaret is a spring called Ain-et-Tin, or the Fig-trees Spring. The heritage just about this spot is luxurious, whence the erroneous tradition in early ages that the Five Thousand were here seated upon the grass when they were miraculously fed. It was also once currently believed that Christ appeared here to His disciples, as they were fishing, after His resurrection. Close to the spring on the north the mountain comes

down to the lake, but beyond this on the north a beach winds along the base of the mountains, and three miles to the north-east was the city of Capernaum on the sea-shore. The best account of its situation is from Arculphus, who visited the neighbourhood in the seventh century. The road to it he describes as follows.

Qui ab Hierosolymis descendentes Capernaum nitere capiunt per Tiberiadem et vadunt recte deinde serua lacum Galilee (along the Lake of Gennesaret), locumque superius memorata benedictionis (the feeding of the Five Thousand, supposed to be at Ain-et-Tin) per eam habent, a quo per marginem ejusdem stagni non longo circuitu (three miles) Capernaum perveniunt Marti-mani Adamnanus, ii 25, cited Robins B R iii 355. Arculphus did not go to Capernaum, but after reaching the grass-plot, the traditional locality of the feeding of the Five Thousand, at Ain-et-Tin, which he calls Fonticulus (Adamnanus ii 24), viz. as compared with the great fountain, now called the Round Fountain, on the west of the plain he ascended the mountain on the north of Ain-et-Tin, and thence had a view of Capernaum, which he thus describes. Quæ (Capernaum) ut Arculphus refert qui eam de monte vicino prospexit, murum non habens, angusto inter montem et stagnum con-tota spatia, per illam maritimam oram longo tramite protenditur, montem ab aquilonali plagâ, lacum vero ab austali habens, ab occasu in ortum extensa dngitur Adamn ii 25 cited Rob B R iii 375. Arculphus calls the town Capernaum Maritima, as Matthew calls it Καπernaούμ παραθαλάσσια; Matt iv 18. It would seem that the fountain of Capernaum was in the plain of Gennesaret, being identical with that now called the Round Fountain, the only one which can answer Josephus's description of fertilizing the whole plain. Bell iii 10, 8, and there may have been then a village about the Round Fountain called also Capernaum, and the town on the seashore, therefore in order to distinguish it from the village in the plain, may have been called Capernaum-super-mare, or Capernaum may have been so called to distinguish it from some other Capernaum not mentioned in history, as towns of the same name were as frequent in that as in the present age.

In the thirteenth century Capernaum had dwindled to a few huts. For Brocardus, after speaking of a fountain which passed for a vein of the Nile (apparently Ain-et-Tin, at the

northern point of the Lake of Genesaret), proceeds thus: *Ab hoc fonte si iteris per viginti passus supra mare Galilee, est locus ubi Christus, etc.* (where Christ presented Himself to His disciples after His resurrection). *Ab eo loco orientem versus per unam leucam* (three miles) *est Capernaum, civitas quondam gloriosa, sed nunc vicus humilis, vix septem habens casus piscatorum.* Brocardus, ch. iv. p. 173, cited Rob. B. R. iii. 357.

The site of Capernaum is, at the present day, a heap (Tell) of ruins. The only striking remnant is the wreck of the vast synagogue, of a style neither Grecian nor Roman, but essentially Jewish; once adorned with a portico with a double row of columns, and everywhere decorated with a profusion of elaborate sculpture (see a sketch of the style in Bonar's Land of Promise, p. 411). The edifice, which is 105 feet on the northern side, by 80 feet on the western, surpasses in size everything of the kind to be found elsewhere, and proves incontestably that on this spot was once collected the population of a great city. It was in this very synagogue, perhaps, that Our Lord preached the sermon recorded by John. *Ταῦτα ἔφη ἐν συναγωγῇ ἐδίδασκεν ἐν Καπερναούμ.* John, vi. 59. See Robinson's Palest. ii. 497.

1231. In the neighbourhood of Capernaum were (*scilicet*) two Bethsaidas, or rather two wings of one extended Bethsaida, viz. Bethsaida West—at the mouth of the Jordan, on the western side of the river, a little to the north-east of Capernaum—and Bethsaida East, at the mouth of the Jordan, on the eastern side, and called Julias. Bethsaida West was a fishing village (*κώμη*), as the name imports. That it lay to the north of Capernaum, we learn from a traveller of the eighth century. *Et inde (a Tiberiade) ibant circa mare et pergebant secus vicum Magdalenae (Magdala), et veniebant ad illam vicum Capernaum . . . et inde pergebant ad Bethsaidam, et illic naves amari nocturne pergebant, etc.* Vita Sancti Willibaldi, sects. 16, 17, cited Rob. B. R. iii. 356. That Bethsaida West was not far from Capernaum appears from Epiphanius. *Οἱ μακρὶν ὄντων τῶν τόπων τούτων* (Capernaum and Bethsaida) *τῇ ἰσότητι.* Epiphani. adv. Hæres. lib. ii. 487. Bethsaida East—on, as it was otherwise called, Julias—was not a *κώμη*, but a city (*πόλις*) of some importance in the tetrarchy of Herod Philip, by whom it had

been greatly improved, and called Julias, in honour of the daughter of Augustus (see B.C. i. no. 353).

1232. Chorazin, which is coupled with Bethsaida, Matt. xi. 21; Luke, x. 13, was not on the lake itself. From Capernaum a valley runs off in a north-westerly direction; and at a distance of nearly three miles from Capernaum, a smaller valley strikes off to the north-east; and at the opening of this second valley, on the western side, was Chorazin. It is still called Kerāzeh. The words of Jerome, *Lacum Genesareth, in cuius litore Capernaum et Tiberias et Bethsaida et Chorazin sive eius* (Hieron. in Esd. ix. 1, 88, ed. Mart., cited Rob. B. R. 360), must, as regards Chorazin, not be taken literally, though the place was in the immediate vicinity of the lake. See Robinson's Palest. 1852, p. 346.

1233. Whether Jesus, during His present sojourn at Capernaum, before making a circuit, wrought any miracles there may be questioned. The affirmative would seem to be implied by the language afterwards used at Nazareth. *“Οὐκ ἔκούσαμεν γενόμενον ἐν τῇ Καπερναούμ, ποιεῖν καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῇ πατρίδι σου.* Luke, iv. 23. But to this it may be answered, that reference may here be made only to the cure of the son of the βασιλῆος at Capernaum, while Our Lord himself was still at Cana in Galilee. John, iv. 46; and that John records this event for the purpose of explaining the passage in Luke. We may conclude, with some reason, that at least Jesus did not now display His supernatural powers over unclean spirits at Capernaum; for when Our Lord, on His return to Capernaum, wrought the cure in the synagogue, they exclaimed, *Τίς ἡ βλαχὴ, ἡ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ, οὗ καὶ ἔκονταν καὶ τοῖς πνεύμασι τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις ἐπιτασσὶ καὶ ὑποκούουσιν αὐτῷ.* Mark, i. 27.

1234. Jesus, in the latter part of this year, commences His first circuit in Galilee. Matt. iv. 17. Mark, i. 14. Luke, iv. 14.

1235. Peter and Andrew, and James and John (now that their master, the Baptist, was in captivity), are called to be Our Lord's disciples permanently. Mark, i. 16. Matt. iv. 18. As they were engaged at the time in their ordinary occupation of fishing, the scene of the call was no doubt in the immediate neighbourhood of Capernaum. The call of these four disciples is omitted by Luke, to avoid the appearance of repetition, as it so nearly

resembles the miracle of the Draught of Fishes subsequently recorded by Luke, v 4. Matthew and Mark, for the like reason, record one only of Our Lord's two visits to Nazareth, Matt xiii 54. Mark, vi 1, and Luke the other, Luke, iv 16. The call of Peter and Andrew, and James and John, however, though omitted by Luke in its proper place, is implied and tacitly assumed by Luke himself, for even in *his* Gospel we find Peter in constant attendance on Our Lord from this time, and before the mention by Luke of the miraculous draught of fishes. Luke, iv 38, and compare Luke, iv 42, Mark, i 36.

1236. Jesus, in the course of this circuit, visits His own city (by which is meant that in which He had been brought up, viz Nazareth), when they seek to cast Him headlong from the brow of the mountain on which the city stood *Ἦν ὄρος τοῦ ὅπου ἐξ' οὗ ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν ᾤκοδοῦτο* Luke iv 29. At the south-west of the city the mountain breaks off abruptly with a fall of forty or fifty feet. This probably was the 'Tarpeian rock' of Nazareth, from which Our Lord's fellow-countrymen sought to cast Him headlong. The traditional spot, or Mount of Precipitation, which is two miles off to the south, and overlooks the valley of Ediaelon or Jezreel, can have no real claim to the name it bears. See Robinson's Palest. ii 385, and Stanley's Sinai and Palest. p 362. Jesus had been occupied some time on His circuit before He reached Nazareth, for it is said that He attended the synagogue at Nazareth on the Sabbath, *as he was wont*. Several weeks, therefore, had already elapsed. *καὶ εἰσῆλθε κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν, καὶ ἀνέστη ἀναγινῶναι* Luke, iv 16. The words *κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς* refer apparently to the preaching in the synagogues of Galilee, mentioned in the preceding verse. *καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξιδάσκεν ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν*, v 17. It is quite possible, however, that the Evangelist may here allude to Our Lord's general custom.

1237. The portion of Scripture read by Our Lord was the sixty-first chapter of Isaiah, Luke, iv 18, and if, as is likely this was the Lesson or *Ἐψητοσθ* for the day, it enables us to fix the time of year when the sermon was delivered, for the sixty-first chapter of Isaiah was the appointed lesson of the daily service about the Feast of Tabernacles, which this year was

11 October. That Our Lord read the lesson of the day we should infer from the circumstance that the Book of *Isaiah* only and not of the Pentateuch or Prophets generally, was delivered to Him. *καὶ ἐπεδόθη αὐτῷ βιβλίον Ἰσαίου τοῦ προφήτου* Luke, iv 17. See Gressw. Dis. ii 251.

1238. Jesus compares Himself at Nazareth to Elias, who had been sent to the house of Israel for three years and six months. *Ὅτε ἐλκίσθη ὁ υἱανὸς ἐπὶ ἔτη τῶν τε καὶ μῆνας ἑξ, ὡς ἐγένετο λιμὸς μέγας ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν* Luke, ii 25. The ministry of Our Lord in *Galilee*, commencing from the imprisonment of John (the only part of the ministry recorded by the three first Evangelists), lasted just about three years and six months, viz from the autumn of A D 29 to the Passover A D 33.

1239. Jesus, at the conclusion of the circuit, returns to Capernaum. *καὶ εἰσπορεύεται εἰς Καπεριναὺμ* Mark, i 21. *καὶ κατήλθεν εἰς Καπεριναὺμ* Luke iv 31. The first circuit was a short one and may have occupied about two months. and Our Lord's return to Capernaum must be placed in the last quarter of the year.

1240. Jesus cures the demoniac, on the Sabbath day, in the synagogue of Capernaum. This was the first Sabbath after Our Lord's return, but it is not said that He had returned on a Sabbath, and that He entered forthwith into the synagogue. The language rather implies that the day of His arrival was not on a Sabbath. *καὶ εἰσπορεύονται εἰς Καπεριναὺμ, καὶ εὐθὺς τοῖς σάββατον, εἰ* Mark, i 21.

1241. The same day (*εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ*, Mark, i 29, Luke, iv 38), Jesus cures Peter's wife's mother of a fever. It was now the sickly autumnal season, when fevers are rife.

1242. The same day, when the Sabbath was over, i.e. after sunset, *δύοις τοῖς δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου* Luke, iv 40, *ὁπλίας δὲ γενομένης, ὅτι ἔδν ὁ ἡλίας*, Mark, i 32, the sick folk are brought to Jesus, and are healed. but the unclean spirits are forbidden to proclaim Him as the Messiah. *καὶ ἐπιτιμῶν οὐκ εἰς αὐτοὺς λαλεῖν, ὅτι ᾔδεισαν τὸν Διούσαν αὐτὸν εἶναι* Mark, i 34. As the general notion of the Messiah was that of a temporal Prince, who should free the Jews from the Roman yoke, the declaration of Jesus as the Messiah might have led to a breach of the peace. Besides Herod Antipas had a little before, arrested the Baptist, and Our

Lord, if recognised as the leader of a new sect, would soon share a similar fate. This will partly account for the rapid succession of Our Lord's circuits; for had He remained long in any one place, the people would have taken Him by force, and made him King. By the prudence of Our Lord's conduct, the attention of Herod was not seriously attracted to Our Lord until the death of John the Baptist, at the beginning of A.D. 31 (see no. 1297).

1243. The next morning after the Sabbath, Jesus retires to a desert place to pray, before entering on another circuit, the *second*. *Παραμένη δὲ ἡμέρας ἐξελεύσας ἐπανέσθη εἰς ἔρημον τόπον.* Luke, iv. 42. *Καὶ πρὸς ὑπαρχὸν Νάναῖνας ἐξῆλθε καὶ ἀπήλθεν εἰς ἔρημον τόπον, κἀκεῖ προσήγγετο.* Mark, L 35. Here, as in other texts, as Capernaum was Our Lord's home (so far as He had any), the commencement of a new circuit is expressed by the word *ἐξῆλθεν*. In this instance it may be collected from the context that Jesus was at Capernaum; but *ἐξῆλθεν* is elsewhere used simply for the commencement of a new circuit, when, but for the technical use of the word, the whereabouts of Our Lord at the time would not be known. Others, however, read the word *ἐξῆλθεν* in the above passages as meaning Our Lord's exit, not from Capernaum, but from the house of Peter, where He had been lodging.

1244. The people of Capernaum seek to retain Jesus amongst them, but He declares the necessity of visiting the other cities. *Ταῖς ἐν τῷ πόλει τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστάται με δεῖ ἡμῶς, λέγει τοῦ Θεοῦ.* Luke, iv. 43. Jesus, therefore, was now about to preach in the cities of Galilee, which, as the winter was approaching, would be the natural course.

1245. Jesus, during this circuit, traverses the whole of Galilee. *Εἰς ὅλην τὴν Γαλιλαίαν.* Mark, i. 39. *Περῆγεν ὅλην τὴν Γαλιλαίαν.* Matt. iv. 23. Luke, iv. 44. As Galilee, according to Josephus, contained 201 villages and cities, Jos. Vit. 45, the least of which had a population of 15,000 inhabitants, Bell. iii. 3, 2, the circuit of Our Lord through Galilee, even if we allow for great exaggeration by Josephus, must have occupied a considerable time. Supposing it to have commenced late in the autumn of A.D. 29, and to have lasted four or five months, the return of Jesus to Capernaum would be in the spring of A.D. 30; and that His absence was a lengthened one is expressly asserted

by Mark. *καὶ πάλιν ἐσθλῶθεν εἰς Καπερναοὺν δέ ἡμερῶν.* Mark, ii. 1. It will be seen hereafter that Our Lord was engaged upon the circuit next after this (i.e. the *third*) at the time of harvest, when the disciples rubbed the ears of corn in their hands on the *ἐνευροπώτων σάββατον* (22 April, A.D. 30; see that year, no. 1254); and to allow time for Our Lord to visit the cities of all Galilee, in the course of His second circuit, He must have commenced it in A.D. 29. As stress is laid by Mark and Matthew on the extent of this the second circuit, viz. through the whole of Galilee, the previous one had inferentially been only a partial circuit.

1246. In the course of this the second circuit occurs the miracle of the Dragma of Fishes, Luke, v. 1, a distinct transaction from the call of Peter and Andrew, and James and John, though many of the circumstances are similar. Mark, i. 16. Matt. iv. 18.

1247. In the same circuit is wrought the Cure of the Leper; and the way in which this miracle is treated by the three first Evangelists deserves particular notice. From Matthew we learn only that the miracle was wrought. *Καὶ τοῦ Λεπτοῦ, etc.* Matt. viii. 2. The narrative of Mark goes further, and implies, but only indirectly, that the miracle took place in a city. *Ἦλθε μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα φανερώς εἰς πόλιν ἐσελθεῖν.* Mark, i. 45. Luke, writing historically and carefully, with the Gospels of Matthew and Mark before him, begins by stating what Mark had only implied. *Καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτὸν ἐν μετ' τῶν πόλεων, etc.* Luke, v. 12. Who can doubt that the three first Gospels were written in the order in which we find them? Matthew unquestionably wrote first; and Mark must have preceded Luke, for the latter might well have improved upon the former, but the former could not purposely have obscured the latter.

1248. Our Lord, in the desire of avoiding notoriety, had strictly charged the leper not to publish the cure, *ὅρα, μηδὲ εἰς μίαν εἰσῆς,* Mark, i. 44; Matt. viii. 1; but the fame of the miracle, notwithstanding, was such, that Our Lord was obliged for a time to retire from public view, and withdraw into desert places, but whither the multitudes still followed Him. *Αὐτὸς δὲ ἦν ὑπαχωρῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις.* Luke, v. 16. Mark, i. 45.

(X.B. The occurrences during Our Lord's

second circuit fall partly under this year, and partly under the next, but we should in vain attempt to distinguish the line of demarcation.)

1249. There is extant a coin of Herod Antipas, thus described by Eckhel *Ἡρώδου Τετραρχου Rannus palmar In aed I. AΓ* and on the reverse *Εὐεργεια ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ*. It was therefore struck at Tiberias, and I.G. i.e. in the thirty-third year of the reign of Herod Antipas, or A.D. 29. Eckhel, iii 486.

1250. Also a coin of Herod Philip. On the obverse, *Καίσαρος Σεβαστου Κορνηλίου Αυγούστου + Φιλίππου Τετραρχου Τεμπλιον* i.e. *coloniae ianua in qua I. AΓ* i.e. in the thirty-third year of his reign, or A.D. 29. Eckhel, iii 490.

1250 a Coin of Tiberias

Τετράρχης Τιβεριανῆς Eckhel, vi 190

Coin of the Tetrarchis, King of Boeophorus

ΒΑΡΕΚΕΙ or in the year 320, dating from
C. 157 (see vol 2, no 906 a)

Id. ii 375

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle

Passover, April 16

Pentecost, June 6

Tabernacles, October 11

A D. 30 U.C. 783. Olymp. 202, 2

M. VALERIUS QUADRANTUS

L. CASSIUS LONGINUS

Quos exceperunt C. Cassius Longinus, L. Vestinus
Surdinus

TIBERII XVII FROM 19 AUG TRIB POT XXIII
FROM 27 JULY COS IV COS DESIG V POT I
MIA IMP VIII

Thirty-fourth year of the reign of Herod
Antipas and of Herod Philip

1251. Jesus having concluded his second circuit which, as it was through all Galilee, had occupied four or five months, returns after a long absence to Capernaum in the spring *καὶ πάλιν εἰσέλθει εἰς Καπερναοὺμ δι' ἡμερῶν, καὶ ἠκουσθὲν ὅτι εἰς οἶκον εἰσι* Mark, ii 1 The house was probably that of Peter and his partners, mentioned Mark i 29. It was not the house in which the mother and brethren of Jesus resided, for on His return home on a subsequent occasion, *εἰς οἶκον* Mark iii 20, they

heard of it and came to Him Mark, iii 21 and 31.

ABOUT THIS TIME, VIZ THE PASSOVER, A.D. 30 (5
A.P.P.I.), COMMENCED THE SECOND YEAR OF OUR
LOPPI'S MINISTRY

1252. Jesus now enters upon another (being his third) circuit *καὶ ἐξῆλθε πάλιν πύρην τῆς θάλασσης* Mark ii 13 *καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξῆλθε* Luke, v, 27. We have already observed that the word *ἐξῆλθε* is a technical one, and usually denotes a departure from Capernaum. It would appear from the words *παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν*, 'by the sea-shore,' that the route of Our Lord was now southward, and so along the plain of Gennesaret toward Tiberias.

1253. Matthew the publican is called at the receipt or custom Mark, ii 14 Matt ix 9. He had probably been one of the *τελώναι* who were disciples of the Baptist Luke, iii 12. Tiberias, the capital of Galilee now lay in the direct route of Our Lord, and the *τελώναι*, or receipt of customs, at which Matthew sat, may have been the octroi at the gate or Tiberias to levy imposts on all commodities introduced into the city. If Our Lord now visited Tiberias, it was a solitary instance; at least we have no record of His having entered the city on any other occasion. One reason for avoiding Tiberias may have been that it was built on an ancient burial-ground, a site so repulsive to the feelings of the Jews that they could not be induced to reside there. Jos. Ant. xviii 2, 3. The chief part of the inhabitants consisted therefore of a mixed Greek and Roman and Syrian population, and as 'salvation was of the Jews,' Our Lord would naturally prefer other places where His own countrymen would be found in greater numbers. By sojourning also at Tiberias, He would immediately have drawn upon Himself the jealousy of the unprincipled Herod, who made that his principal residence.

1254. Jesus passes through the cornfields on the second-first Sabbath *Ἦν σάββατον δευτεροπρώην* Luke vi 1 Mark, ii 23 Matt xii 1. Various interpretations have been offered of this compound *δευτεροπρώην*. 1. In the opinion of some after Scaliger it signifies the first of the seven Sabbaths after the second day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, from which the fifty days to the Pentecost, or Feast of Weeks, were counted.

2. Another hypothesis is that the first Sabbath of the civil year, which commenced from the autumnal equinox, was the *πρῶτον σάββατον*, and that the first Sabbath of the sacred year, which began at the vernal equinox, was the *δευτεροπρῶτον*, or second-first Sabbath. But from a passage in Clem. Strom. vi. 5, 760, the first Sabbath of the sacred, and not the first Sabbath of the civil year, was called the *πρῶτον σάββατον*, for *καὶ εἰν μὴ σελήνη φανῇ, σάββατον οὐκ ἔχουσι τὸ λεγόμενον πρῶτον, οὐτε ἄζυμα, οὐτε ἱερῆς, οὐτε μεγάλην ἡμέραν*.

3. Others think that *δευτεροπρῶτον* refers to the Sabbatic cycle of seven years, the first Sabbath of the first year being called the *πρῶτον σάββατον*, and the first Sabbath of the second year the *δευτεροπρῶτον σάββατον*, and so on. This ingenious theory would place the Sabbath in question in the spring of A.D. 29, the second year of the Sabbatic cycle, which the chronology of the life of Our Saviour will by no means allow. But if, as is likely, the corn which the disciples rubbed in their hands was wheat, all these hypotheses are open to the objection that at the several times suggested the corn was not ripe. It is a mistake to suppose, as is commonly assumed, that the wheat was ripe in Judæa at the Passover. Philo tells us expressly that the *unripe* corn, as the leavened loaves at the Pentecost represented the *ripe* corn. *Κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον (λέγω δὲ τὴν ἐαρινήν) ὅρουν ἐν ᾧ συμβαίνει τὴν ἱερῆν (the Passover) ἡγεσθαι, ὃ τοῦ σίτου καρπὸς ἀτελής ἐστι, τῶν πάλιν σταχυορμούντων καὶ μήπω καιρὸν ἔχοντων εἰς ἄμικτον· ἐκκαίωσιν ἐξ ὁμοίωσιν τὴν ἡμῶν τροφήν, ἀτελής γάρ ἐστι καὶ αὕτη πρὸς ἐλπίδα χρηστῆς τρομῆσεως.* Philo de Septen. 19. "Ἀρτοι δὲ εἰσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ σίτος, ἡ ἀπαρχή (at the Pentecost) διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶν ἐνέειν ἵτι τῶν εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν τροφῆς υἱοῦ γαροντος." Philo de Septen. 21. The most probable meaning of the word *δευτεροπρῶτον* is the *first* Sabbath of the *second* Jewish month, i. e. Ijar, when the corn would be ripe. The first Sabbath of every month was a *πρῶτον σάββατον*; but to distinguish one from the other, the first Sabbath of the first month was called simply *πρῶτον*, the first Sabbath of the second month *δευτεροπρῶτον*, the first Sabbath of the third month *τρίτο-πρῶτον*, and so on.

Robinson mentions incidentally, under the dates of 9 and 10 May, that the Arab at-

tendants, as they went through the cornfields in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea, plucked the ears of corn and rubbed them in their hands, and pleaded ancient custom in their justification. Robins. Palest. i. 493. 499.

1255. Jesus goes up to Jerusalem at the Feast of Pentecost. *Μετὰ ταῦτα ἦν ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, etc.* John, v. 1. It is a common opinion that the feast here referred to by John was the Passover; and this hypothesis was in the first instance adopted by the Author, but he afterwards came to the conclusion, for various reasons, that it was the Pentecost. If it was the Passover, it could be only the Passover of the second year of Our Lord's ministry, i. e. of A.D. 30; but we know that very soon after the Passover of A.D. 30 Jesus was engaged on a circuit, and passed through the cornfields on the *δευτεροπρῶτον σάββατον*, Luke, vi. 1; and though it is not expressly stated that Our Lord at the time of the *δευτεροπρῶτον σάββατον* was in Galilee, yet the narrative of the Gospels leads strongly to that result; and assuming it to be so, these consequences would follow:—If the *δευτεροπρῶτον σάββατον* indicated the first Sabbath from the second day of Unleavened Bread, i. e. from the Sheaf-offering, from which the seven weeks to Pentecost were counted, it is clear that Jesus, if He attended the Passover—if *ἑορτὴ* be that feast—could not have been prosecuting His circuit on the *δευτεροπρῶτον* Sabbath in Galilee, for the Passover itself did not end until the fifth day after the Sheaf-offering. But even assuming the *δευτεροπρῶτον* to mean the first Sabbath of the second Jewish month, Ijar (which would place it as late as possible), it is not likely that Jesus and His disciples should so soon have passed through the cornfields in Galilee. The Passover would end on 21 Nisan, or 12 April; and supposing Our Lord to have attended it, we must allow a week for His return to Capernaum, so that He would arrive there on 28 Nisan, or 19 April. Ijar, according to Greswell (see Prolegomena), would begin on 20 April, and the first Sabbath, or Saturday, in Ijar would be on the third of that month, or 22 April. See De Morgan's Book of Almanacks. Thus there would be only three days for Our Lord's sojourn at Capernaum, the commencement of another circuit, the call of Matthew in the course of it, Luke, v. 27; Mark, ii. 13, and then the incident in the cornfields on the *δευτεροπρῶτον σάββατον*. This

is possible but not probable. The Author, therefore, was led to conjecture that the feast, *ἑορτή* recorded John, v. 1, did not precede, but followed the δευτεροπρωτον σάββατον, and that this feast was in fact the Pentecost. Such was the opinion of Cyril, Chrysostom, Theophylact and others (see Angel, pp. 24-26, and Bengel, *ad loc.*), and on a nearer examination of the passage in John, there are not wanting several confirmations of this view. The introductory words are *μετα ταῦτα ἦν ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, and had the Passover been intended, the article would surely have been prefixed (*ἡ ἑορτή*) as elsewhere by the same Evangelist. See John, vi. 1, iv. 45. It is also stated that the sick folk lay at the Pool of Bethesda waiting for the moving of the waters, from which the deduction may fairly be made that the sick folk were thus congregated at a feast, and that the feast was for one day only. We can hardly suppose that the descent of the angel would be ascribed to a feast of more days than one or to any day not having the sanctity of a feast, or that the sick folk would be placed about the pool for a week together while a feast of that duration lasted. The Feasts of the Passover, Tabernacles, and Dedication were all of them eight days, and the Feast of Purim was for three days, but the Feast of Pentecost was for one day only. On this day, therefore, the angel might well be believed to visit the pool, and the sick folk might well be gathered about it. It is remarkable that John mentions all the feasts by name with the exception of this one and the reason may be that the others were feasts of several days, but the Pentecost being for one day only would be properly designated by John as *ἑορτή*, a feast day. But further, John tells us that the miracle at the Pool of Bethesda was wrought on a Sabbath or Saturday. *Ἦν δὲ σάββατον ἐν κείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ*, v. 9. And if it should appear that the day of Pentecost in A D 30 fell on a Saturday the evidence in support of our hypothesis acquires additional weight. We find in Pingré's Tables that there was an eclipse of the moon on 4 June, A D 30 at 11 A M. The preceding full moon would therefore be on 5 May, and the full moon before that (being the first after the vernal equinox) on 6 April. This 6 April would therefore be the 15 Nisan, and the Passover would begin the day before, viz on 5 April. This calculation from Pingré's Tables agrees

with Greenwell (see his Prolegomena). The 16 Nisan, or Sheep-offering, would therefore be on 7 April, and if we reckon forward from 7 April exclusive, the fiftieth day or Pentecost, would fall on 27 May, and on turning to De Morgan's Book of Almanacks we find that 27 May in A D 30 was a Saturday, or Sabbath.

In the narrative of John, this feast (v. 1) precedes the *Passover* of A D 31, when the Five Thousand were fed, John, vi. 4, and it was therefore certainly some feast in A D 30. And again, at the approach of the Feast of Tabernacles A D 31, Our Lord's brethren taunted Him with His retirement to Galilee and challenged Him to go up with them to the Feast of Tabernacles at Jerusalem, John, vii. 3, and Our Lord could scarcely have given rise to these remarks unless more than a year had elapsed since His last attendance at a feast, but the language would be natural enough if Jesus had visited Jerusalem for the last time previously at the Feast of Pentecost A D 30.

The assumption that this *ἑορτή* was a Pentecost of course harmonizes with the fact that the sick folk were waiting in the open air and on the moving of the water were plunged into the pool. For in May the temperature of both the air and the water would be warm and genial. Such a custom could scarcely have prevailed at any feast during the winter, as, for example, at the Feast of Dedication, or *Εγκαίνια*.

1256. Jesus, at this feast, which we have concluded to be the Pentecost, cures the poor cripple at the Pool of Bethesda, by the Sheepgate, on the Sabbath. *Ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροσολύμοις ἐν τῇ προπύρῳ τῇ κολλυμβήθρᾳ ἡ ἐπικεχομένη Ἰβηθεὶς περὶ στροφῆς ἔχουσα* John v. 2.

1257. From the use of the word *ἔστι* in the present tense it has been argued with some force that Jerusalem was still standing at the publication of John's Gospel. And if this be so, then, as John afterwards refers to the crucifixion of Peter, xvi. 19, the date of the Gospel would be some time between A D 65 when Peter was crucified (see no 1980), and A D 70, when Jerusalem was destroyed.

1258. The position of the Sheepgate appears from Nehemiah iii. 1. It lay at the north of the Temple platform and was either at the north-east corner of the Haram esh Sherif at the present gate Sôbât, or about halfway along the northern wall of the Haram at the present

gate Horta. In either case it was by the Pool of Bethesda, still so called, which lies between those two gates.

The western end of the Pool may have been occupied by five arches or porches, of which two only, the most southern, now remain. These two have been traced westward for 100 feet, and perhaps reach much farther. They are parallel to each other, and are, therefore, aptly called by the Bordeaux Pilgrim, and by Eusebius and Jerome, the Twin Pools, and were even then known by the name of Bethesda. These authors speak of the water as having a red tinge from the blood of the Temple victims which were once washed there; and this circumstance probably conferred the sanctity which gave rise to the legend of the descent of the angel. *Interius vero civitatis sunt piscine gemellares quinque porticus habentes que appellatur Bet-aida. Ibi ægri multorum annorum sanabantur. Aquam autem habent eam piscine in modum coccini turbatam.* Hieron. Hieros. Βηζαϊδα, κολυμβήθρα ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ προβατικὴ τὸ πάλαιον πέντε τοῖς ἐξουσία, καὶ οὐν εἰκύνοντα ἐν ταῖς ἀνθρώποις λίμναις ἐξ ὕδατος, ὧν ἑκατέρη μὲν ἐκ τῶν κατ' ἑσπέραν πληροῦται, θαλάττη δὲ παρατόξως πεφοιτηγμένην εἰκύνει τὸ ὕδωρ, ὅχως, ὡς γὰρ, φέρονται τῶν πάλαι καθαρομένων ἐν αὐτῇ ἰεγίων. Bethesda. Piscina in Jerusalem que vocabatur Προβατικὴ et a nobis interpretari potest Pecunia. Pro quinque quondam porticus habuit, ostendunturque gemini locus quorum unus hybernis pluvias impleri solet, alter æquum in modum rubens quasi orientis aquis antiqui in se operis signa testatur, nam hostias in eo lavari a sacerdotibus ferunt. Eusebii Onomasticon. The pool is called by John κολυμβήθρα, or a 'swimming pool;' and as great multitudes were collected in the five porches, the pool was of large dimensions, and the spacious arches at the western end of the present pool, called Bethesda, would well answer to this description.

1259. In consequence of the supposed breach of the law, in having wrought the miraculous cure of the cripple at the Pool of Bethesda on the Sabbath, the Jews seek to take the life of Jesus. John, v. 16.

1260. Jesus for nearly a year and a half after this did not visit Jerusalem, even at the public festivals, and the attempt made upon His life at this Feast of Pentecost may be assumed as the cause of this lengthened absence. In

speaking of the interval between the Feast of Pentecost A.D. 30 and the Feast of Tabernacles A.D. 31, when our Lord was again at Jerusalem, the evangelist John observes, καὶ περὶ ταῦτα ὁ Ἰησοῦς παρα ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Βηζαϊδῃ, ὃν γὰρ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ περὶ αὐτὸν, ὅτι ἐξήτιον αὐτὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἀποκτείνειν. John, vii. 1. At the time of the next Passover (A.D. 31) it is expressly mentioned that Jesus was in Philip's tetrarchy. John, vi. 4.

1261. Jesus, at this Pentecost, refers to the testimony of John the Baptist given at Bethabara on Our Lord's return from the forty days' temptation; and the testimony, therefore, had been sufficiently recent to be still in the recollection of Our Lord's hearers. Ἄπει ἀπιστάλατε πρὸς Ἰωάννην, καὶ μεμαρτύρηκε τῇ ἀληθείᾳ. John, v. 33. The testimony of John had been delivered about a year before, viz. in the spring of A.D. 29. John the Baptist at this time was still in prison, for his ministry is spoken of as past. Ἐκεῖνος ἦν ὁ λῃχρὸς ὁ κούμενος. John, v. 35.

1262. After keeping the feast (Pentecost, A.D. 30) Jesus returns from Jerusalem to Galilee, and in the course of His ministry there restores the withered hand in one of the synagogues on a Sabbath-day, when the Pharisees with the Herodians conspire against His life. Ἐξελθόντες οἱ Φαρισαῖοι εὐθέως μετὰ τῶν Ἡρώδων συνβόλευον ποιοῦντες κατ' αὐτοῦ ὅπως αὐτὸν ἀπολέσωσιν. Mark, iii. 6. Matt. xii. 14. The Pharisees seem to have been jealously watching Our Lord at this time, from having witnessed His violation of the Sabbath by the cure of the cripple at the Pool of Bethesda not long before at the Feast of Pentecost, which they as well as Jesus had attended. The Herodians here mentioned were either the partisans of Herod Antipas, in whose dominions Our Lord now was, or the term Herodians may denote the Sadducees, the party opposed to the Pharisees, and called sometimes Herodians. Thus, the leaven of the Sadducees, Matt. xvi. 6, is called by Mark, viii. 15, the leaven of Herod. The Pharisees believed in a resurrection, which the Sadducees did not; and thus, in a religious point of view, the Pharisees and the Sadducees were the antagonistic sects. But the Pharisees were also the great champions of the Law of Moses and the traditions, while the partisans of the Herods relied on the support of the Romans, and were innovators; and thus politi-

cally the *Pharisees* and the *Herodians* were opposed. It will be observed that Matthew speaks of the Pharisees only as plotting against Jesus, and Mark accordingly does not say that the Pharisees and Herodians indifferently, but that the Pharisees *with* the Herodians, conspired, so that the Pharisees were evidently the active parties and took the Herodians as their accomplices.

The miracle of the Withered Hand appears to have been wrought in the interior parts of Galilee, and Jesus, to avoid the machinations of His enemies, now withdraws to the neighbourhood of the Lake of Genesareth, *καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς αἰκώρησε μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν*, Mark, iii 7, *ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς γυνὸς αἰκώρησεν ἐκείθεν*, Matt xii 15, the vicinity of the lake affording the ready means of escape from the tetarchy of Herod into the dominions of his brother Philip.

1263. Jesus at this time is attended by a vast concourse of people from Galilee and Judæa and Jerusalem, and Idumæa, and Perea, and Tyre and Sidon Mark, iii 7. Those from Tyre and Sidon had only heard of Him, *ἀκούσαντες ὅσα ἐποίησε*, Mark, iii 8, and the Idumeans must have been those who had come to the feast at Jerusalem, for we can scarcely suppose that Our Lord, in the absence of all notice of it, ever visited Idumæa personally. Those from Galilee, Judæa, Perea and Jerusalem, had been collected about Our Lord during His late visit to Jerusalem and the subsequent circuit. Matthew adds to the list the people of Decapolis also, who may have followed Our Lord from the feast or have joined Our Lord on His way from Jerusalem to Galilee along the valley of the Jordan. *Καὶ ἐκολούθησαν αὐτῷ ὄχλοι πολλοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, καὶ Δεκαπόλεως καὶ Ἱερουσολύμων καὶ Ἰουδαίας καὶ τῆραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου* Matt. iv 25. A boat attends upon Our Lord while He is by the sea of Galilee, in order that He may at any time avoid the pressure of the multitude or retire to a distant part Mark, iii 9.

1264 Jesus, to avoid the sensation that would be created by the announcement of Himself as the Messiah, commands the unclean spirits that they should not make Him known Mark, iii 12 (see Lachmann's Edition).

1265. Jesus, while He is by the sea, retires up a mountain privately, and passes the night in prayer. *Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις,*

etc. Luke, vi 12. From the opening word of the Evangelist (a formula of transition) we may infer that Luke is here entering upon a new subject, and entirely disconnected from the preceding narrative so that Our Lord might well, during the interim between the events previously related by Luke and what now follows, have gone up to the Feast of Pentecost at Jerusalem, a journey related by John but omitted by Luke.

1266 Our Lord, while on the mount, calls up to Him whom He would from the multitude of the disciples, and ordains twelve to be Apostles Luke, vi 14. Mark, iii 13. Matthew omits the solemn ordination of the Apostle, but assumes the fact, and afterwards records the mission of them Matt. x 1.

1267 Jesus on this occasion, delivers the sermon recorded by Luke, vi 20 identical with the Sermon on the Mount given by Matthew, x 1. On comparing the parallel passages, respecting the accompanying multitudes, in Matt. iv 25 and Mark, iii 7 and Luke, vi 17, and the parallel passages addressed to these multitudes in the two accounts of Matthew and Luke, little doubt can be entertained that the sermon in Luke was delivered to the same concourse of people and at the same time as the sermon in Matthew. The description of the multitudes in Matthew, which was meant to be introductory to the sermon, has injudiciously in the authorized version been placed at the very end of the fourth chapter, and so kept distinct from, and made to appear independent of, the sermon itself, which begins the fifth chapter. The order of the historical narrative not infrequently suffers from the arbitrary way in which the Gospels have been divided into chapters.

From this time forward, the Apostles are called of *δώδεκα*. It is also remarkable that Simon who had hitherto been called by his original name, is henceforth invariably designated as Peter. The passage in John vi 68 *Σίμων ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωνᾶ σὺ ἀληθινὸς ἡγεῖς*, John, i. 43, is proleptic, and the name of Cephas, or Peter, was not given until the ordination. John says 'Thou art Simon, Thou shalt be called Peter.' There was a good reason why a new name should be assigned at the time of the ordination, viz. to distinguish him from the other Simon, who was also chosen an Apostle, viz. Simon the Cananite, or Zelotes.

1268. The scene of Our Lord's Sermon on the Mount is placed by tradition at Karfūn Hattin, the *Horns of Hattin*, commonly called the Mount of Beatitudes. At the south of the plain of Gennesaret, there runs off from Majdee, or Magdala, a wady, or valley, in a south-westerly direction, and at the head of the valley is Irbid, or Aricha. Here begins the plain of Hattin, and on the south of it rises a long high ridge, the only conspicuous mountain from the shores of the lake with the exception of Tabor. On the top of this ridge is a broad platform, or table-land, and out of it spring two eminences, or knolls, one east and the other west, called the *Horns of Hattin* from the village at the base of the mountain on the north. These features tally exactly with the account in the Gospel, for Our Lord ascends the mountain with a great multitude, *ἔδωκε δὲ τοῦς ὄχλους ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ ὄρος*, Matt. v. 1; and they remain on the platform, *τόπος πεδινός*, Luke, vi. 17, while Our Lord retires up one of the knolls to pray in private. *Ἐβήκεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος προσεύχασθαι*, Luke, vi. 12. At the conclusion of His devotions, He calls up to Him certain select disciples, and ordains them as the twelve Apostles. *Καὶ ἀναβαίνει εἰς τὸ ὄρος, καὶ προσκαλεῖται, οὓς ἠθέλην αὐτός, καὶ ἀπήλθον πρὸς αὐτόν*, Mark, iii. 13. The ordination ended. He descends to the lower ground, the platform, and there delivers the sermon to the assembled multitude. *Καὶ καταβὰς μετ' αὐτῶν ἔσκη ἐπὶ τόπῳ πεδινῷ, καὶ ὄχλος μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ πλῆθος πολὺ τοῦ λαοῦ, etc.*, Luke, vi. 17. *Τόπος πεδινός* means not a plain, but a level space upon the mountain. See Robinson's *Palestine*, 1852, iii. 342; Stanley's *Palest.* p. 369.

1269. This mountain is of easy access and only a few minutes' walk from the lake of Gennesaret, to which Our Lord had retired, and commands a full view of Mount Tabor on the south, and of the remarkable eminence on the summit of which stands the city of Safed, on the north. It may have been to the fortified crown of Tabor, on the south, or to the turrets of Safed, on the hill-top to the north, that Our Lord pointed when He spake the words: 'A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid.' Matt. v. 14.

1270. Many have been led to suppose that the discourse related by Matthew, v. 1, immediately preceded the cure of the leper, Matt. viii. 2; and, therefore, that the discourse in

Matthew must be a different one from that in Luke, vi. 2. But here again the confusion arises from the unfortunate manner in which the New Testament has been divided into chapters. Thus, the eighth chapter of Matthew begins, v. 1: *Καταβάντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ ὄχλοι πολλοί*, v. 2; *καὶ ἰδοὺ λεπρὸς ἰθὺς προσεβόηκε αὐτῷ, etc.*: as if the leper had been one of the crowd and the miracle performed at the time of Our Lord's descent from the mountain: whereas the notice of the multitude belongs to the delivery of the Sermon on the Mount, while the cure of the leper, as we know from Luke's Gospel, took place in one of the cities. *Ἐν μιᾷ τῶν πόλεων*, Luke, v. 12. The eighth chapter should properly have begun with *καὶ ἰδοὺ λεπρὸς, etc.*, v. 2, for the Evangelist is evidently, from these introductory words, passing on to a new subject wholly disconnected from the preceding discourse. In Lachmann's edition, the paragraphs are rightly divided.

1271. At the conclusion of the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus, with the Twelve, enters into Capernaum, *ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπλήρωσε πάντα τὰ ῥήματα αὐτοῦ . . . εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Καπερναούμ*, Luke, vii. 1; when the elders of the Jews at Capernaum apply to Jesus, on behalf of a centurion of Capernaum, to come and heal his servant. *Ἀκούσας δὲ (the centurion) περὶ τοῦ ἰησοῦ ἀπέστειλε πρὸς αὐτόν πρεσβυτέρους τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, Luke, vii. 3. It would seem from this that Our Lord had not been in Capernaum for some time previously, otherwise the centurion would have heard of it before. This centurion was a Gentile, and quartered with his company at Capernaum, and as he had ingratiated himself with the inhabitants by building them a synagogue, we should infer that he was a proselyte.

1272. The day after the cure of the centurion's servant, Jesus commences His fourth circuit, and proceeds to Nain, where He raises to life the young man who was being carried to his grave. *Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῇ ἑξῆς, etc.*, Luke, vii. 11. It appears that on this as on some other occasions Jesus made no stay at Capernaum. The excitement of the people at this time may not have permitted it, and Our Lord may also have been anxious to exercise in the ministry the twelve Apostles whom He had just appointed for the purpose. He was accompanied on this circuit by the Twelve, who are

now so called, *καὶ οἱ ὡδὲκα συν αὐτῷ*, Luke, viii 1 and many other disciples and a great multitude were also now with Jesus, Luke viii 11, and many women waited upon Him Luke viii 2

1273. Naim was a city on the northern slope of Little Heimon, which rises out of the plain of Esdraelon, the valley which divides Galilee from Samaria. Naim has only one approach, viz by the ascent up the narrow defile on the north. Our Lord therefore, must have been going up this steep path when He met the funeral of the young man moving slowly down from the gate of the city. See Stanley's *Palest* pp 352 and 363

1274. John the Baptist, who was still a prisoner at Machanem, hearing of the miracles of Jesus, sends two of his disciples to Him to ask if He were the Messiah. Matt xii 2 Luke, viii 18. From the words of Our Lord, *μυῖδος ἔσται, διὰ τὴν μὴ παντ' ἀληθεῖ ἐν ἑμοί*, Matt xii 6, Luke, viii 23, it would seem that either John or his disciples had some misgivings as to Our Lord's Messiahship. As the more active ministry of Jesus began after the imprisonment of the Baptist, in A D 29, neither John nor his disciples had witnessed personally but had only heard of, the wonderful works of Jesus. It may also have been matter of surprise that Jesus should not hitherto have openly assumed the character of Messiah. However, even on this occasion, when challenged to declare Himself, Our Lord refrained from doing so and appealed only to the miracles which He was daily performing.

1275. Our Lord makes a progress through the cities and villages of Galilee. *καὶ ἐγγεῖτο ἐν τῷ καθεζῆν, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐδώκεν κατὰ πόλιν καὶ κώμην, κηρύσσειν καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ* Luke, viii 1

1276. Jesus returns, apparently in the autumn, to Capernaum. *καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς οἶκον* Mark, iii 20. The expression *εἰς οἶκον* or home shows that Capernaum was regarded as Our Lord's residence, so far as He had one.

1277. On Our Lord arriving at Capernaum, it is given out by some that He is beside Himself, and they seek to lay hold of Him. *καὶ αὐτοῦσι τινες οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐβλήθησαν κρατῆσαι αὐτὸν λέγοντες γὰρ ὅτι ἐξέστη* Mark iii 21. At verse 31, Mark proceeds, *ἔρχονται αὐτῷ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ*, and from the re-

iterential word *οὗ*, it would seem that by *οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ* were meant the mother and brethren of Jesus. This, however, does not necessarily follow as Mark may have intended a contrast between those who were the friends of Jesus, and those who were His enemies. His well-wishers, *οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ*, said that he was a fanatic, while His enemies, the scribes from Jerusalem, *οἱ γραμματεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καταβάντες*, Mark, iii 22 gave out that He was possessed by Beelzebub.

Some MSS have the reading, *Ἰδοὺ ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου [καὶ αἱ ἀδελφαὶ σου]* ἔλω ζητοῦσί σε, Mark, iii 32, but the words in brackets, though supported by considerable authority, must be rejected. The sisters of Our Lord were married and settled at Nazareth (see A D 29, no 1197) and are never found in Our Lord's company. The mother and brethren of Our Lord now resided at Capernaum but His brethren were as yet in a state of unbelief, and, indeed, were so until after the Resurrection. See John, viii 5 Acts, i 14. The scribes who had come from Jerusalem, and now disputed with Our Lord, Mark, iii 22, may have arrived after the Feast of Tabernacles, for a long interval appears to have elapsed since the Feast of Pentecost of this year, when Our Lord was at Jerusalem.

1278. Jesus while at Capernaum, teaches the multitudes from a boat on the Lake of Tiberias. *Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκεῖνῃ ἐβλήθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς, etc* Matt xiii 1 Mark, iv 1 Luke viii 4. The expression of Matthew, *ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκεῖνῃ* does not mean the very same day but is a mere formula of translation. Matthew often uses these phrases of time as mere connectives, without reference to chronological arrangement. Our Lord, on this occasion, delivers the parable of the Sower, prompted, perhaps by the time of year as it was now autumn, and husbandmen, scattering the seed, may have been actually in sight. The land of Gennesaret was one great cornfield and the usual seed-time was when the autumn rains began.

1279. In the evening Jesus, being oppressed by the multitudes (*ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς πολλοὺς ὄχλους περὶ αὐτὸν* Matt viii 18), passes over by ship to Gergesa which lay on the eastern side of the lake and is overthrown on the way by a storm. *καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐκεῖνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὖτις γενομένης, etc* Mark, iv 35, and

see Luke, viii 26. Here also the very same day is not necessarily meant, though it was probably the case. It was now late in the year, when storms would be prevalent.

In the received text, the country to which Our Lord sailed is called Gergesa, and in Matthew and Luke, Gadara, but in all the Gospels the reading is uncertain, and in some MSS it is Cergesa in others Gerasa, and in others Gadara. This variety is as old as Origen, whose comments are worth transcribing. 'Ἡ περὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμονίων καταρρημιζομένους, καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ συμπτύγομένους, χοίρους οἰκοισίᾳ ἀναγέγραπται ἐν τῇ χώρῃ τῶν Γερασσηνῶν. Γέρασα δὲ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐστὶ πόλις, οὗτε θάλασσαν οὗτε λίμνην πλησίαν ἔχουσα, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι οὕτως τρυφανὲς ψυχῆς καὶ ἐνδελγυτὸν οἱ ἐκτεγγλισταὶ ἐφίκεσαν, ἀνδρες ἐπιμελῶς γυνώσκοντες τα περὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν ὁλίγοις ἐβρομεν εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν Γερασσηνῶν, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο λεκτέον. Ἰάδαρα γὰρ πόλις μὲν τῆς Ἰουδαίας, περὶ ἣν τα διαβόητα θερμα τύγχαναι, λίμνη δὲ κρημνὸς παρακειμένη οὐδαμῶς ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῇ ἡ θαλάσση. Ἄλλα Γέρασα, ἀφ' ἧς οἱ Γεργεσῆται (Jos Ant 1 b, 2) πόλις ὀρχαυαὶ περὶ τὴν ἰνὴν καλουμένην Ἰβεριάδα λίμνην περὶ ἣν κρημνὸς παρακείμενος τῇ λίμνῃ, ἀφ' οὗ δέκνεται τοὺς χοίρους ὑπὸ τῷ δαιμονίῳ καταβυθισθῆναι. Origen Op tom ii 140. It does not appear whether there was actually in Origen's day such a city as Gergesa, or whether there had been one in old time (πόλις ὀρχαυαὶ), but his view that the country of the Gergesenes must be meant is probably correct. Gerasa was far away to the east, and Gadara was six or seven miles to the south of Tiberias, beyond the river Hieromax, whereas it is evident from the Gospel narrative that the city in question was near to the lake, for, καὶ ἐξελθόντι αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου εὐθέως ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν μὴ μείων, etc., Mark, v 2, and the corresponding passage in Luke is, ἐξελθόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. Luke, viii 27. And the herd of swine was in the same place, for ἦν δὲ ἐκεῖ πρὸς ταύτην, Mark, v. 11, and though Matthew says, ἦ δὲ μακρὰν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, etc., Matt viii 29, the distance could not have been great, as the herd rushed down the mountain into the lake. It has been thrown out by some that the name of Gergesa was an invention of Origen, but Kunoel justly remarks that the word is found in so many MSS that this could not be. The arguments in favour of Gadara,

though not sufficient, are plausible, for the mountain on which it stands is honeycombed with tombs, see Biblic. Cyclop., and Gadara was one of the cities of Decapolis, Phil N II v 16, and we read in Mark that the demoniac, when cured, ἤρξατο κηρυσσεῖ, ἐν τῇ Δεκαπόλει. Mark, v 20.

The scene of the miracle is placed by Stanley at the central ravine, or Wady Fik, cutting the mountains on the eastern side, and terminating at the lake. On the height at the top of the ravine are still seen the remains of an ancient city (*sensu* Gergesa), and by the side of the road, running down to the lake, are numerous tombs, hewn out of the rock, in one of which the demoniac might have habited. The 2000 swine were feeding on the sides of the mountains sloping down to the lake. Stanley's Sinai and Palest. p 376.

Thomson thinks he has identified Gergesa with a prostrate town at the mouth of Wady Semak, about half way down the eastern side of the lake, and still called Gersa or Chersa. It is within a few rods from the shore, and a high mountain rises above it, in which are ancient tombs, and the lake is so near the base of the mountain that swine rushing madly down could not stop, but would be hurled into the water and drowned. He adds that this part is still *ploughed up* by wild hogs in search of esculent roots, and which are as fierce as if they were still *possessed*. The Land and the Book, 375.

That the inhabitants thereabouts were principally Gentiles we should infer from the possession of the herd of swine, forbidden to the Jews, and the Latin name of the demoniac, 'Legion,' savours of a Gentile population. Some suggest, however, that the destruction of the swine was a punishment of the Jewish proprietor for the unlawfulness of his calling.

As the head of swine was feeding at the time, we may infer that the miracle was wrought at a season when the mountain was clothed with grass, and Baileys observes of the month of December, 'the earth is fully clothed with rich verdure.' City of Great King, p 121.

1280. Jesus, being now in the tetrarchy of Herod Philip, who was an amiable prince, feels Himself in comparative security, and instead of enjoining secrecy on the subject of His miracle, in the cure of the demoniac, rather

encourages publicity. *Διηγού ὅσα ἐποίησέν σοι ὁ θεός.* Luke, viii. 39. Mark, v. 19.

1281. Being rejected by the inhabitants of Gergesa, Jesus returns to Capernaum. *Ἐμβὰς εἰς τὸ πλοῖον διεπέρασε, καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν πόλιν.* Matt. ix. 1; and see Mark, v. 21; Luke, viii. 40.

1282. About this time, the disciples of John and the Pharisees are fasting, *Ἰσαν οἱ μαθηταὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ οἱ τῶν Φαρισαίων ἡστέοντες.* Mark, ii. 18, and cavil at Our Lord's disciples for not doing the like. Matt. ix. 14. Luke, v. 33. This fast (if any special fast be referred to) must have been that on 10 Tebeth, the anniversary of the commencement of the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. See Zochar, viii. 10; 2 Kings, xxv. 1. The 10th Tebeth fell, this year, on 21 December. The great Fast, or Day of Atonement, was much earlier, viz. on 25 September. See Greswell's *Prolegomena*. Mark and Luke place Our Lord's discourse on the subject of the *Fasting* just after the discourse at the *Feast* in the house of Levi. But this was evidently done from the connection of ideas between feasting and fasting. All the four Evangelists occasionally introduce fragments of Our Lord's discourses out of their strict order in point of time, when it is convenient from the connection of the subject. That Our Lord's justification of Himself for not observing the fast immediately preceded the miracle on the daughter of Jairus (see *infra*, no. 1283) is evinced by the language of Matthew, who relates that, during the discourse on fasting (*ταῦτα αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος αὐτοῖς*, Matt. ix. 18), word was brought of the death of the daughter of Jairus.

1283. The woman with the issue of blood is healed of her malady, Matt. ix. 20; Mark, v. 25; Luke, xv. 25; and immediately afterwards the daughter of Jairus is raised from the dead. Luke, viii. 41. Matt. ix. 18. Mark, v. 22. Jesus being now once more in the dominions of Herod Antipas, again observes secrecy. *Ὁ δὲ κρυπτοῦσθαι αὐτοῖς μὴ δέει ἐπεὶ τὸ γενομένον.* Luke, viii. 56. Mark, v. 43.

1284. Coin of Tiberius.

Tr. Pot. xxxii. Eckhel, vi. 196.

Coin of Herod Antipas.

The obverse *Ἡρώδης Τετραρχοῦ. Aeneas palaeo.*
In *arab.* I. A., and on the reverse *Τετράρχης*

ἐν τῇ λαμπρᾷ. It was therefore struck at Tiberias A.D. i. e. in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of Herod Antipas.

Eckhel, iii. 486.

Inscription.

Ti. Caesar Divi Aug. F. Aug. Pontif. Max. Trib. Pot. xxvii. Refecit et restituit (Nemau-i).

Muralori, iv. 2006, 1; Gruter, 153, 6.

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 5.

Pentecost, May 26.

Tabernacles, September 30.

A.D. 31. U.C. 784. Olymp. 202, 3.

TR. CAESAR AVG. V.
IMPER. FELIX SEPTANT.

EX VII. ID. MAI.
O. MEMMIUS PROCLUS,
L. FULCENTIUS TIMO.

Or, according to Muralori,
FACIENS CONIUGIUM SEPTIAE
SEXTENTIIAE CATULLINAE.

TIBERIUS XVIII. FROM 19 AUGUST. TRIB. POT.
XXXIII. FROM 27 JUNE. COS. V. PONT. MAX.
IMP. VIII.

Thirty-fifth year of the reign of Herod
Antipas and Herod Philip.

1285. Tiberius is consul for the last time, and, according to Suetonius, up to 15 May. *Nec amplius quam omnino tres consulatus* (after he was Emperor), *unum* (A.D. 18) *paucis diebus, alterum* (A.D. 21) *tribus mensibus, tertium* (A.D. 31) *absens usque in Idus Maius gessit.* Suet. Tib. 26. Tiberius altogether, including the consulships before his elevation to the Empire, enjoyed five consulships, which are thus marked by Dion. *Οὐ γὰρ ἴσται, ὅστις τῶν ὑπατεύσαντων ποτὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ οὐ βραχέος ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν Οὐάρος ἢ Κοιντίλιος (B.C. 13), τοῦτο δὲ Ἡέλιος ὁ Πρώτος (B.C. 7), ὃ τε Ἑρμηνικὸς αὐτὸς (A.D. 15) βραχέως καὶ κυκλὸς ἀπέωλοντο. Ταυτῶν τινὲς, ὥς εἰσιν, ἐν βίῳ ἐνέμονι συγκυκλήρωτο. Ὑμῶν δὲ καὶ ὁ Δρυνῶς τότε . . . (A.D. 21), καὶ ὁ Σηανὸς μετὰ ταῦτα (A.D. 31), συνάραντες οἱ ἐξοβήρουντο.* Dion, lvi. 20.

1286. Jesus sets out from Capernaum on another circuit, and a second time visits Nazareth. As the circumstances of the two visits

to Nazareth are not very dissimilar, no Evangelist relates both. Luke records the first, and Matthew and Mark now relate the second καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκεῖθεν (from Capernaum) καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν πατριδα αὐτοῦ. See Mark, vi 1 καὶ ἐγενετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὰς πικρυλὰς ταύτας μετήρην ἐκεῖθεν καὶ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν πατριδα αὐτοῦ, ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς, etc. Matt. xii 53. The words καὶ ἐλθὼν, in the latter passage, begin a new subject, and are not to be connected with the preceding verse, as the day of the miracles to which Matthew refers was at a different time. A principle is a common formula by which Matthew passes on to a different matter.

1287. Jesus preaches in the neighbouring cities and villages, καὶ περιήγεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς -ας πόλεις πόλεις καὶ τὰς κώμας διδύσκων ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν, Matt. ix 35, Mark, vi 6, and returns to Capernaum. This circuit was apparently a short one, and in the earlier months of the new year.

1288. Jesus had opened His ministry in A D 29 with a few followers, and in A D 30 had appointed the twelve Apostles and taken them with Him on His circuits, and now, in the spring of A D 31, He advances another step, and sends the Apostles by themselves to preach in Galilee, but not to go northward among the Gentiles, or southward into Samaria. Εἰς οὐδὲν ἔθνῶν μὴ ἀπελθῆτε, καὶ εἰς πόλιν Συμαρείαν μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε. Matt. x 5. Mark, vi 7. Luke, ix 1. This mission of the Twelve was certainly in the first quarter of the year, for the Apostles had returned to Our Lord before the feeding of the Five Thousand, which was just before the Passover (April 21) John, vi 4.

1289. The Apostles proceed to preach and work miracles in the villages round about. Mark, vi 18, Luke, ix 6, and Jesus at the same time is engaged in teaching and preaching Himself. Matt. xi 1.

1290. Herod Antipas, at the instance of Herodias and her daughter, puts John the Baptist to death. The account of this event is given both by the Evangelists and by Josephus, and they vary only as might be expected from writers who regarded the same transaction from opposite points of view. The narrative of Matthew is contained Matt. xiv 8-12, that of Mark will be found Mark, vi 17-28, and is to the same effect as Matthew's,

except that he adds, ὁ γὰρ Ἡρώδης ἐφοβέτο τὸν Ἰωάννην εἰδὼς αὐτὸν ἰσθρὰ βίαν καὶ ἄγιον, καὶ ἑορσῶσαι αὐτοῦ πολλὰ κρούει, καὶ ἡδῶς αὐτοῦ ἤκουσε. Mark, vi 20. Luke is more brief, and relates only the imprisonment of the Baptist, and not his execution, Luke, iii 19, 20, but assumes the decapitation of John as a well-known fact. Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Ἡρώδης Ἰωάννην ἐγὼ ἀπεικέλευσα. Luke, ix 9. As Luke wrote after Matthew and Mark, who had given a full account of the matter, he may have thought any further explanation unnecessary, another argument that Luke followed Matthew and Mark. The passage in Josephus relating to the death of John runs thus. Κτείνει γὰρ τοῦτον (John) Ἡρώδης ἀγαθὸν ἀνδρα καὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαίου λελέσαντα, ἀρετὴν πασαιούοντα καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ευσεβείᾳ χρομενούς, βαπτισμῷ συνεικται, οὕτω γὰρ καὶ τὴν βάπτισιν ἀποδείκνυται αὐτῷ φανίσθαι, μὴ ἐπὶ τινῶν ἁμαρτῶν παριστῆσαι χρομενούς, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἡγεῖα τοῦ σώματος, ἀτε δὲ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς δικαιοσύνῃ προεκεθεαρμένης. Καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συσπρεφομένων (καὶ γὰρ ἤρθασαι ἐπὶ τὰ λείποντα τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τῶν λόγων), δεισας Ἡρώδης τὸ ἐπὶ τοσούτοις πῦλαις αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, μὴ ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει τινὶ φοροῖ (πάντα γὰρ ἔφικσαν συμβουλή τῇ ἐκείνου πράσσοντες) πολὺ κρείττον ἡγείται, τρὶν τε νεώτερον ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι, προλαβὼν ἀναρεῖν, ἢ μεταβολῇ γενομένης, εἰ τα πράγματα ἐμπέσων μεταυεῖν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν (John) ὑποψία τῇ Ἡρώδου δεσμός ἐς τὸν Λαχάρουνα πεμφθεὶς, τὸ προειρημένον φρούριον, ταύτῃ κτείνεται. John Ant. xiii 5 2.

1291. According to the Evangelists, the death of John was owing to the malice of Herodias, but Josephus, as we have seen, writing as a philosophical historian, ascribes the death of John to political causes, viz. the apprehension by Herod that the sect of John, which had become so numerous, might eventually be dangerous to his throne.

1292. We may acquiesce unhesitatingly in the account of Josephus that John was put to death at Machærus, the castle on the borders of Herod's dominions in Perea, towards Arabia, which must therefore have belonged at this time to Herod, and not to Aretas, king of Petra (see A D 29, no 1215).

1293. The ruins of Machærus are supposed to be those still called M'kauei, on the eastern side of the Dead Sea, at the north end of Jebel Attûs, high above the southern bank of

the stream Zerka Main. Robinson's Palest. 1. 370.

1294. The Gospel narrative states that the decapitation of John occurred at the celebration of Herod's γενέσις. Some make a distinction between γενέσις and γενέθλις, and consider the latter as denoting properly a birthday, but the former an anniversary, more particularly that of an accession to the throne. See Wieseler's Chronol. Synop. p. 292. If Antipas celebrated his accession on the anniversary of Herod's death, the time of year would agree very well, as Herod died at the beginning of April, and John the Baptist was beheaded a little before the Passover, which in A.D. 31 was on 24 April. It is more likely, however, that the word γενέσις means strictly a birthday, and if so, the birth of Herod Antipas must have occurred in the spring of the year.

1295. It is implied, from the way in which the order for John's execution was immediately carried out, that the place of his confinement was near to the scene of Herod's banquet. We should conjecture, therefore, that Herod was feasting his nobles at Julius, otherwise Livia's, the capital of Perea, which was in the vicinity of Machærus. We know that Herod had a palace at Betharamath, near the Jordan. Τὴ πλῆσιν τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ βασιλείας κατὰ Βηθαράμ-θου. Jos. Bell. ii. 4, 2. And Betharamath would appear to be identical with Julius. Βηθαράμθου δὲ (πῶς ἢ καὶ αὐτῇ) τείχει περιλαβὼν (Herod Antipas) Ἰουλιάνου ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀντικειμένου ἀγορεύει εἰς γυναῖκα. Ant. xviii. 2, 1.

1296. Of this daughter of Herodias, who desired the head of John the Baptist, we have some particulars from Josephus. Her name was Salome, and she married first Herod Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis, and on his demise, A.D. 33, Aristobolus, son of Herod of Chalcis. Ἢ δὲ θυγατὴρ αὐτῆς (of Herodias) Σαλώμη φιλοπύγαμεται, Ἡρώδου πατρὶς, τῷ Τετραρχῇ τῆς Τραχωνιτιδὸς· καὶ, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τελευτήσασα, Ἀριστόβουλος αὐτὴν ἡγεῖται, Ἡρώδου πατρὶς τοῦ Ἀγρίππου ἀδελφῆς. Jos. Ant. xviii. 5, 1. Salome, at the death of John the Baptist, was probably about fourteen, for Matthew and Mark both describe her as κοῖτος, a lass. Fourteen was the usual age of marriage in Judea, and Salome must have married Philip soon after this, for Herod Philip died at the close of A.D. 33 (see that year, no. 1151).

1297. Herod Antipas, on the death of John the Baptist, hears of the miracles of Jesus, and, being conscience-stricken, takes Him for John risen from the dead. Matt. xiv. 1. Luke, ix. 7. It may appear singular that Herod had not received long previously exact intelligence of Our Lord as a distinct teacher; but in A.D. 29 Herod had been at Rome, and on his return had been occupied about his marriage contract with Herodias, and had perhaps not spent much time in Galilee, but either at Julius, the capital of Perea, the scene of his birthday-banquet, or at Tyre, where we find him presently quarrelling with Agrippa (see A.D. 32, no. 1369). Our Lord, also, had studiously endeavoured to avoid attracting personal notoriety, and had moved constantly from place to place, and on every occasion in Galilee had charged those on whom His miracles were wrought not to blazon them abroad. It would seem that not only Herod, but even the people generally had not learnt, in the Baptist's lifetime, to distinguish Jesus as an independent preacher, for on the death of the Baptist, the people as well as Herod took Jesus for John risen from the dead. Luke, ix. 19. Matt. xvi. 14. Mark, viii. 28.

1298. Luke remarks that Herod now sought to see Jesus. Καὶ ἐζήτει ἰδεῖν αὐτόν. Luke, ix. 9. This was not improbably with some sinister design, for Jesus, from this time forward, had evidently grounds for shunning Galilee. It would seem that Herod himself sailed later in the year to Rome, and was there in the summer or autumn, for Agrippa afterwards accused him of being privy to the conspiracy of Sejanus against the emperor, Jos. Ant. xviii. 7, 2; and we cannot suppose that such a charge would have been brought unless Herod had been personally present in Italy at the time when the conspiracy was in agitation, which would be in the latter half of the year, for the death of Sejanus for these treasonable practices was on 18 October, A.D. 31. If Herod Antipas left Herodias to govern in Galilee during his absence, Our Lord had much more to fear from the recklessness of this unprincipled woman than from the wily but cautious conduct of her artful husband.

1299. The disciples of John came to Jesus and tell Him of the Baptist's death, Matt. xiv. 12; Mark, vi. 29; and the twelve Apostles, at the same time alarmed, perhaps, themselves at the death of John, return from the

circuit on which they had been sent Mark, vi 30 Luke, ix 10 Jesus, at this time, was either at Capernaum or in the immediate neighbourhood

1300 Jesus crosses the Lake of Gennesaret by the boat that constantly waited upon Him to a desert place on the east of Julias, otherwise Bethsaida, in Philip's territory, and at the north of the sea of Galilee Ὑπεχώρησε κατ' εἰς αἰς τόπον ἔρημον πόλεως καλουμένης Βηθσαιῶν Luke, ix 10

1301. From the account of Matthew it would seem that the death of John the Baptist was the cause of Our Lord's withdrawal from Herod's dominions Καὶ καὶ οὖτος (the death of John) ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνεχώρησε, etc Matt xiv 13 But Mark seems to assign as the reason that the twelve Apostles had just returned from a laborious mission, and that Our Lord withdrew into a desert place to give them rest Δεῦτε ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ κατ' εἰς εἰς ἔρημοι τόπον, καὶ ἀπαύσασθε ὀλιγοὶ ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ ἐρχόμενοι καὶ οἱ ὑπαινοῦντες, πολλοὶ, καὶ οὐδὲ φαγεῖν ἠνέκουν Mark vi 31 Both motives may have operated, as Our Lord may have sought to scotch in private and the disciples after their fatigues may have needed repose

1302 The Lake of Gennesaret being only five miles wide, and Jesus having taken His departure in the daytime, the multitude, who watched His course across the lake, follow Him round the shore, and again congregate about Him, when He has compassion upon their weariness and hunger, and feeds the Five Thousand with the five loaves and two fishes Matt xiv 14 Mark, vi 34 Luke, ix 12, John, vi 1 This miracle was just before the Passover (24 April) Ἦν δὲ ἐγγὺς τὸ πάσχα ἡ ἐπορὴ τῶν ἰσχυρίων John, vi 4 The same thing is implied in the remark that there was much grass in the place, ἦν δὲ χέρσος πολλὴ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, John, vi 10, for at midsummer the herbage in Judæa is parched and withered The scene of the miracle was the south-east corner of the plain of Butatha, which lies westward of the Jordan The mountain shoots down upon the lake bleak and barren It was doubtless desert then as now, for it is not capable of cultivation In this little cove the ships (boats) were anchored On this beautiful green sward at the base of the rocky hill the people were seated The Land and the Book, p 372

1303 The multitudes, in consequence of the miracle of feeding the Five Thousand, seek to take Jesus by force and make Him king Ἰησοῦς οὖν γινώσκοντες ὅτι μελλοῦσιν ἐργασθαι, καὶ ἀρπάζειν αὐτὸν, ἵνα ποιήσωσιν αὐτὸν βασιλεῦα, etc John, vi 15

1304. The miracle of feeding the Five Thousand is recorded by all the Evangelists but the Gospel of John still preserves here, as elsewhere, its supplemental character, as alone mentioning the date of the event, viz a little before the Passover, and adding the important fact omitted by the other Evangelists, that the people would fain have made Jesus king This attempt of the people was a new element of danger The charge to which Our Lord eventually suffered was treason, or an infraction of the Julian laws by assuming to be King of the Jews, and had He been now proclaimed by that title, He would at once have become amenable to capital punishment

1305. Jesus, to appease the popular excitement, sends away the disciples by boat, and retires Himself up the mountain Καὶ εὐθεὺς ἠνέγκασε τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ ἐμβῆναι εἰς τὸ πλοῖον, καὶ προάγειν εἰς τὸ τέραν πρὸς Βηθσαιῶν Mark, vi 45 The disciples, perhaps, with their temporal views, were willing enough to see Jesus made king, but He compelled them (ἠνέγκασε) to withdraw from the scene by taking boat across the lake

1306. The disciples had to row against the wind, which at this time, therefore, was from the south-west Ἦν γὰρ ὁ ἄνεμος ἐναντίας αὐτοῖς Mark, vi 18 Matt xiv 24

1307. The wind, so adverse to a voyage from Bethsaida in Decapolis to Gennesaret, would be favourable to those coming from Tiberias to the place where the Five Thousand were fed, and, accordingly, John mentions incidentally that vessels came thither from Tiberias Ἀλλὰ δὲ ἦλθε πλοῖα ἐκ Τιβεριάδος ἐγγὺς τοῦ τόπου, ὅπου ἐβύμαζον τὸν ἄρτον John, vi 23

1308. Our Lord, at three o'clock in the morning, is seen walking on the sea Ἰεράργη φεωκῆ τῆς νυκτός Matt xiv 25 Mark, vi 48 It has been already stated that this was just before the Passover, and the moon therefore would be nearly at the full, and Our Lord would be distinctly visible by moonlight

1309. At the command of Jesus, the wind ceases, and the boat which carried the disciples

arrives at land. Καὶ εὐπερίσταντες ἦλθον εἰς τὴν γῆν Γεννησαρέτ. Matt. xiv. 34. Mark, vi. 53. Εἰς Καπερναούμ. John, vi. 17, 21.

1310. The adverse wind having ceased at Our Lord's bidding, the multitudes who had been miraculously fed take advantage of the vessels which had come from Tiberias, and also cross the lake to the opposite side, to seek Jesus. Ἐρέθησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰς τὰ πλοῖα, καὶ ἦλθον εἰς Καπερναούμ. . . . Ταῦτα εἶπεν ἐν συναγωγῇ ἰδαῶσκων ἐν Καπερναούμ. John, vi. 24, 59.

1311. Thus, according to John, Jesus arrived at Capernaum; but Mark tells us that Jesus, when the multitudes had been fed, commanded His disciples to go before Him towards Bethsaida. Προέειπεν εἰς τὸ πέραν πρὸς Βηθσαιδάν. Mark, vi. 45. The two statements may be thus reconciled: Capernaum lay on the seashore, where it trends to the north-east, and extended from west to east. Bethsaida in Galilee (or Fishingdon, as the word signifies) was also on the seashore, a little to the north-east (see A.D. 29, no. 1229). Thus Bethsaida and Capernaum were both of them in the same line from the desert on the north-east of the lake, and the course of the vessel might be correctly described as in the direction either of Bethsaida in Galilee or Capernaum. The latter was the ultimate object of Our Lord; but Peter, Andrew, James, and John, were all fishermen, and their boats may have been kept at Bethsaida, and they might therefore have run the vessel for that place, and, after hauling her on shore (καὶ προσωρμίσθησαν, Mark, vi. 53), might have walked into Capernaum, where Peter, Andrew, James, and John had their abode. Mark, i. 29.

1312. According to Matthew, they came to Genesaret. Ἦλθον εἰς τὴν γῆν Γεννησαρέτ. Matt. xiv. 34. But we must not understand by this the plain of Genesaret, for neither Capernaum nor Bethsaida was in the plain; but all the western shore of the lake passed by the name of Genesaret, in opposition to the eastern coast, called the τὸ πέραν.

1313. Sick folk are brought to Jesus from all the parts round about. (Ὅλην τὴν περίχωρον ἐκείνην. Mark, vii. 55. Matt. xiv. 34. This occurred immediately on Our Lord's landing. But He is soon overtaken by the multitudes who had followed Him across the lake. Καὶ ἐπύρεται αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν θάλασσαν. John, vi.

25. And He preaches to them in the synagogue. Ταῦτα εἶπεν ἐν συναγωγῇ ἰδαῶσκων ἐν Καπερναούμ. John, vi. 59.

1314. On what day was this sermon delivered?

It was the custom of the Jews on 10 Nisan to make preparation for the Passover by the choice of the Paschal lamb; and on Saturday, the 28 March, A.D. 33, which was 10 Nisan before the Passover of the year when Our Lord suffered, a supper, to which numerous guests were invited, was furnished in the house of Simon the Leper. John, xii. 2. May it be inferred from this that 10 Nisan was kept by the Jews as a feast? If so, the feeding of the Five Thousand may have taken place on 10 Nisan; and this would account for the remark that the Passover was near. The Passover, or day of Paschal sacrifices, in A.D. 31 was from 6 P.M. on Monday, 23 April, to 6 P.M. on Tuesday, 24 April. The 10 Nisan, therefore, would be from 6 P.M. on Thursday, 19 April, to 6 P.M. on Friday, 20 April; and as the feeding of the Five Thousand was in the evening, the miracle, if wrought on 10 Nisan, would be on Thursday, 19 April; and on the next day, Friday, 20 April, at 6 P.M., the Sabbath would begin. This would account for Our Lord's presence in the synagogue at Capernaum, that is, He was attending the usual service on the Sabbath, and, as was His custom, delivered a sermon. He must have preached in the evening, after 6 P.M., when the Sabbath began, for the multitudes had time to convey themselves from Bethsaida to Capernaum. We may also assume that the Sabbath had not begun before 6 P.M. on that day, as otherwise neither Jesus nor the people could have come from Bethsaida to Capernaum, as the observance of the Sabbath would have been an interdict upon the transit.

1315. Numerous desertions at this time take place from the ranks of Our Lord's followers. John, vi. 66. The day before, the multitude had wished to make him a king, and now Our Lord was under some apprehension lest even the Twelve would desert Him. 'Will ye also go away?' John, vi. 67. It was the vehement assurance of Peter to the contrary that drew from Jesus the prediction of His own sufferings at Jerusalem, through the treachery of one of His own disciples, Judas Iscariot. The hardness of the doctrines enunciated by Our Lord in the synagogue at Capernaum was the avowed

cause of this brekksiding, but the danger at this period of joining the new sect (just after the Baptist's death, and when the attention of Herod was called to it) no doubt also operated, and Jesus Himself found it necessary soon after to take refuge in more distant regions.

ABOUT THIS TIME (VIZ THE PASSOVER, A.D. 31) COMMENCED THE THIRD YEAR OF OUR LORD'S MINISTRY.

1316. The Pharisees, who had returned from Jerusalem, after the Feast of Passover, encounter Jesus, and He discourses with them on the subject of eating with unwashed hands. *καὶ συν-ἀγονται πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ τινες τῶν γραμματέων ἐλθόντες ἀπὸ Ἱερουσολύμων.* Mark, vii 1. Jesus afterwards, in the house, explains to His disciples privately the subject of His discourse with the Pharisees in public. *Καὶ ὅτε εἰσῆλθει εἰς οἶκον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου, εἶπεν.* Mark, vii 17. Matt. xxi 15.

1317. Jesus makes His way through Galilee, towards the north, and is everywhere solicited to heal the sick. *Καὶ, ὅπου ἂν εἰσπορεύετο εἰς κώμας, ἢ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροῦς, ἐν ἀγοραῖς ἐτίθουν τοὺς ἰσθητοὺς αὐτοῦ, εἰς τοὺς οὖρους.* Mark, vi 55. For the next twelve months from this time, Jesus did not exercise His ministry in Galilee (though He once entered it), but either in Philip's tetrarchy or in Judæa, and apparently with great caution in both parts.

1318. Jesus reaches the borders of Tyre and Sidon and would not that His presence should be known, but He cannot be hid. *Καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἀπαστὴς ἀτήλθει εἰς τὰ μεθόρια Ἱέρου καὶ Σιδωνίων, καὶ εἰσέλθων εἰς τοὺς οὖρους οὐδεὶς ἠθέλει γινώσκει.* Mark, vii 24. The cause of this departure from Galilee was probably the fear of Herod, whose jealousy had now been awakened, or of Herodias, who had procured the death of the Baptist. Our Lord's avoidance of notoriety on this occasion shows that He was not without apprehension of danger, even beyond the limits of Herod's jurisdiction.

1319. It has been much disputed whether Our Lord did, or did not, *pass* the frontiers of Tyre and Sidon, but the word *μεθόρια*, in Luke, leads to the inference that He did not. In Matthew, the corresponding word is *μέρη*, but this term is used in the Septuagint as equivalent to *μεθόρια*. See Exod. xvi 35. Our Lord would scarcely have said to the

Syro-Phœnician woman, *οὐκ ἀπασταλήν ἐστι μὴ εἰς τὰ προῖατα τὰ ἱεροκλωτά οἴκου Ἰσραὴλ*, Matt. xv 21, if He had been exercising His ministry at the very time in the heathen countries of Tyre and Sidon. He was apparently now in Paphos, part of Herod Philip's dominions, and which was bounded on the west by the territories of Tyre and Sidon, and on the north by that of Sidon, for the latter reached eastward till it joined the territory of the Damascenes, between whom and the Sidonians a quarrel arose, in A.D. 33, about the boundary line (see A.D. 33, no. 1424). The dominions of Herod Philip, a just and mild prince, were a comparatively safe asylum from the persecution of Our Lord's enemies.

1320. Jesus again departs from the vicinity of Tyre and Sidon, and travels in an easterly direction, and descends southwards through the midst of Decapolis to the Sea of Tiberias, and is therefore still in the tetrarchy of Herod Philip. *Καὶ πάλιν ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τῶν ὁρίων Ἱέρου καὶ Σιδωνίας ἦλθεν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἀπὸ μέσσοι τῶν ὁρίων Δεκαπόλεως.* Mark, vii 31. Matt. xv. 29.

1321. Jesus cures a deaf and dumb man, and charges those about Him not to make it known. *Καὶ διαστείλατο αὐτοῖς ἵνα μὴ εἰπῶσιν.* Mark, vii 36. As Jesus thought it prudent to shun publicity, we may presume that He still felt Himself in peril even in this remote district.

1322. The Four Thousand are miraculously fed while Our Lord is on the eastern shore of the lake. Matt. xxi 32. Mark, viii 1. The feeding of the Five Thousand and the feeding of the Four Thousand are both recorded by Matthew and Mark. Had these two Evangelists related only the miracle of feeding the Four Thousand, and Luke and John related only the feeding of the Five Thousand, it might have been said that there was but one miracle, and that the two first Evangelists were at variance with the two last as to the circumstances. This should teach us not lightly to confound together any two transactions bearing a certain resemblance, such as the two visits of Our Lord to Nazareth, the call of the four disciples, Peter, Andrew, James and John, and the subsequent miracle of the Draught of Fishes.

1323. The multitudes that were fed by Jesus had been with him for three days. *Ἦν γὰρ*

ἡμέρας τρεῖς προσμενοῖ μοι Mark viii 2 It is evident, therefore, that Our Lord was now prosecuting His ministry in Decapolis, as He had before done, first in Judaea, and then in Galilee, and then on the confines of Tyro and Sidon.

1324. At the feeding of the Five Thousand the people sat down upon the grass, but at the feeding of the Four Thousand, it is said only that the people sat down, without reference to the grass, and this would be accurate, for the feeding of the Five Thousand was in the spring, at the Passover, when the grass was abundant, but the feeding of the Four Thousand was in the summer when the grass had disappeared.

1325. Jesus passes by ship to the parts of Dalmanutha, ἦλθεν εἰς τα μέρη Δαλμανουθά, Mark, viii 10, in the borders of Magadan. Ἦλθεν εἰς τα ὅρια Μαγαδάν Matt xv 39. The received text has Μάγδαλα, but Lachmann, on the authority of the best MSS, has adopted Μαγαδάν, and such was the reading in the time of Eusebius, for in his Onomasticon he writes, Μαγδαλάν, εἰς τα ὅρια Μαγαδάν ὁ Ἀριστοῦς ἐπεδήμησεν καὶ ἐστὶ τὸν ἢ Μαγαδάνῃ περὶ τὴν Γερασά. Euseb Onomast. Magdala lay on the western side of the lake, whereas Magadan, or the place visited by Our Saviour, was evidently on the eastern side, for Mark tells us that He afterwards crossed εἰς τὸ πέραν, Mark, viii 13, and came to Bethsaida, meaning Bethsaida of Galilee. Burckhardt speaks of a ruin called Medjeifein, on the east side of the lake, which Thomson would identify with the warm springs at Misfarah, where a Roman road comes from the east and runs along the edge of the lake to the south. The Lind and the Book, 878.

1326. The Pharisees and Sadducees ask for a sign, when Our Lord answers οφίας γεομενεῖς λέγετε, Ὀυδία, πυρράζει γὰρ ὁ οὐρανός, καὶ πρῶτ, Σήμερον χειμῶν, πυρράζει γὰρ σπυρίδων ὁ οὐρανός Matt xvi 2. This was spoken in the autumn about the Equinox, when the weather begins to break. The same observation is found in Pliny *Predicunt idem* (Sol) ventos cum ante exortientem eum nubes intubescunt. *Sin circa occidentem intubescunt nubes, ventulenti facti ad id spondent* Plin. N. H. xviii 78.

1327. Jesus again crosses the lake to the western side. Καὶ ἀφ' αὐτοῦ, ἔμβημι πάλιν

εἰς τὸ πλῆθος ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸ πέραν, καὶ ἐπ' ἄλ-
θοντο λαβεῖν ἄρτους, καὶ εἰ μὴ ἕνα ἄρτον οὐ
εἶχον μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ Mark, viii 13
Matt xvi 5. From the disciples not having
provided themselves with bread, Our Lord's
departure from Dalmanutha was apparently a
hurried one. Jesus being now about to enter
once more the dominions of Herod Antipas, cau-
tions His disciples by the way to beware of the
leaven of Herod. Ὁράτε, βλέπετε ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης
τῶν Φαρισαίων, καὶ τῆς ζύμης Ἰερῶδου Mark,
viii 15. The corresponding passage in Matthew
is the leaven of the Sadducees. Ἀπὸ τῆς
ζύμης τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ Σαδδουκαίων Matt
xvi 6. The Herodians, or Romanising party,
were, therefore, the Sadducees, while the strict
observers of the law were the Pharisees. The
warning given by our Lord to beware of the
leaven of Herod may have referred not only
to spiritual but also to temporal matters, as
the danger of the times required that the dis-
ciples should not give unnecessary offence.

1328. Jesus reaches the western shore and
lands at Bethsaida, not that in Philip's tetra-
archy, the πόλις, but the village, or κώμη, of
Galilee, a little to the north-east of Capernaum
καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς Βηθσαιδάν Mark, viii 22.
The Bethsaida in the passage of Mark cannot
be a different Bethsaida from that mentioned
a little before by the same Evangelist, Mark vi
15, and the latter was certainly Bethsaida in
Galilee. It should not escape notice that, al-
though Bethsaida was a more village, and close
to Capernaum, a great city, Our Lord on this
occasion, in order to avoid publicity, appears
not to have entered Capernaum.

1329. Jesus restores sight to a blind man
of Bethsaida, but still observing caution leads
him out of the village and after curing him
charges him to tell no man. Ἐξήγαγεν αὐτὸν
ἔξω τῆς κώμης μὴδὲ εἰς τὴν κώμην εἰσελ-
θεῖν, μὴδὲ εἰπεῖν τινὶ ἐν τῇ κώμῃ Mark, viii
28, 26.

1330. It was nearly a year and a half since
Our Lord had attended a festival at Jerusalem,
and His brethren, who resided at Capernaum,
now taunt Him on His seclusion, and challenge
Him to accompany them to Jerusalem at the
approaching Feast of Tabernacles (20 Septem-
ber), and to exercise His ministry openly in
Jewry itself. But Jesus, though intending to
go up to Jerusalem, declines from prudential
motives to join the general caravan thither.

Ἦν δὲ ἐγγὺς ἡ ἡμέρῃ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἡ σκηνοπηγία. Ἐποιοῦν οὖν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ, Μετὰ βῆθαι ἐντεῖθεν καὶ ὅπασι εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, ἵνα καὶ οἱ μιμηταὶ σου θεωρήσωσι τὰ ἔργα ἡ ποιεῖς· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐν κρυπτῷ τι ποιεῖ, καὶ ἡγεῖται αὐτὸς ἐν παρήρησι εἶναι. Ἐὰ ταῦτα ποιεῖς, φοιτῶσιν στανὸν τῷ κόσμῳ. John, vii. 1.

1331. Jesus remains in Galilee until His brethren had gone up to Jerusalem, and then proceeds thither Himself with as much privacy as possible. Ἔως δὲ ἀνέβησαν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ, τότε καὶ αὐτὸς διέβη εἰς τὴν Ἰερουσόλην, οὐ φανερώς, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐν κρυπτῷ. John, vii. 10.

1332. Since the Feast of Pentecost in the preceding year, the Pharisees had lost much of their influence in the Sanhedrim, and Nicodemus, a Pharisee, and Joseph of Arimathea, both members of the Sanhedrim, with many others of the rulers, had embraced the Gospel in secret, and would, of course, oppose any attempt to suppress it. John, xii. 42; xix. 38; iii. 1; xix. 39. Matt. xxvii. 57. Mark, xv. 42. Luke, xxiii. 50. Jesus must have been well informed of what was passing at Jerusalem, for at least one of His disciples was on familiar terms with the high-priest, John, xviii. 15. And under these circumstances Jesus may have felt Himself justified in again making an effort for the conversion of His countrymen at the capital. It would seem that for at least three months from this time Jesus sojourned either at Jerusalem or in Judaea, or on the borders of it, at Bethabara, on the Jordan.

1333. Jesus reaches Jerusalem when the feast is half over (and therefore about 23 September). Ἦν δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς μεσότης ἀνέβη ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἐδίδασκε. John, vii. 11.

1334. Our Lord now alludes to the miracle which He had performed at the Pool of Bethesda, at the Pentecost A.D. 30, and the designs then formed by the Jews against His life. Τί με ζητεῖτε ἀποκτεῖναι; John, vii. 19 (as they had done after the miracle at Bethesda, John, v. 16; vii. 1). Ἐν ἔργῳ ἐποίησα, καὶ πάντες θανατάζετε, etc. John, vii. 20. We may conclude, therefore, that Our Lord had not been at Jerusalem during the interval between the Pentecost A.D. 30 and the Tabernacles A.D. 31. We know that He was not there at the Passover A.D. 31, when the Five Thousand were fed. John, vi. 4.

1335. The Pharisees, though desirous of

arresting Jesus and putting Him to death, are unable from His popularity to take Him by force. Οὐχ οὕτως ἔσται ὅν ζητοῦσιν ἀποκτεῖναι; Καὶ ἔτι παρήρησις λέγει καὶ οὐκ ἐν αὐτῷ λέγουσι. John, vii. 25. Ἐβήσαν οὖν αὐτὸν πιάσαι, καὶ οὐκ ἐπέβλεπεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὴν χίτῃα. John, vii. 30.

1336. Afterwards, however, being alarmed at the numbers that were daily embracing the Gospel, the Pharisees become desperate, and commission their officers to arrest Him at whatever risk. Καὶ ἀπέστειλαν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς βνητάς τινι πιάσωσιν αὐτόν. John, vii. 32.

1337. Jesus is at Jerusalem on the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles (27 September). Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἑσχάτῃ ἡμέρῃ, τῇ μετὰ δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς, εἰσῆκει ὁ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ ἐκράζε λέγων, Ἐάν τις διψῇ ἐρχέσθω πρὸς με καὶ πινέτω. John, vii. 37. Allusion is here made to the ceremonies observed at the Feast of Tabernacles—when water was drawn from the fountain of Siloah or Sionia, and, after a procession of priests and Levites carrying branches of palm and citron, and a recitation, with music, of Isaiah xii. 3, 'With joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation,' a solemn libation was poured upon the altar of burnt-offering. See Gressw. Diss. ii. 431. It does not appear in what part of Jerusalem Jesus delivered these words. It is merely said, εἰσῆκει ὁ Ἰησοῦς; and He may have been standing by the Pool of Sionia while the holy water for the Temple was being drawn.

1338. The officers sent by the Pharisees are afraid to arrest Jesus, there being a division amongst the people, and His friends protecting Him from violence. Σχίσμα ὦν ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ἐγένετο διὰ αὐτόν· οὗτοι δὲ ᾄδοντες ἐξ αὐτῶν πιάσαι αὐτόν, ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς ἐπέβλεπεν ἐπ' αὐτόν τὰς χίτῃας. John, vii. 43.

1339. The officers report this to the authorities, when Nicodemus opposes the designs of the Pharisees, John, vii. 50; and no violent measure can be carried. John, vii. 53. The character of Nicodemus in thus withstanding the bigotry of the Pharisaical party is deserving of all praise; and we may conclude that he did not stand alone, but was aided by Joseph of Arimathea, another member of the Sanhedrim, βουλευτὴς ὑπάκουος, Luke, xxiii. 50; as by many others who were converts, John, xii. 42; and perhaps also by the liberal-minded

and amiable Gamaliel who after the death of Jesus interposed his authority in favour of the Apostles Acts, v 34

1340. John, after relating the deliberations of the Pharisees consequent upon the marriage of their officers to arrest Jesus on the last day of the feast continues, according to the received text Καὶ ἐπορεύθη ἕκαστος (of the Pharisees) εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ Ἰησὺς δὲ ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸ οὖρον τῶν Ῥηλαίων Ὁρθρὸν δὲ πάλιν παρεγένετο εἰς τὸ ἱερόν John, vii 53 vii 1 But these words and the following verses to the end of vii 11 have been rejected by Lachmann and Tischendorf as an interpolation, and the English school has acquiesced in this criticism See Alford *ad loc* Not that this portion is apocryphal, for it is probably a fragment of Apostolical teaching, but in some MSS it is found in Luke, and in others in John, and according to the best evidence is attributable to Luke We must therefore disregard the passage cited above as part of John's Gospel, and must argue upon the footing of its omission in this place

1341. The paragraph in Lachmann and Tischendorf which follows the account of the last day of the Feast is this πάλιν οὖν ο Ἰησοῦς ἀνστάς ἐλάλησεν λέγων, Ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου, etc John, viii 12 And at the end of Our Lord's discourse the Evangelist adds that it was delivered in the Treasury Ταῦτα ἠρμήνασα ἐλάλησεν ο Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῷ γραζοφυλαίῳ John, viii 20 From the word πάλιν, and the mention of a new *locus in quo*, viz the Treasury, we should infer that this passed on another day, viz the day next after the feast, which is to be borne in mind As to the words of Our Lord that He was the 'Light of the World' it will be remembered that at the Feast of Tabernacles the great candleabra was lighted in the Temple, and Our Lord here refers no doubt, to the solemn ceremony which had been so recently witnessed

1342. The Evangelist proceeds Εἰπὼν οὖν πάλιν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, Ἐγὼ πατήρ, etc John vii 21 And this new discourse was also spoken in the Temple, see John, vii 59, but it is not said in the Treasury, so that here again the scene shifts, and John apparently gives the details of another day, which would therefore be the second day after the feast

1343 At this time the Jews said to Him, 'Thou art not yet fifty years old' Πεντήκοντα

ἔτη οὐκ ἔχεις John, vii 57 In fact, Jesus was now thirty-six only, but the hardship of His life may have given the appearance of much greater age

1344 The Jews, irritated at the supposed blasphemy of Our Lord's assertion of His existence before the time of Abraham, seek to stone Him, when He eludes them, and on His way out of the Temple cures the man who had been born blind by spitting and making clay, and anointing his eyes, and sending him to wash in the Pool of Siloam This man must have been placed at one of the outer gates of the Temple, for *within* the Temple it was not lawful to spit, and as the courts were paved with stone there would be little means of making clay The Pool of Siloam was not far from the Temple, and was more particularly at the Feast of Tabernacles regarded with peculiar sanctity from the solemnity of drawing water from it Καὶ ἐβλήεν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὕδωρ ἐκ μέσου αὐτοῦ, καὶ παρήγγεν οὕτως καὶ παράγων εἶδεν ἄνθρωπον τυφλὸν ἐκ νεότητος, etc John, vii 59, ix 1

1345. From the close connection between the words παρήγγεν and πασάγων in this passage, καὶ παρήγγεν οὕτως καὶ παράγων εἶδεν, etc, the cure of the blind man was evidently wrought by Our Lord on the same day on which He went out of the Temple, and as He was going out, and it harmonizes with this view that the blind and the lame were commonly placed at the gates of the Temple, more particularly on a Sabbath Matt xii 14 The words καὶ παράγων can scarcely therefore, be supposed to begin a new subject, and on a different day In many MSS, however, the words διελθὼν διὰ μέσου αὐτοῦ, καὶ παρήγγεν οὕτως are not found but even without them we cannot suppose that John, who is so particular in his dates, would enter upon another day without some note of warning, as by the word πάλιν Now John tells us that the day on which the miracle was performed, that is, the second day after the feast, was a Sabbath Ἦν δὲ σάββατον ἐπὶ τὸν τηλὸν ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ ἀπέψεν αὐτοῦ τοὺς σφυλοὺς John, ix 14 On what day, then, did the Feast of Tabernacles fall in this year? The full moon in April of this year was at Paris, on 25 April, at 9 p.m. for there was an eclipse of the moon at that time The preceding full moon would therefore fall about 27 March at 9

A.M. at Paris, i. e. at 11° 12' A.M. at Jerusalem, and the 26 March would be the day of Paschal Sacrifices, or 14 Nisan. The seventh full moon from this (both inclusive), that is, the 15th Tisri, or first day of the Feast of Tabernacles, would fall in the latter half of September; and, according to De Morgan's Book of Almanacks, the full moon was on 19 September. There was an eclipse of the moon, and therefore it was full moon, on 19 October at 4 A.M. for the meridian of Paris, i. e. at 6° 12' A.M. for the meridian of Jerusalem. The preceding full moon would, therefore, fall about 6° 12' P.M., or after sunset, at Jerusalem on 19 September, and the Feast of Tabernacles would begin at sunset on 19 September, and, being a feast of eight days, would end at sunset on 27 September. The last day of the feast, or 27 September, was, according to De Morgan's Book of Almanacks, a *Thursday*, and the second day after it (on which the miracle in question was performed) would consequently be, as John states it, a Saturday or Sabbath. This coincidence confirms the hypothesis that the Feast of Tabernacles recorded by John (vii. 2) must be assigned to the present year A.D. 31.

1346. We are brought to the same conclusion as to the year of this feast by another process. As the mention of this feast occurs in John *after* the feeding of the Five Thousand, which was at the Passover A.D. 31, the Feast of Tabernacles, John, vii. 2, must of course be referred either to A.D. 31, a year and a half before the Crucifixion, or to A.D. 32, six months before the Crucifixion; and the question is to which of these two years it properly belongs. Supposing it to be placed in A.D. 32, we are met by this difficulty. If the Feast of Tabernacles, John, vii. 2, was in A.D. 32, then so also was the *Eykainé*, or Feast of Dedication, John, x. 22, which followed after the Tabernacles. Now the Feast of Dedication was observed on 25 Chisleu, which in A.D. 32 was on 16 December (see Gresswell's *Prolegomena*). As the festival lasted eight days, it would end on 23 December. Our Lord then withdrew to Bethabara, and sojourned there, *καὶ ἔμεινεν ἐκεῖ*, John, x. 40; and we cannot well allow less for this journey and the abode at Bethabara than a fortnight, which would bring us to 6 January, A.D. 33. He then returned to Bethany, and, after raising Lazarus, retired to Ephraim, John, xi. 54; and for this must be

reckoned another week, which takes us to 13 January, A.D. 33. Our Lord then made His abode at Ephraim *ἐκκεῖ ἐτέρησθε*, John, xi. 54, for which would be required, say a fortnight, and so ending on 27 January. The Passover in A.D. 33 was on 2 April, and Our Lord arrived at Bethany six days before it, John, xii. 1, viz. on 27 March; and from 27 January to 27 March would thus be an interval of two months only.

Before drawing any inference from these facts, but bearing them in mind, let us advert to the long journey of Our Lord recorded by Luke from ix. 51 to xviii. 14, both inclusive. That this narrative describes one single journey of Our Lord, and that one the last, is evident from the following considerations: Luke premises at the very outset that it was *Ἐν τῷ συνηλθεῖν αὐτὸν τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναλήψεως αὐτοῦ*, ix. 51; i. e. when Our Lord's Assumption was being accomplished, a remark altogether out of place and inaccurate unless this was His final departure from Galilee. The Evangelist then proceeds to recount a series of incidents and discourses, but ever and anon reminds the reader that it was still the journey up to Jerusalem. *Τὸ πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἦν παρεῖναι ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ*, ix. 53. *Ἠρτίον παύμενος ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ*, xiii. 22. *Ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ*, xvii. 11. *Ἀναβαίνοντες ἐν Ἱεροσόλυμα*, xix. 31. But further, Our Lord was warned on the road to flee out of Galilee, as Herod Antipas was seeking His life, when Jesus answered that He must travel from day to day, as no prophet could perish out of Jerusalem, xiii. 31; and what other conclusion can be drawn from this than that Our Lord was going up to His death at Jerusalem, and would not again return to Galilee.

Assuming, then, that this journey in Luke can apply only to one, and that one the last journey of Our Lord from Galilee to Jerusalem, how are we to place it with regard to the Feast of Tabernacles referred to John, vii. 2? Supposing this feast to be placed (as in the Tables) in A.D. 31, no difficulty arises, as the feast in A.D. 31 and the Crucifixion in A.D. 33 would then be separated by a sufficient interval to allow the journey in question to intervene. But on the hypothesis that the Feast of Tabernacles, John, vii. 2, was that next before the Crucifixion, and therefore in A.D. 32, the journey in Luke presents insurmountable obstacles. Thus the journey must either have

preceded the Feast of Tabernacles A D 32, or have intervened between that and the Feast of Dedication A D 32, John, x 22, or have followed the Feast of Dedication. What are the characteristics of this journey in Luke? *First*, it was made in the most public manner, and Our Lord was constantly attended by great multitudes. *Secondly*, the journey must have occupied some months at least, for we find Our Lord sending messengers before Him into Samaria, or its vicinity, Luke, ix 32 then diverging to the east, and dispatching seventy disciples, two and two, to make ready for Him, Luke, x 1, so that He evidently contemplated visiting thirty-five different localities. Then He preached by the way in the cities and villages of Galilee xiii 22, teaching (*inter alia*) in a synagogue on one Sabbath, xiii 10, and eating bread with a Pharisee on another Sabbath, xiv 1. *Thirdly* while Our Lord was on the road, there occurred a feast of the Jews at Jerusalem, for such is the necessary implication from the incident recorded by Luke, that, during Our Lord's progress, Pilate mingled the blood of some Galileans with their sacrifices, Luke, xiii 1, which could only have taken place at one of the great feasts, when Pilate would be present, and when only the Galileans who resided at a distance, would be found at Jerusalem.

Let us now apply these facts to the question whether the Feast of Tabernacles, John, vii 2, can belong to the year next before the Crucifixion, i. e. to A D 32. The journey in Luke could not have preceded the Feast of Tabernacles, John, vii 2, and have been the journey up to it, for Luke tells us that Jesus commenced the journey recorded by Luke with the utmost publicity, whereas John, on the contrary with reference to the Feast of Tabernacles mentioned by him, relates that Our Lord went up to Jerusalem in secret, *ἐν ἀποκρίῃ*, vii 10. Neither could the journey in Luke have occurred after His return from the Feast of Tabernacles, and have been His journey to the Feast of Dedication, A D 32, for the interval was two months only, and the events recorded in the course of the journey in Luke are far too numerous to be crowded into so small a space, and besides, no public festival at which the Galileans were slain could then have happened while Jesus was on the road. Neither could the journey in Luke have followed after His return from the Feast of Dedication if

placed in A D 32, for we have seen that between Our Lord's sojourn at Ephraim and the Passover of A D 33 was an interval only of two months, and from this the deduction of another week would be required, to allow time for Our Lord's return from the Feast of Dedication into Galilee so that seven weeks only would be left available, within the compass of which time the various occurrences related by Luke could not with any reason be made to fall. It is a still more conclusive argument against placing the journey of Luke between the Feast of Dedication A D 32 and the Passover A D 33, that no feast of the Jews at which it is at all likely that the Galileans could have been massacred could in that case have been celebrated. The Feast of Purim did indeed intervene, but it is highly improbable that the massacre should have taken place at that feast, as it was not of sacred institution but of a subordinate character and was observed, not at Jerusalem, but at every man's own house so that the Galileans would not be found at Jerusalem. The Purim also fell in the middle of the month Adar (Esther, ix 17, 21), just a month before the Passover, and as Jesus reached Bethany a week before the Passover, there would remain but three weeks for the following events related by Luke subsequently to the news of the Galilean bloodshed—viz a discourse by Jesus on one Sabbath, Luke xiii 10, an exercise of His ministry in various cities and villages, xiii 22, a meal with a Pharisee on another Sabbath, xiv 1, a progress along the borders of Samaria and Galilee, xvi 11, and a passage across the Jordan into Perea, where Our Lord continued His wonted ministry, Mark, x 1. All this looks like a protracted journey, and one occupying not three weeks only, but as many months.

Upon the whole, then, we should conclude that the Feast of Tabernacles, John, vii 2 cannot be referred to A D 32, but must be placed in A D 31, or, to adopt a more general formula, the feast in question cannot be that which immediately preceded the Passover of the Crucifixion, to whatever year the latter Passover be assigned but must have occurred a year earlier.

1347. The Pharisees, at the Feast of Tabernacles A D 31, finding themselves unable to carry out violent measures against Jesus Himself vent then wrath upon the blind man upon

wherein the miracle had been wrought, and excommunicate him. *Kai ἔξῃδακον αὐτὸν ἔξω.* John, ix. 35. This was in accordance with a resolution which Our Lord's enemies had, some time before, contrived to extort from the Sanhedrim. *Ἦν γὰρ συνέθεσσαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, ὅτι ὅτι τις ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει ἢ ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἀποκριθῇ, ἀποκτενεῖται.* John, ix. 22.

At the close of the Feast of Tabernacles, Our Lord retires from Jerusalem, but it is not mentioned whither. We should conjecture to Bethabara. His brethren had challenged Him to transfer His ministry from Galilee to Judea; and when the renewed plots of His enemies rendered it unsafe for Him to remain at Jerusalem, He may well have fixed upon Bethabara, as the nearest point to Jerusalem beyond Jewry, and whence (as it lay on the border of both Judea and Perea) He could easily, at any moment of danger, pass into another jurisdiction. The same motives that induced John the Baptist to preach at Bethabara would also influence Our Lord. We can scarcely suppose that Jesus returned to Galilee, for He had lately avoided it, from fear of Herod, and his unprincipled paragon, Herodias.

1348. Jesus, shortly afterwards, at the Feast of Dedication, again visits Jerusalem. John, x. 22. This was the anniversary of the Purification of the Temple by Judas Maccabeus, in B.C. 170, from the defilements of Antiochus Epiphanes. It was celebrated on 25 Chisleu, and lasted eight days. See Jos. Ant. xii. 7, 7; 2 Maccab. x. 1-8. As the Feast of Tabernacles, or 15 Tisri, was this year on 20 September, the 25 Chisleu would begin on 28 November, and end on 5 December, which harmonises with the statement of John that it was winter. *Ἐγένετο δὲ τὸ Ἐγκαλνὶα ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις, καὶ χειμὼν ἦν, καὶ περὶ ἐλθεῖν δὲ ἡσυχία ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τοῦ Σολομώντος.* John, x. 22.

1349. Jesus, in answer to the enquiry of the multitudes, confesses Himself to be the Son of God, John, x. 36; and tells them that He and His Father were one, John, x. 30; when they take up stones to stone Him for blasphemy, John, x. 31. Jesus expostulates with them, and they try to take Him; but He makes His escape. *Ἐξήκουσαν οὖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ.* John, x. 39.

1350. At the close of the Feast of Dedic-

tion A.D. 31, which would be on 5 December, Jesus returns to Bethabara, beyond Jordan, and abides there. *Kai ἔμενεν ἐκεῖ.* John, x. 40.

1351. The words of John, in speaking of Our Lord's departure after the Feast of Dedication, are, *καὶ ἀπῆλθε πάλιν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου εἰς τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἦν Ἰωάννης τὸ πρῶτον βαπτίζων.* John, x. 40. As Our Lord had, after the Temptation of Forty Days, visited John at Bethabara, it is certainly possible that πάλιν, in the above passage, may refer to that interview; but the more natural meaning is that, after the Feast of Dedication, Our Lord returned back again to Bethabara, the place from which He had come to Jerusalem. And that He resorted to Bethabara at the close of the Feast of Tabernacles may be inferred also from the fact that Our Lord, after the Feast of Tabernacles, attended the Feast of Dedication; for, as the latter was an inferior festival, it can hardly be supposed that Our Lord would have come to it from a distance, as from Galilee, but it was natural enough that He should go up to the feast, if He were already in the neighbourhood, at Bethabara.

1352. We have placed the Feast of Dedication in A.D. 31 upon the following ground:—1. If the Feast of Tabernacles, John, vii. 2, has been rightly assigned to the year A.D. 31, then it is at least probable that the Feast of Dedication was in the same year, for at the latter feast Our Lord and His hearers make familiar allusion to the conversation which had passed between them at the Feast of Tabernacles. Thus, at the Feast of Tabernacles, Our Lord had called Himself, figuratively, the Light of the World, John, viii. 12; the Living Water, John, vii. 37; the Door, John, x. 9; the Good Shepherd, John, x. 11, etc.; and the Jews, at the Feast of Dedication, refer to this enigmatical language, and press Jesus to speak out, and tell them plainly whether He were the Messiah. *Ἐως ποῦ τὴν θυγῆν ἡμῶν αἰεῖς; Εἰ σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός, εἰπε ἡμῖν παρρησιαῖ.* John, x. 24. At the previous Feast of Tabernacles, Our Lord had also spoken of His sheep as knowing Him, and following Him, John, x. 3, 14; and now, at the Feast of Dedication, He makes allusion to this. *Ἦμεῖς οὐ πιστεύομεν, οὐ γὰρ ἔστε ἐκ τῶν ποιμένων τῶν ἐμῶν, καθὼς εἶπον ἡμῖν.* John, x. 26. These references imply that Our Lord had not been at Jeru-

Jerusalem since the Feast of Tabernacles, and that no long interval had since elapsed. 2 At the raising of Lazarus, which occurred soon after the close of the Feast of Dedication, the bystanders still refer to the cure of the blind man at the Feast of Tabernacles as a recent event, and the feasts, therefore, must have been near to each other. John, xi 37. 3 If this Feast of Dedication be not referable to A.D. 31, there remains no alternative but to place it in A.D. 32, and if so, it would end on 23 December, A.D. 32, from which time to Our Lord's arrival at Bethany, six days before the Passover of A.D. 33, would be a period of about three months, an interval too short to comprise the sojourn of Our Lord at Bethania, John, x 40, a sojourn at Ephraim, John, xii 54, and the lengthened journey recorded by Luke from ix 51 to xviii 14.

The only arguments that can be suggested in favour of placing the Feast of Dedication in A.D. 32 appear to be the following. 1 Jerusalem came six days before the Passover to Bethany, where, it is said, was Lazarus, whom He had raised from the dead, and hence it may be urged that, as Lazarus was still there, the miracle, which followed immediately after the Feast of Dedication, had occurred not long before the Passover A.D. 33. "ὅπου ἦν Λάζαρος ὁ τοῦ νεκροῦ, ὃν ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν" John, xii 1. But the words *ὅπου* ought to be rendered not 'where' but 'of which place' was Lazarus whom He had raised from the dead. The same word *ὅπου* had been used in the same sense by the same Evangelist a little before. *ἐν τῇ πόλει ὅπου ἦν Δαβίδ* John, vii 42. However, there is no improbability in the supposition that after a lapse of more than a year Lazarus should still be found at Bethany, for even had he changed his usual residence after the miracle, he may have returned thither again, by appointment for the express purpose of meeting Our Lord. 2 Just before the Passover, A.D. 33, the multitude went from Jerusalem to Bethany that they might see Lazarus, and therefore it may be said that the miracle must have been performed only a little before. *Ἄλλ' ἵνα καὶ τὸν Λάζαρον ἴδωσιν ὃν ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν* John, xii 9. But does it follow from this that Lazarus had only been just raised? It is observable that the supper at Bethany was not in the house of Lazarus, but of Simon the Leper. Matt. xxvi 6. Mark,

xiv 3, and after more than a year, and under the protection afforded by a great festival, Jesus and Lazarus may now have presented themselves for the first time after the miracle and then the inhabitants of Jerusalem would naturally walk over to Bethany to see Jesus and also Lazarus. 3 It is asserted that when Our Lord, at the Passover A.D. 33, entered Jerusalem, the multitude who had witnessed the raising of Lazarus, bore testimony to the miracle. *Ἐμπρόσθεν οὖν ο ἀρχιερεὶς ὁ ὢν μετ' αὐτοῦ ὅτε τὸν Λάζαρον ἐφώνησε ἐκ τοῦ μνημείου, καὶ ἤγειρεν αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν* John, xii 17. This argument, if the data were correct, would carry some weight with it, but the whole force of it depends on the reading *ὁ ὢν μετ' αὐτοῦ ὅτε, etc.*, and it is now universally admitted that the received text in this respect is erroneous, and that the true reading is not *ὅτε*, but *ὅτι*, which at once removes all the difficulty, and, in fact, furnishes an argument the other way. The text should stand thus: 'The people, therefore, that were with him *bare record* that he had called Lazarus out of his grave, and raised him from the dead.' The multitude had *not* themselves witnessed the miracle, as we are informed by John himself, *ὅτι ἤκουσε τοῦτο αὐτὸν πεποιθέναι τὸ σημεῖον* John, xii 18. 4 It may be argued that at the raising of Lazarus Caiaphas is described as high-priest 'that year' *ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου*, John, xi 49, and that at the Passover, A.D. 33, Caiaphas is again said to be high-priest 'that year, *ὁς ἦν ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου*, John, xviii 13, and, therefore that the raising of Lazarus and the Passover of A.D. 33 were both in the same year. But in fact Caiaphas was high-priest for many years together, and John instead of implying that the raising of Lazarus and the Passover of A.D. 33 were both in the same year, seems from another passage to suggest the contrary, for in speaking of the arraignment of Jesus before Caiaphas, at the Passover A.D. 33, he adds that it was the *same* Caiaphas who had advised the death of Christ after the raising of Lazarus. *Ἦν δὲ Καϊάφας ὁ συμβουλευσας τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὅτι συμφέρει ἵνα ἀποθῶνται ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ* John, xviii 14. Had John meant that both matters fell within the same year of the high-priesthood of Caiaphas it would have been quite superfluous to observe that it was the *same* Caiaphas. Besides, if John treated the high-priesthood as an annual office the facts

still most remarkably bear out our hypothesis, for if, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, Annas and Caiaphas were high-priests, i. e. Annas till 1 Nisan, A.D. 29, and the Caiaphas from 1 Nisan, A.D. 29, to 1 Nisan, A.D. 30, Caiaphas would be again high-priest from 1 Nisan, A.D. 31, to 1 Nisan, A.D. 32, during which occurred the raising of Lazarus, and again from 1 Nisan, A.D. 33, to 1 Nisan, A.D. 34, during which occurred the Passover when Our Lord was tried before Caiaphas. 5. Jesus, in discoursing with the disciples at the Passover A.D. 33, John, xiii. 33, refers to a conversation held by Him at the Feast of Tabernacles, John, viii. 21; and hence it may be argued that this Feast of Tabernacles, and consequently the Feast of Dedication, must have been next before the Passover A.D. 33. The circumstance, however, is too slight of itself to lead to such a conclusion. An interval of six months must, on every hypothesis, have elapsed since the Feast of Tabernacles; and if allusion could be made to it after six months, why not, if the conversation had been a striking one, after a period of a year and six months? With the exception of the solitary reference to the Feast of Tabernacles, contained in the passage John, xiii. 33, there is nothing related by John at the Passover A.D. 33 which tends in the least degree to show a proximity in point of time to the Feast of Tabernacles, John, vii. 2, or the Feast of Dedication, John, x. 22.

1353. Sejanus, the prefect of the Prætorium, is discovered to have formed a conspiracy against the Emperor, and is put to death on 18 October. *Talem die defunctum (Agrippam) quo biennio ante Sejanus panas laisset . . . Actus ob id grates, decretionque ut quintodecimum Kalendas Novembis, utriusque necis die, per omnes annos Jovi sacretur* Tac. Ann. vi. 25. Dion, lvi. 9. Suet. Tib. 65. This was eight years from the death of Drusus, in A.D. 23 (see no. 1146); *id (venenum) Druso dolum per Lygdam apud non, ut octo post annos cognitum est*, Tac. Ann. iv. 8; and six years before the death of Tiberius, in A.D. 37 (see no. 1500). *Cæde ejus (Sejani) patrâti, sex postea annos pari secreto conjuncti*, Tac. Ann. iv. 57. Sejanus had been sixteen years in power. *Nec, P. C. utinam Sejani diem, sed selectim annos cogitaveritis*, Tac. Ann. vi. 8. He had been a bitter enemy of the Jews. *Ἐγὼ γὰρ (Tiberius) ἐθίως μετὰ τὴν ἑλπίον τελευτήν, ὅτι τὰ κατὰ*

γρηθήρια τῶν φερμένων τῇ Παύρῃ Ἰουδαίων φενέεις ἵσμεν διαβολαί, πλάσματα Σηϊάνου τὸ θῶνος ἀναπτάσαι θέλοντας, Philo Leg. s. 24.

1354. Pallas, the celebrated freedman, was at the time of Sejanus's conspiracy the slave of Antonia, the mother of Claudius, for Pallas conveyed to Tiberius her letter informing him of the plot of Sejanus. *Γράσει (Antonia) πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα ἀκριβοῶς, καὶ ἡλλάσσει ἐπιδόσα τὰ γράμματα τῇ πατρὶτάτῃ τῷ ἐοδῶν αὐτῇ, ἐπέμψει πρὸς Τιβέριον εἰς τὰς Καπρίεας*, Jos. Ant. xviii. 6, 6.

1355. Herod Antipas was afterwards charged by Agrippa with being concerned in the plot of Sejanus (see *ante*, no. 1353), and he had therefore been at Rome when it was in agitation, but had sailed from Italy in the autumn of this year, a little before the actual detection of these treasonable practices.

1356. Tiberius continues at Caprea for nine months after the death of Sejanus, or until July, A.D. 32. *Oppressâ confusione Sejani, nihil securior aut constantior pervenire proximos menses non egressus est villâ quæ vocatur Jovis*, Suet. Tib. 65.

1357. Macro is appointed to succeed Sejanus as prefect of the Prætorium. Tac. Ann. vi. 15, 29. Suet. Calig. 12. Jos. Ant. xviii. 6, 6. (See A.D. 14, no. 1053; A.D. 38, no. 1530.)

1358. Tiberius discovers for the first time, on the death of Sejanus, through Apicata, the wife of the latter, that Drusus, in A.D. 23, had been poisoned by the artifices of Sejanus. Dion, lvi. 11 (see no. 1146). Tiberius now grieves for the loss of Drusus as much as he had before been indifferent. *Auxil intenditque saxillum, excrebatus indicio de morte filii sui Drusi, quem gravem morbo et intemperantiâ perire celsissimaret, ut tandem veneno interceptum fraude Liville nortis atque Sejani cognovit, acque tormentis neque supplicio cuiusquam perperit*, Suet. Tib. 62.

1359. Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, and grandson of Herod, and who had been the intimate friend of Drusus, is now banished, as recalling by his presence the memory of Drusus. *Καὶ ὁ Τάγης τοῖς φίλοις τοῦ εἰπῶς τελευτήτος ἀπειπὼν φοιτᾶν εἰς ὕψιν αὐτῷ ἐὰν τὸ ἀνεπιβέβηται πρὸς τὸ λυπεῖσθαι μνημονεύει τοῦ πατρὸς θεωρίᾳ τῇ ἑλπίου*, Jos. Ant. xviii. 6, 1 (see A.D. 32, no. 1369).

1360. Agrippa returns to the East, and

resides at Malatha in Idumea Jos Ant
xviii 6 2

1361. Peppæus Sabinus is prefect of Achaia and Macedonia Is (Peppæus Sabinus) *Macedoniam tum intentus, Achaian quoque curabat* Tac Ann v 10

1361 a Coin of Tiberius

*Head of Pberius + Vno Augusta Bibilis Ti
Cesaris L Alio Sejano Cos*
Fakhel xi 196

Coin of Alexandria

ἡβιστοῦ καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ τ. ιη (i e in the
eighteenth year of Tiberius) + Θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
Id xi 50

Inscriptions

*Ti Cesaris Duci Aug F Aug Pontif Mar
Tib Pot xxviii Refect et Restitut* (In
agro Nemausensi) Muratori, i 443, 5

*Ti Cesaris Duci Aug F Aug Pont Maximi
Tib Potest xxviii P P Restitut et Refect*
(Anagninis in Provincia) Id i 441, 6

*Ti Kaisar Aug F Duci Julii N Augusto
Pont Max Cos r Imp viii Tribuni Potest
xxviii (lege viii) Pontificis Albani*

Q Julius Q F Tib Rufus

C Julius C F Sen Bassus

T Julius Tib F Pub Mavia

M Julius C F Lab Senecio (A Alia) —

Gruter, 233, 8 It was the eighteenth year of
his reign, which led to the mistake of its
being the eighteenth year of his *tribunician*
power

Fourth year of the Sabbath cycle

Passover, March 25

Pentecost, May 15

Tabernacles, September 19

} Sec ante,
no 1345

A.D. 32 U.C. 785. Olymp 202, 2

CS DOMITIUS AENOBARDUS

FURIUS CAMILLUS SCHIBONIANVS Cui mortuo suf-
fectus est A Vitellius

TIBERIUS AIX FROM 19 AUG TRIB POT XXXIV
FROM 27 JUNI Cos V PONT MAX IMP VIII

Thirty-sixth year of the reign of Herod
Antipas and Herod Philip

1362. Tiberius quits Capree, and sails along
the coast of Campania, making frequent dis-
embarkations, and proceeds up the Tiber as
far as the gardens near the Naumachia *Cneus*
Domitius et Canellus Sardiniam consilium in

*intevant cum Cesar aditus juxta Tiberim
hortus, sicut rursum et solitudinem maris repetit*
Tac Ann xi 1 Suet Tib 72

1363. Junius Gallio, brother of Seneca, is
banished but is afterward recalled and kept
under surveillance at Rome (*his cos*) Tac
Ann vi 3.

1364. Prosecutions are still on foot against
the adherents of Sejanus (*his cos*) Tac
Ann vi 8

1365. Death of Piso, prefect of the city,
after a twenty years' tenure of office *Per
idem tempus* (*his cos*), *L Piso Pontifex*
fato obit viginti per annos patres probatus
Tac Ann vi 10, 11 Dion, lvi 19 He
was succeeded, as prefect of the city, by L
Ælius Lania, the nominal prefect of Syria.
Qui (L Ælius Lania) *administravit Syriam*
imaginem tandem assolutus, ubi prae fuerat Tac
Ann vi 27 Καὶ Λόβανος ἀπὲρ αὐτοῦ (Pisomis),
Λαμψιαὶ ἀρβέδμετο Dion, lvi 19 (see A D
13, no 1050, A D 33, no 1453)

1366. Death of Geminus, for treason at
the close of the year *Fiat anni Geminus*
cecidit, conjurationis crimine (*his cos*) Tac
Ann vi 14 Ἰῶν δ' ἄλλων πολλοὶ καὶ δι-
ομοστροφώθησαν, οἳ καὶ ταύτῃ Ῥώμῃσι ἱερμίας
ἀσπείρας γὰρ ἐς τὸν ἰσθμίου ἐγγληθεῖς, οἷο
Dion, lvi 4 These passages are cited to
show how rigidly the laws of treason (the
Julian laws) were at this time enforced at
Rome It was a few months after, viz at the
beginning of A D 33, that Our Lord was put
to death at Jerusalem by one of the Emperor's
procurators on a similar charge

1367. Dion describes the Emperor's practice,
at this time, in the appointment of consuls and
procurators Dion lvi 20 (see A D 14, no 1057,
A D 38, no 1529)

1368. SEPTIMIUS, the procurator of Egypt, dies,
and is succeeded by Flaccus, who held office
for six years, and was removed in A D 38
(Ὁ Φλίμης οὗτος μετὰ τὴν Σεβήρου τελευτήν,
ὅς ἐπετραπτο Ἀγυπτου, καθίσταται τῆς Ἀλε-
ξανδρείας καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐπιτροπὸς Εὐαερίου
γὰρ τὴν ἐπικρατείαν λαβὼν περὶ μὲν ἐτη τα-
πύματα, ζωτοῖσι ἰσθμίου καὶ πασού, τῇ τε εἰρήνῃ
ἐπιφυλάκει, etc Τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ, Ἰσθμίου μὲν τε-
λευτήσαντος, Εὐαίου δὲ ἀνταρξισθέντος ἀντοκρά-
τορος οἷο Philo in Flacc 1, 3 Ἰσχυρτον ἐπ'
ἡμετέρας ἐπιτραπείας Philo in Flacc 19 (see
A D 24 no 687, A D 38, nos 1530, 1533)
Flaccus proceeds to Egypt by way of Brun-

diatum, and across the Isthmus of Corinth. Philo in Flacc. 18 and 19. It was, therefore, late in the year. This was not the usual time for a prefect's departure from Rome, but a vacancy had occurred by death. In Dion, under the year A.D. 32, we read, *κὲν τοῦτο, Οὐρανίου Παλίωνος τοῦ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἄρχοντος τελευτήσαντος Ἰβήρην τινὶ Καίσαρ' ἑλθόντων τὰ τὰ ἔθνη* (Tiberius) ἐπέτυχεν. Dion, lvi. 19. For Ἰβήρην should be read Σεβήρην, the predecessor, for a short time, of Flaccus. The order of succession would then be, 1. Vetranius Pollio; 2. Severus; 3. Flaccus.

1369. About the same time also Herod Agrippa, through the influence of his sister Herodias, now living with Herod Antipas, is appointed by him edile of Tiberias; but he soon after quarrels with Herod Antipas at Tyre, and repairs to the court of Flaccus, prefect of Syria. Διαπίπτειν δὲ (Cyprus, the wife of Agrippa) καὶ ὡς τὴν ἡδεσμένην αὐτοῦ Προδριάδα, Ἡρώδης τῷ Τετραρχῇ συνοικοῦσαν, . . . Οἱ δὲ μεταπίψαντες αὐτὸν, οἰκητήριον ἀνέδειξαν Τιβεριάδα, καὶ τι καὶ ἀργύρου ὥσαν εἰς τὴν ἑλτασαν, ἀγορανομίᾳ τε τῆς Τεβερμάδος ἐτίμησαν. Οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ πλείον γε Πρώτης ἐνέμενε τοῖς ἐσθουμένοις . . . ἐν γὰρ Τύρῳ παρὶ συνουσίαν, ὑπὸ οἴνου τε γενομένων αὐτοῖς λουδρίων . . . ὡς Φλάκκον τὸν ὑπετινὸν εἰσεσι, φίλον ἐπὶ Πρώτης τῷ μάλιστα αὐτῷ γεγενῆσθαι πρότερον, Συρίαν δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε ζῆσπεν, καὶ, δεξιμένον Φλάκκον, παρὶ τούτῳ ζῆγεν. Jos. Ant. xviii. 6, 2 (see A.D. 31, no. 1359; A.D. 33, no. 1424). Herod and Agrippa had both been at Rome at the time of the conspiracy of Sejanus, in the autumn of A.D. 31 (see that year, nos. 1355, 1359). Herod had returned, we may suppose, in the third quarter of A.D. 31; and Agrippa was ordered from Rome shortly after 18 October, A.D. 31, the day of the death of Sejanus. As Agrippa on his quarrel with Herod withdrew to the court of Flaccus in Syria, who died in the latter half of A.D. 33, Agrippa must have held the edileship of Tiberias in A.D. 32.

1370. Jews, who a few days after the close of the Feast of Dedication, on 5 December, A.D. 31, had retired to Bethabara (see A.D. 31, no. 1350), tarried there long enough to make many disciples. Καὶ ἐπιστεύσαν πολλοὶ ἐκεῖ εἰς αὐτόν. John, x. 42.

Mary and Martha send word from Bethany to Jews of the sickness of Lazarus. Ἦν δὲ τις

ἀσθενῶν Λάζαρος ἀπὸ Βηθανίας ἐς τὴν κώμην Μαρίας καὶ Μάρθας, etc. John, xi. 1.

Greswell argues that ἀπὸ and ἐκ in this passage signify different things, the former denoting the domicile for the time being, and the latter the place of nativity; that Martha and Mary were not natives of Bethany, but of some village in Galilee, for that when Our Lord was in Galilee Μάρθα ἐπεδίδυτο αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς, Luke, x. 38; while the house in Bethany where Martha and Mary and Lazarus their brother were present at Our Lord's supper there, John, xii. 1, was not the house of any one of them, but of Simon the Leper. Mark, xiv. 3. This distinction between ἀπὸ and ἐκ appears to be somewhat fanciful. Bethany was apparently the native place of Lazarus, Martha, and Mary (ὅπου ἦν Λάζαρος, John, xii. 1, 'of which place was Lazarus,' see John vii. 12); but Martha had perhaps married and settled in Galilee, which would account for the expression τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς in Galilee, and Mary may have married Simon the Leper, who resided in Bethany; and it is observable that the Jews who came to Bethany are said to have visited the house of Mary, for so we should read the words αἱ ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὴν Μαρίαν. John, xi. 45. Another opinion is that Simon the Leper was the father of Lazarus and his sisters, and then Mary might be the unmarried daughter who remained at home.

1371. Bethany signifies the house of dates, for though no palm-trees now remain there, it is clear that there were such in Our Saviour's time, for the multitudes that went out to meet Him cut down branches from the palm-trees. Ἐλαβον τὰ βλάτα τῶν φοινίκων. John, xii. 13. Bethany was about fifteen stades, or a little less than two miles, from Jerusalem. Ἦν δὲ ἡ Βηθανία ἑγγὺς τῶν Ἱερουσαλὲμων δεκάπλεον σταδίων. John, xi. 18. John guards himself as to the exact distance by using the word ὥς, or about. But surely John had said fifteen stades, and that upon measurement the distance of Bethany from Jerusalem had been found to be sixteen stades, could it therefore be argued that John was not inspired? or are not the Evangelists still human instruments, and inspired only in the promulgation of religious truth?

1372. Jesus after receiving intelligence of Lazarus's sickness, abides two days at Bethabara, and then announces His intention of

returning to Bethany ὡς οὖν ἦσαν οἱ ἄσθε-
νεις, τότε μὲν ἔμεινεν ἐν ᾧ ἦν τόπῳ δύο ἡμέρας.
John xi 6

1373. The disciples, on learning Our Lord's intention of visiting Bethany, are alarmed at the idea of approaching so near to Jerusalem, where the Jews had sought so lately at the Feast of Dedication A D 31 to stone Jesus Παῖσι, τὸν ἐξήρουν σε λῶσαι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ πᾶν ἐπάγει, ἐκεῖ John, xi 8 Ἀγῶμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς ἀποθνήσκειν μετ' αὐτοῦ John, xi 16 Had it been the season of a festival, the disciples would have felt less fear, as during the celebration of the great feasts immunity, except in special cases, was allowed to all See Jos Bell i. 22, 1, cited A D 80, and A D 32, no 1412

1374. Jesus returns to Bethany, and raises Lazarus from the dead John, xi 17 Lazarus was raised on the fourth day after his burial (i.e. after his death, for it was the custom, as in the case of Our Saviour, to bury on the day of the death) Τετραπύτοι γὰρ ἔστι John xi 39 As Bethany was a day's journey from Bethabara to a swift messenger, and a two days' journey to an ordinary traveller, and Jesus tarried two days before He set out, the interval between the dispatch of the messenger by the sisters of Lazarus and the return of Jesus to Bethany must have been about five days, and as Lazarus had been four days in the tomb, his death must have occurred on the day following the dispatch of the messenger Lazarus is the abbreviated form of Eleazar, and was a common Jewish name of that day

1375. The raising of Lazarus caused many to believe in Jesus, πολλοὶ οὖν ἐπιστεύσαντες αὐτόν, John, xi 45, and the Pharisees thereupon call a Sanhedrim Συνήγορον οὖν οἱ Ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι συνέδριον John, xi 47 And Canaphas, the Sadducee high-priest, advises the death of Jesus Συμφερί ἡμῖν ἵνα αἴῃ ὁ θάνατος ἀποθνήσκειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ John, xi 50 And a resolution to that effect is carried Ἀπὸ ἐκείνης οὖν τῆς ὥρας συνεβούλευσαν ἵνα ἀποκτείνωσιν αὐτόν John, xi 53 Annas, or Ananias, and his five sons (all of whom were at one time or other high-priests), and his son-in-law Canaphas were Sadducees, and therefore in general opposed to the Pharisees But the Sadducee section of the Sanhedrim was now induced to act in concert with the Pharisees, and the argument by which the Sadducees of the Sanhedrim were

won over by the Pharisees was adapted to the Romanising policy of the Sadducees Ἐὰν ἀφώμεν αὐτὸν σὺν, πάντες πιστεύουσιν εἰς αὐτόν, καὶ ἐλευσονται οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἀρῶσιν ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν τόπον καὶ τὸ ἔθνος John xi 48 When the Sadducees once aimed at any object, they had no scruples about the means, Jos Ant xx 9 1, Bell ii 8, 14, and accordingly we find Canaphas on this occasion proposing at once the death of Jesus This cold-blooded counsel of Canaphas may have been one reason why Our Lord, when brought before him at the Passover, A D 33, declined to answer his questions, Matt xxvi 63 for defence would be useless where there was a foregone conclusion

1376. Jesus, on receiving intelligence of the proceedings in the Sanhedrim, retires to the village of Ephraim, Ἰησοῦς οὖν οὐκ εἶς παύρη-
σιν περιεπατεῖ εἰς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, ἀλλ' ἀπηλ-
θεν εἰς εἶδεν εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐγγὺς τῆς ἐρήμου
εἰς Ἐφραίμ λεγομένην πόλιν, John, xi 54, and
sojourns there for some time ἡμεῖς διετρεβή-
μεθα τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ Ἦν δὲ ἐγγὺς τὸ Πά-
σχα, etc John, xi 54 The words Ἦν δὲ ἐγγὺς τὸ Πά-
σχα should have commenced a new
chapter, as opening an entirely new subject and
one separated by an interval of more than a
year John's Gospel, being supplementary,
abounds in abrupt transitions, and supposes the
reader to be acquainted with the intervening
transactions furnished by the three synoptic
Gospels

1377. Ephraim lay to the north of Jerusalem, and was as John describes it, on the borders of the desert, the Anlon or Ghor, the valley of the Jordan It is noticed by several writers Συνορεύοντες μοι ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῆς Βαβυλὸν καὶ Ἐφραίμ ἐπὶ τὴν ὄρεϊν ἀνερχομένη ἀπὸ τῆς Ἱερουσῆς Ephraim adv Hares i 133 Ἐφραίμ, ἐγγὺς τῆς ἐρήμου Ephraim tria desertum Euseb Onom I φράν, φύλη, Ἰουδα καὶ ἐστὶ τὸν κόμην Ἐφραϊμ μεγίστη περὶ τα ὄρια Λέγεται ὡς ἀπὸ σημείων τ' Ἐφρήν in tribu Juda Est et villa magianalis Ephraim nomine, contra septentrionem in vicinio ab Asia millium Euseb Onom Wieseler suggests that the word vicinio, in Jerome's version, is a translation of a (20), written or read in Euseb Onom by mistake for η' (8), and that Ephraim was not twenty miles, but only eight miles from Jerusalem Wieseler Chronol p 318 But if Ephraim was near the desert, it could not

have been eight miles only, but must have been twenty miles from Jerusalem. Nor is it likely that Our Lord would have retired to so short a distance as eight miles for security from persecution. Ephraim is also mentioned by Josephus in close connection with Bethel. Ἀναβὰς δὲ (Vojasíav) εἰς τὴν ὄρειαν αἰρεῖ ἐπὶ τοπαρχίας τῆν τε τ' Ὀφραίων καὶ Ἀκραζατην καλουμένην, μετ' ἧς Βηθλὰ τε καὶ Ἐφραίμ, εἰς φρούρους ἐγκαταστήσας μέχρως Ἱεροσολύμων ἱσπάζετο. Jos. Bell. iv. 9, 9. Robinson considers Taiyibeh, the ruins of which are a little to the north-east of Beitin, or Bethel, to be the Ophrah of the tribe of Benjamin, and Ephraim of the New Testament. Eusebius states the distance of Ephraim from Bethel to be five miles, Ἀφρά, κλήρον Βενιαμὴν, καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ κώμη Ἀφρίλ ἀπὸ . . . Ἀφρα, in tribu Benjamin. *Eti et hodie vicus Ezyren in quinto millario Bethelis ad orientem respiciens*, Euseb. Onom.; which agrees with the situation of Taiyibeh. Robinson's Palest. i. 447. Bethel was twelve miles from Jerusalem, Βαθλὰ καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ κώμη Αἰλίας ἀπὸθεν σημεῖος μί', Euseb. Onom.; and as Ephraim was five miles further, the whole distance of Ephraim from Jerusalem would be seventeen miles, which again makes it probable that Eusebius stated Ephraim to be twenty and not eight miles from Jerusalem.

1376. While Our Lord is at Ephraim, the Sanhedrim issue a warrant for His apprehension. Δεδωκεσαν ἑκ καὶ οἱ Ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ἱστολῆν, ἵνα εὖν τις γνῇ ποῦ ἐστὶ μνησθὲν ὅπως πιάσωσιν αὐτόν. John, xi. 57.

1379. Jesus, hearing of this step of the Sanhedrim, retires to a distance into the tetrarchy of Herod Philip, and again makes His way, probably along the eastern shore of the lake of Tiberias, to the regions of Caesarea Philippi, the capital of Philip's tetrarchy. Καὶ ἐβήκεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς κώμας Καισαρείας τῆς Φιλίππου, Mark, viii. 27. Εἰς τὰ μέρη Καισαρείας τῆς Φιλίππου. Matt. xvi. 13. Luke, who had omitted the journey to the borders of Tyre and Sidon and Decapolis, and to the Feasts of Tabernacles and the Dedication, again joins Matthew and Mark at this point, though Luke does not mention Caesarea Philippi by name. Luke, ix. 18.

From this time forth Our Lord prepares the minds of His disciples for the approaching close of His ministry by His death.

1380. On reaching Caesarea Philippi, ἰδοὺς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὰ μέρη, εἶπεν, Matt. xvi. 13 (but see Mark, viii. 27); and after private prayer, προσευχόμενον καταβόας, Luke, ix. 18; Jesus questions His disciples whom they took Him to be; and when Peter, in the name of them all, answers, the Christ or Messiah, Jesus charges them not to publish it abroad. This appeal of Jesus to His disciples touching His Messiahship was to test their faith in Him at a time when it was subjected to the severest trial. The Pharisees and Sadducees had now both avowedly combined against Him, and Jesus had sought refuge from the storm by retreating to the extreme borders of Palestine, about Caesarea Philippi. He was naturally solicitous about the constancy of His disciples; and when Peter, in the name of the rest, declared their unshaken belief in Him as the Messiah, Jesus manifests His satisfaction by saying that on the Apostles (represented by Peter) He would found His Church, and that the gates of Hell should not prevail against it. At the same time, that they might not be misled as to the nature of His Kingdom, He informs them that He must suffer death at Jerusalem, and that, if any one would be His disciple, he must take up his cross and follow Him. Ἀπὸ τότε (observes Matthew emphatically) ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς θεωρεῖν τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ ὅτι εἰς αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, etc. Matt. xvi. 21. Peter, still swelling with the notion of a temporal kingdom, deprecated so disastrous an issue, but was at once rebuked. Matt. xvi. 21. Mark, viii. 31. Luke, ix. 22.

The words of the angel to the women at the sepulchre, μνησθῆτε ὡς ἐλάλησεν ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ, λέγων, ὅτι εἰς τὸν νύκτον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παροδοῦναι, etc., Luke, xxiv. 6, may refer to this solemn warning by Our Lord of His death, as Mark particularly notices that He spoke of it, παρήρσις, publicly, Mark, viii. 32. If so, Galilee, in the above passage, is not to be taken as meaning exclusively the tetrarchy of Herod Antipas, but as comprising also Galilee of the Gentiles, the tetrarchy of Herod Philip. However, Our Lord subsequently forewarned His disciples (μαθητὰς) in Galilee proper of His approaching Passion, Mark, ix. 31; Matt. xvii. 22; Luke, ix. 44; and the attendant women, who afterwards visited the sepulchre, may have been included under the general term of μαθητὰς.

1381. The Transfiguration occurs six days after this mournful announcement of Our Lord's death *καὶ μετ' ἡμέρας ἕξ, etc* Matt xvii 1 Mark, ix 2 'ἅσαι ἡμέραι ὄντω Luke, ix 28. The word *ὡσεὶ ὀκτώ, οἱ* about eight, is here equivalent to *εἰς*, so that the word *ὡσεὶ* is used by Luke with some latitude, which serves to explain the expression of Luke as to the age of Jesus when He began His ministry, *ὡσεὶ ἑτῶν τριάκοντα* Luke, iii 23, when Jesus was in fact thirty-three years old.

The scene of the Transfiguration is commonly supposed to have been Mons Itabyrius, or Mount Tabor. But this cannot be, for the mount of Transfiguration was certainly somewhere to the north of Capernaum, whereas Mount Tabor was on the south-west. Others take it to be Mount Hermon, but that is too far to the north-east of Capernaum. The mount of Transfiguration is said to have been a high one, *ὄρος υψηλόν*, Matt xvii 1, Mark, ix 2, and yet the disciples slumbered upon it, *βεβαρμένοι ὕπνῳ*, Luke, ix 32, and we should infer, therefore, that the scene occurred when the temperature of the air had become genial. We cannot suppose it, for instance, to have occurred in January. We should place it not earlier than March or April.

The witnesses to the Transfiguration, Peter, James, and John, were probably selected as the most intelligent of Our Lord's disciples. The object of the Transfiguration was to set forth the true nature of the Messiah's kingdom, viz as a spiritual one in succession to the Law under Moses, and to the Prophets represented by Elias. In the vision, Moses and Elias vanish, and the heavenly voice pronounces of the Son, 'Hear ye Him!' So dull, however, were even the Apostles at this time that two of them, James and John, not long after preferred a request that, when Jesus came to His kingdom (meaning a temporal kingdom), they might sit the one on His right hand and the other on His left.

1382. Jesus chaises the disciples who had witnessed the Transfiguration not to make it known until after His death and resurrection. Matt xvii 9 Mark, ix 9 Luke, ix 36. This resurrection from the dead was unintelligible to them. Their imagination had pictured the Messiah as a victorious and triumphant Prince, and how then could Jesus speak of His death and rising again? They could not reconcile

their own self-drawn idea of the Messiah with the reality. *Συζητούντες τι ἐστὶ το ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀίστησι* Mark, ix 10.

1383. Our Lord takes the road to Capernaum, and again by the way forewarns the disciples of His approaching sufferings. *Θέσθε ἵνα εἰς τα ὧτα ὑμῶν τοὺς λόγους τούτους, etc* Luke, ix. 44 Matt xvii 22. Mark tells us that the journey was a private one for the very purpose of again instilling into the disciples His betrayal and death and resurrection. *καὶ ἐκείθεν ἐξελθόντες παρεπορεύοντο διὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, καὶ οὐκ ᾔθελεν ἵνα τις γινῶ* ἐπίστανε γὰρ τοὺς μισθῆται, etc Mark, ix 30. The disciples were very sorry, *ἐλυπήθησαν σφόδρα*, Matt xvii 23, but at the same time could not understand how it could be, and were afraid to ask. *Ἐφοβούτο αὐτὸν ἐπερωτῆσαι* Mark, ix 32. They, perhaps, thought that Our Lord, after passing through this ordeal of His passion, would rise again and then assume His temporal kingdom, for at the very time that Our Lord, on His way to Capernaum, was foreshowing His humiliation and death, the disciples were secretly harbouring schemes of their own aggrandisement under His temporal kingdom. Mark, ix. 31 Matt xviii. 1 Luke, ix 46.

1384. Jesus arrives at Capernaum, and is applied to by the collectors of the corban to pay the tax of a didrachm, or half a stater, for the maintenance of the Temple. *Ἰαθόντων δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰς Καπερναοὺμ προσήλθον οἱ τὰ διδραχμα λαμβάνοντες, etc* Matt xvii 24. Matthew in general is not very regular in the arrangement of his narrative, but this demand of the Temple-tax is unquestionably related in its proper place, for Mark tells us that on the road from Caesarea Philippi to Capernaum the disciples disputed who should be the greatest, *διελεχθήσαν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τις μεῖζων*, Mark, ix 33, and, after the incident of the Temple-tax, Matthew proceeds *ἐν ἐκείῃ τῇ ὁρᾷ προσήλθον εἰ μαθηταὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ λεγόντες, τίς ἴσρα μεῖζων, etc* xviii 1. The dispute about precedence, and the arrival at Capernaum, and then the rebuke of the disciples by Our Lord, are thus so intimately knit together that the entry into Capernaum cannot without great violence be transferred to any other part of Our Lord's life. It may be remarked that the application was made to Our Lord through Peter, and apparently because the latter was the owner or principal proprietor of the house in which Our

Lord was considered a resident, or at least of which He was registered as an inmate.

1385. This Temple-tax of two drachmas, or half a stater, a band was of ancient institution. *Ὅτε πλήθος ἰσχυροῦς αὐτῶν ἐσφόρον αὐτῷ προσέταξεν ἐσφόρειν σίκλου τὸ ἕμισυ καθ' ἕνα-στον.* Jos. Ant. iii. 8, 2. (*Siclus, id est, stater habet drachmas quatuor.* Hieron. in Ezekiel. Oper. iii. 722.) *Ἰουδαῖοι . . . τὸ τε εἰσπραγματὴν θεῷ καταβάλλειν, ὃ ἐκαστοῖς πάτριον, τὴν τε ναυτίλιν.* Ant. xviii. 1, 1. Nehem. x. 32. Exod. xxx. 13. 2 Chron. xxiv. 9. See Gresw. Dissert. ii. 341. It originated from the command in the Law that all the males should go up to Jerusalem at the three great feasts, and never empty handed, but with an offering from each according to his ability, Dent. xvi. 16, 17; Exod. xxiii. 15; xxxiv. 23; the practical interpretation put upon which was that every Jew should attend one of the great festivals in each year, and pay an annual Temple-tax.

1386. Some hazard the hypothesis that the Roman tribute is intended by the didrachm, and refer to Matthew. *Ἐπεκρίξατέ μοι τὸ νόμισμα τοῦ κήσου. Οἱ δὲ προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ ἑξαδράμην.* Matt. xxii. 19. But this would rather show that the poll-tax was not two drachmas but one drachma, the drachma annularis being equivalent. *Drachma Attica . . . denarii argentei habet pondus.* Plin. N. H. xxi. 109. See Wieseler Chronol. 265.

1387. The Temple-tax (for evidently this is meant) was usually collected in the month Adar, at the close of the Jewish sacred year, and a little before the Passover. *xx. Adar obique sederunt nummularii extra Hierosolimam, et placide a quocvis semisiclum expetecerant, nec tamen ei adegerunt qui tunc nomen obitulerat. A die xrv. vero cum in urbe sancta sedissent tandem quousvis urgebant donec tradidisset, et si longas moras necisset nee dedisset, vel pignus vel veste retenta opprimerant.* Tractat. Talmud. Schehalim. See Kuinoel on Matt. xvii. 24. Wieseler Chronol. 265. If, then, Our Lord paid the tax at the most usual period, the incident would fall in the spring of the year, and the spring in question could only be that of A.D. 32. It could scarcely have been that of A.D. 31, for Matthew relates it after the feeding of the Five Thousand, which was at the Passover of A.D. 31, John, vi. 4; and as Jesus returned to Capernaum imme-

diately after the miracle of the Five Thousand, He would at that time, if not before, have paid the tax for that year. Nor would the didrachm have been demanded of Our Lord in A.D. 33, for the interval between 15 Adar, when it became due, and 3 Nisan, the sixth day before the Passover, when Our Lord arrived at Bethany, would be much too short a space for Our Lord's last journey from Capernaum to Jerusalem.

1388. It appears, however, from the Mishna that the remnants, or arrears, of the Temple-tax were also collected before each of the three great feasts, for *Ter in anno curant de emiclaei: in spatio semestri ante Pascha, in spatio semestri ante Pentecosten, et in spatio semestri ante Scenopriam.* Mishna de Siclia, c. 3. Upon which Maimonides comments: *Tempore festi Pasche publicatores adducebant additionem primam de loco propinquiori; et illi qui remotiores erant adducebant tempore festi Pentecostie; et illi qui remotissimi erant adducebant tempore Tabernaculorum.* Maimon. in locum.

1389. After all, however, Our Lord may not have paid the Temple-tax at any of the usual periods, for supposing Our Lord not to have visited Capernaum, or at least not openly, since the last collection, the tribute would be demanded of Him as soon as His presence at Capernaum became known. This might be one month, or two months, or any longer interval after the tax became due; and the form of the question put to Peter may be thought to countenance the notion that the tribute was in arrear, *ὃ οὐδ' ἄνελος ἡμῶν οὐν τελεῖ τὰ εἰσπραγματῆς.* Matt. xvii. 24; as if the delay in payment had created a doubt as to Our Lord's intentions.

AT THE PASSOVER A.D. 32 COMMENCES THE FOURTH AND LAST YEAR OF OUR LORD'S MINISTRY.

1390. Jesus, intending to enter upon His last circuit, which was to terminate at Jerusalem, sends messengers before Him to prepare the way. *Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναλήψεως αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ πρόσ-ωπον αὐτοῦ ἐστίριξε τοῦ πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ: καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ἀγγέλους πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, &c.* Luke, ix. 51. For the force of the words *συμπληροῦσθαι* and *ἀναλήψεως*, see the use of them by the same Evangelist, Acts, i. 2; ii. 1. The Atonement of Our Lord upon the cross did not occur till after a year's interval from this time; but Luke makes the remark here that the day of His assumption

were being accomplished, as Capernaum was Our Lord's known domicile, and the *terminus a quo* of all His circuits, and He was now bidding a final adieu to it. The statement that He *set His face stedfastly* to go up to Jerusalem is full of meaning, for His enemies there had determined upon His death, and it required a fixed resolution to brave their hostility.

1391. The portion of Luke upon which we are now entering, from Luke ix. 51 to xxvii. 15, comprising the last great circuit of Our Lord up to Jerusalem, is peculiar to this Evangelist, and various opinions have been entertained as to its true chronological place. The opinion adopted in the Tables is that Luke is here giving an account of one, and that the last journey to Jerusalem. Many German critics, on the contrary, have attempted to break the narrative into three distinct journeys. The words *ἔγενετο δὲ ἐν τῇ συμπληροῦσθαι τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἀναλήψεως αὐτοῦ, etc.*, Luke ix. 51, they would refer to Our Lord's visit to the Feast of Tabernacles, John, vii. 2, and the subsequent passage, *καὶ διεπορεύετο κατὰ πόλεις καὶ κώμας διδάσκων καὶ πυρεῖαν ποιοῦμενος εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ*, Luke, xxi. 22, to Our Lord's visit to Jerusalem at the Feast of Dedication, related John, x. 22, and the notice, *καὶ ἔγενετο ἐν τῇ πορεύεσθαι αὐτοῦ εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ αὐτοῖς διήρχετο διὰ μέσσην Σαμαρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας*, Luke xxvii. 11, to Our Lord's last journey from Galilee to the Feast of the Passover, at which He suffered. This theory, plausible and ingenious as it is, will not bear examination. Thus, at the Feast of Tabernacles, John, vii. 2, Jesus did not go up in public with His brethren but remained behind for a while in Galilee, and then went up with the strictest privacy. *Ἐν κρυπτῷ* John, vii. 10. How, then, can Luke have had this journey in mind when he tells us (ix. 51) that Jesus, from the first *set His face* to go up to Jerusalem, and *went purposefully before Him* to prepare the way? So that, instead of observing privacy, Our Lord made His progress to Jerusalem in the most public manner. Again, how can it be said that in the passage *καὶ διεπορεύετο κατὰ πόλεις καὶ κώμας, etc.*, Luke, xxi. 22, Luke is describing Our Lord's ascent to the capital at the Feast of Dedication, John, x. 22, for the hypothesis is that Jesus attended that festival and then returned to Galilee? but Luke presently after informs us that Jesus was warned by some Pharisees that

Herod was seeking His life, and Our Lord replied that He must travel that day, and the next and the day after. Why? because no prophet could perish out of Jerusalem. Luke, xxi. 31. And what can this mean but that it was Our Lord's last journey to Jerusalem, and if so, how can it be said that He was then on His way to the Feast of Dedication with the intention of again returning to Galilee?

1392. This lengthened and public circuit of Our Lord from Capernaum to Jerusalem is apparently referred to in the charge afterwards made against Him by the Jews at the Passover of the Crucifixion. *Ὅτι αἰσείει τὸν λαὸν διδάσκων καθ' ὅλην τὴν Ἰουδαίαν . ἄρξαι αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ἕως ὧδε* Luke, xxiii. 5. It may seem strange that Herod, through whose dominions Our Lord was passing, should not have interposed to prevent His progress through the tetrarchy, but, anxious as Herod was to eject Jesus (and we shall see presently what artifices he practised to effect his object), he did not dare to offer open violence, for fear of the people.

1393. It is not said what direction Our Lord took on departing from Capernaum, except that He set His face to go to Jerusalem (a Hebrewism signifying only a *fixed intention* of visiting the capital) but, from subsequent occurrences, it would seem that His course was somewhat circuitous, viz. first westward, into the valley of Esdraelon or Jezreel, then eastward, along the borders of Samaria to the Jordan, and then down the left bank, through Perea, and thence westward again to Jerusalem.

1394. Our Lord, on this circuit, is attended by the twelve Apostles, and many holy women, who ministered to Him, and also by a great multitude of disciples. and on approaching the borders of Samaria, Our Lord encounters opposition from a Samaritan village, when James and John (called the sons of Thunder, from their inconsiderate zeal) would fain have called down fire from heaven, as Elias had done, when assaulted in the same neighbourhood, but the two disciples are at once rebuked, and Jesus passes on to another village. *Καὶ πορεύθεντες (οἱ ἄγγελοι) εἰσῆλθον εἰς κωμὴν Σαμαρειτῶν, ὥστε ἐτοιμασαὶ αὐτῷ καὶ οὐκ ἐδέξατο αὐτόν, ὅτι τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἦν πορεύμενος εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, etc.* Luke, ix. 52. Καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς ἑτέραν κωμὴν, ix. 56.

1395. This approach of Our Lord to a

Samaritan village may be variously explained. *First*, it may be thought that Our Lord was now crossing Samaria by the direct road to Jerusalem, with the view of attending one of the great festivals. If so, Our Lord would have reached Jerusalem in two or three days; and then the feast which he proposed to attend could not have been the Pass-over at which He suffered (and which, according to Luke, did not arrive till after a considerable interval), but must have been either the Pentecost or Tabernacles of the year preceding; and Our Lord, on meeting with this repulse, must have abandoned His original intention, and have postponed His visit to Jerusalem to a subsequent occasion. But, *secondly*, it may be suggested that Our Lord did not enter Samaria at all, but that the village in question was an outlying one, peopled with Samaritans, to which Our Lord came accidentally, in His progress along the great plain of Esdraelon, bounded on the south by Samaria, and on the north by Galilee. In support of this view, it may be observed that the expression is *κώμην Σαμαρειτῶν*, a village of Samaritans, and not *κώμην τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν*, a village of the Samaritans or Samaria. The objection in the way of this theory is, that if Our Lord was merely travelling along the plain of Esdraelon, and His preconceived plans were not interrupted, it is difficult to account for the dispatch by Our Lord, immediately afterwards, and apparently in consequence of this repulse, of the seventy disciples round Samaria, upon the road which He was then, on a change of plan, obliged to adopt. *Thirdly*, it may be conjectured that Our Lord was approaching Samaria, not with the intention of merely crossing it on the direct road to Jerusalem. But that He purposed to publish the Gospel throughout the length and breadth of Samaria, and for that purpose to spend some weeks or months in that quarter. He had long since evangelised all Galilee, and had subsequently preached up to the borders of Tyre and Sidon, and Caesarea Philippi on the north, and in Decapolis on the east, and might well now devote the remnant of His ministry to the conversion of Samaria on the south. If such was His object, it was defeated by the determined opposition of the Samaritans, who obliged Him to exercise His ministry instead along the southern parts of Galilee, and then through

Perea, by the ordinary road of the Galileans to Jerusalem.

Whatever theory be adopted, the inference may be fairly drawn that the hatred of the Samaritans at this particular juncture was more particularly called forth by the celebration at Jerusalem of one of the great festivals, and, as we should surmise, the Feast of Pentecost (3 June) A.D. 32.

1396. This animosity of the Samaritans against the Galileans is illustrated by many passages in Josephus, and particularly by an outrage in A.D. 51 (see that year, *no.* 1759), when there was, in consequence, much bloodshed, and almost a general rebellion of the Jews. The latter occurrence took place at Ginea, now Jenin, at the mouth of a valley on the northern border of Samaria, and opening into the plain of Esdraelon where Our Lord was now journeying. See Robinson's Palestine, ii. 315.

1397. Jesus, having been frustrated in His designs as to Samaria, and being under the necessity of changing His route, selects seventy disciples from amongst His followers, to go before Him, two and two, to prepare the way. The *ἄγγελοι* from Capernaum had been sent forward to provide accommodation only; but the seventy were invested with higher powers, and even enabled to work miracles. When, therefore, Luke tells us, *περὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνέειπεν ὁ Κύριος καὶ ἐπέρουε ἐξελθόντας*, Luke, x. 1, we must understand the word *ἐπέρουε* to refer, not to the *ἄγγελοι* mentioned just before, but rather to the mission of the Twelve related at the commencement of the preceding chapter. It is possible, but this is mere conjecture, that some hasty zeal on the part of the *ἄγγελοι*, or messengers sent from Capernaum, had called forth the opposition of the Samaritans, and so may have suggested the necessity of selecting a chosen number, on whose discretion greater reliance could be placed. The appointment of the Seventy is recorded by Luke only, and the reason is, that they were not ordained to a permanent office, but for a mere temporary purpose; and as the three first Evangelists do not give an account of this circuit, it did not fall within their province to notice the appointment of the Seventy.

1398. It is a common opinion, and seems likely, that the Seventy were not sent forth all at once, but by two and two, from time to

time, as then services were required on reaching any city or village. The words of Luke, *ὑπεσπεύσαν δὲ οἱ ἐββρημόντα μετὰ χαρῆς*, Luke, x 17, do not necessarily mean that the Seventy returned in a body, but at intervals, as circumstances permitted. Our Lord could scarcely, before commencing His journey, have fixed beforehand on the thirty-five different places intended to be visited by so many couples, nor could the Seventy, however perfect the arrangement, have met together again about Our Lord at any one particular moment. The number of seventy was no doubt chosen in allusion to the constitution of the Jewish Sanhedrim.

1399. In the charge delivered to the Seventy, Our Lord apostrophises Chorazin and Bethsaida and Capernaum, Luke, x 13, and these reflections were apparently suggested by Our Lord's farewell to Galilee, and confirm the hypothesis that He was now on His way to Jerusalem never more to return.

1400. In the mission of the Seventy (as previously of the Twelve, Matt. ix 37), Our Lord addresses them as labourers in God's harvest. *Ὁ μὲν θερισμός πολὺς, οἱ δὲ ἐργάται ὀλίγοι*, Luke x 2. The plain of Esdraelon was one great harvest field.

1401. Our Lord delivers at this time the parable of the Jew who fell amongst Thieves, on his way from Jerusalem to Jericho, the road which Jesus Himself was about to take. The character of the charitable Samaritan is appropriately introduced, as Our Lord was now on the borders of Samaria, and an instance had very recently occurred of the general ill-feeling of the Samaritans against the Jews.

1402. In the course of His progress Our Lord visits the village of Martha (not Bethany, but some village of Galilee, on the skirts of Samaria), Luke, x 38. (For the explanation of the domicile of Martha, see A D 32, no 1370.)

1403. Jesus cures the dumb man, Luke xi 14. This appears to be the same miracle as the cure of the dumb and blind recorded by Matthew, xii 22, and if so, it is a solitary instance of an account in Matthew by anticipation of one incident of Our Lord's last journey from Galilee to Judæa, fully described by Luke, but otherwise passed over in silence by Matthew.

1404. The parable of the foolish man who would tam be building new barns for his crops when his soul was to be required of him the same night is spoken by Our Lord when still in the great cornfield of Esdraelon and perhaps just at the close of harvest, Luke, xii 16.

1405. Our Lord alludes to the lilies of the field *Τὰ κρίνα*, Luke, xii 27. It is remarked by Stanley that he saw no lilies in Palestine, and he thinks that the word *κρίνα* means flowers of the tulip and amaryllis kind, which appear in the autumn and the red and golden hues of which would suggest a comparison with the gorgeous robes of Solomon. Stanley's Palestine, p 422. However, in Barclay's City of the Great King, p 422, lilies are enumerated amongst the ordinary flowers of Palestine.

1406. About the time of the autumnal equinox the rains commence in Judæa, but it first intermittently. Barclay's City of the Great King, p 419. Robinson's Palestine, p 129. The earliest indication of a fall of rain is the well-known cloud rising from the western sea. 1 Kings, xviii 44. After two or three days the wind commonly shifts to the south, and then the heat returns. It can scarcely be doubted that Our Lord alludes to this phenomenon in the following commencement of His discourse: *Ὅταν εἴητε τὴν νεφέλην ἀνατρελλοῦσαν ἀπὸ δυσμῶν, εὐθὺς λέγετε Ὀμβροὶ ἔρχεται, καὶ γίνεται οὕτως καὶ ὅταν νότος τρέψῃ αὐτὰ λέγετε ἐπικαύσωνται καὶ γίνεται*, Luke, xii 54. The words were spoken about the time of year when the settled weather breaks, and they may have been delivered by Our Lord while standing on or near the rocky plateau bounding the plain of Esdraelon on the south, whence Elijah saw the cloud rising from the west like a man's hand. See Stanley's Palestine, p 319. In a recent Book of Travels under the date of 17 September, will be found an instance of this cloud from the west growing suddenly into a storm. The clouds spread and fell in a tremendous torrent the ships looked as if they would break from their anchors and loud peals of thunder made the casemented rooms in which we sat tremble violently. Domestic Life in Palestine, p 69, by M E Rogers 1862.

1407. In the course of this circuit intelligence is brought to Jesus of the slaughter by Pilate of some Galileans when engaged upon their sacrifice—*Ἐπαῖσαν δὲ τινες ἐν αὐτοῖς τῷ*

καὶ ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Γαλιλαίων, ὧν τὸ σῆμα Πιλάτος ἔμεινε μετὰ τῶν θυσῶν αὐτῶν. Luke, xiii. 1. We have no historical account of this massacre, but we may collect the nature of it from some scattered notices.

At the Passover A.D. 33 Barabbas, the bandit, was still in prison for a sedition in Jerusalem, which had been attended with bloodshed.

"Ὅστις ἦν ἐν στάσιν τὴν γενομένην ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ φόνον βεβλημένος εἰς φυλακὴν. Luke, xiii. 19.

Τὸν δὲ διὰ στάσιν καὶ φόνον βεβλημένον εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν. Luke, xiii. 25. Ἦν δὲ ὁ λεγόμενος Βαραββᾶς μετὰ τῶν συστασιαστῶν δεικνύμενος, οἵτινες ἐν τῇ στάσει φόνον πεποιήκεισαν. Mark, xv. 7. And Herod and Pilate were at the Passover A.D. 33, on unfriendly terms from some recent quarrel. Προῦκῆρχον γὰρ ἐν ἔχθρῳ ὄντις πρὸς ἑαυτούς. Luke, xiii. 12. It would seem, therefore, that in his haste to put down the movement of Barabbas and his accomplices (συστασιαστές), Pilate had committed an indiscriminate slaughter in the Temple (where disturbances usually began, and for the suppression of which the Roman soldiery were always posted at the feasts on the western cloister), and that some Galileans, the subjects of Herod, had, whether deservedly or not, and during their sacrifices, fallen victims to the onslaught. Herod, as Tetrarch of Galilee, had resented this, and a coolness ensued. The outbreak of Barabbas, therefore, had not long preceded the Passover A.D. 33; and, as we cannot doubt that it occurred at some feast when both Pilate, who usually resided at Caesarea, would be present at Jerusalem to keep the peace, and when the Galileans would also be assembled there to offer their sacrifices, the transaction referred to may be assigned to the Feast of Tabernacles A.D. 32 (8 October), the last great feast next before the Passover A.D. 33.

1403. At the same time that Our Lord comments on the slaughter of the Galileans as a warning to the inhabitants of Galilee, He refers to the fall of the Tower of Siloam* as a

warning to the dwellers in Jerusalem. *Ἢ ἐκεῖνοι οἱ ἔθνη καὶ ἁπλῶς, ἐφ' οὓς ἔπεσεν ὁ πύργος ἐν τῇ Σιλωάμ καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτούς, ἵνα οἵτις οὐδεὶς οὐδεὶς ἀκούσας ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ. Luke, xiii. 4. The difference of the language with reference to the two events cannot fail to strike the reader. The slaughter of the Galileans had evidently but just occurred, but the fall of the tower is spoken of as a past event at an indefinite time. From the number of those who perished on the latter occasion, it may reasonably be presumed that there was at the moment some extraordinary assemblage about Siloam; and this would be the case at the Feast of Tabernacles when water was drawn with great solemnity from the pool and carried to the Temple, and there, after a solemn procession of the priests and Levites, poured upon the altar of burnt offerings. The accident had, perhaps, been witnessed by Our Lord and His disciples personally when present at Jerusalem at the Feast of Tabernacles A.D. 31.

1409. Our Lord is at this time employed upon the fourth year of His ministry, as appears from the parable of the fig-tree, where the Vine-dresser (i.e. Our Lord) speaks of the fourth year as now current. *Ἐτη τρεῖς ἔρχομαι ζητῶν καρπὸν, etc. Κύριε, ἄφες αὐτὴν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔτος ἕως ὅτου σκίψω περὶ αὐτὴν καὶ βάλλω κοπρίαν, etc. Luke, xiii. 7, 8. The fourth year of Our Lord's ministry began at the Passover A.D. 32.

1410. Jesus preaches in a synagogue on a Sabbath day. *Ἦν δὲ ἐδάσκων ἐν μιᾷ τῶν συναγωγῶν ἐν τοῖς σάββασι. Luke, xiii. 10.

1411. He teaches in the cities and villages of Galilee, but is still on His way to Jerusalem. Καὶ διεπορεύετο κατὰ πόλεις καὶ κώμας ἐδάσκων καὶ πορεύειν ποιοῦμενος εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ. Luke, xiii. 22.

1412. Jesus is warned to flee out of Galilee, as Herod was seeking His life. Luke, xiii. 31. The answer of Our Lord is: Πορεύεσθε ἐπάτει τῇ ἐδωκεν ταῦτα. Ἰεσοῦ ἐκβλέπων διαμόνην καὶ ἰάσας ἐπετελεῶ σήμερον καὶ αὔριον καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ τελευτήσωμαι* πλὴν δὲ με σήμερον καὶ αὔριον καὶ

it may be as well to correct the error into which he has here fallen. The περιτείχισμα is not a fortification about the fountain, but the wall of circumvallation which Titus had drawn round the city. Whiston has rendered it correctly as 'that part of the Roman wall which lay on that side.'

* In Josephus's description of the siege of Jerusalem is the following passage: Παρευχόμεν μιν εἰς τὴν ἐκτὸς Σιλωὰν κειμένην οὐκ. Ἀλλὰ δὲ ἄλγος ἀναφανέντι ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὄραματι ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς περιτείχισμα, etc. Bell. vi. 8, 5, which leads Robinson to conclude that there was 'a wall or fortification round that fountain.' Rob. B. R. i. 311. As Robinson writes in general with so much accuracy,

τῇ ἡχομεν πορεύεσθαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἐνδέχεται προ-
φυγῇ ἀπολείπειν ἐξ ἡ Ἱερουσαλὴμ. Ποσάκις

ἠβλήθη ἐπισκεῖσθαι τα τεῖνα, etc Luke, xxi

34 The three days here referred to are of course not to be interpreted literally, but the definite is used for the indefinite (see IIos vi 2). Our Lord here apparently refers to the three days' grace allowed to pilgrims on their way to the Feast. 'The three days before the Feast and the three after the Feast shall be all days of immunity and freedom for all the Jews in every realm' 1 Mace x 31. The word ποσάκις, applied to Our Lord's repeated and earnest endeavours to work the conversion of Jerusalem, is very appropriate, as we have already noticed four recorded visits of Jesus, at the risk of His life, to the capital of Judæa—viz at the Passover A D 29, Pentecost A D 30, Tabernacles A D 31, and Feast of Dedication A D 31. It is added. Λεγω δὲ ὑμῖν, ὅτι οὐ μὴ ἴδῃτε με, ὥς ἂν εἰπῇτε Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου Luke xxi 35. And as at His last entry into Jerusalem the attendant multitude shouted, Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου, John, xii 13, Luke, xii 38, Mark, x 9, Matt xxi 9, it has been argued that Our Lord at this time alludes prophetically to the exclamation of the people at the next Passover, and therefore means that He should not again visit Jerusalem, until He did so in triumph just before His death. But this application of the passage, however ingenious, can carry no weight as an argument, for Our Lord was evidently referring not to His triumphant entry into Jerusalem, but to His coming again at the end of the world. This is shown conclusively from Matt xxiii 39, where Our Lord uses the same prophetic language after His actual arrival at Jerusalem, at the Passover A D 33. It is clear, however, from Our Lord's allusion to His travelling from day to day, until He should reach Jerusalem, where He was to lay down His life, that this was His last journey, and the sound interpretation of the passage is 'I am now on My way to Jerusalem for the last time, and after this visit you shall see Me no more until I appear in glory at the end of the world.'

Herod Antipas is here termed 'that fox' from the cunning that ever marked his character. Thus, at one time, he had so supplanted his brother Archelaus in his father's affections as to have been nominated king of the

kingdom of Judæa (see p c 5, no 901), he was charged with having had a hand in the conspiracy of Sejanus (see A D 36, no 1482), was accused of carrying on clandestinely a correspondence with the king of Parthia (see A D 36, no 1482), entered into a secret compact with Herodias, his brother Philip's wife, for her elopement (see A D 29, no 1178), made John the Baptist his prisoner by treachery (see A D 29, no 1216), and, when on the banks of the Euphrates with Vitellius, sent off a private dispatch to Tiberius of the peace with Parthia (see A D 36, no 1489). The conduct of Herod towards Our Lord was from first to last of a piece with this character. He dared not, from fear of the people, offer any open violence, but tried to get rid of Jesus from his dominions by employing the Pharisees as his emissaries, who should pretend a regard for His safety and endeavour by artifice to compass His departure from Galilee. Herod preserved the same duplicity to the last, for, when Pilate sent Jesus to Herod on the ground that Jesus belonged to Herod's jurisdiction, the latter affected to find no fault with Jesus, and sent Him back to Pilate, Luke, xxiii 15, but secretly he used his influence with the procurator to procure His death warrant Acts, iv 27.

1413. Jesus takes His meal with a Pharisee on a Sabbath day Σαββάτου Luke, xiv 1.

1414. In warning the disciples to calculate the cost beforehand of embracing Christianity, Jesus makes use of this pointed language. 'Οι τι βασιλεὺς πορεύμενος συμβουλευὶν ἑτέρῳ βασιλεὶ τι πόλεμον, οὐκ καθίσαι πρῶτον βουλευεταί, εἰ δὲν αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ἐν ἑκα χιλιάσιν ἀπειρήσει τῷ μετὰ εικοσι χιλιάδων ἐρχομένῳ ἐπ' αὐτόν, etc. Luke, xiv 31. As Our Lord was frequently inculcating practical precepts by a reference to surrounding objects or current events, it is not unlikely that He here alludes to the open hostilities which about this time broke out between Herod, tetrarch of Galilee, and Aretas, king of Petra. In A D 29, Herod, as we have seen, divorced his wife, the daughter of Aretas, and hence a misunderstanding between the two princes. Afterwards a further dispute arose about the boundary line of their dominions, at Gamala, and eventually their generals took the field, and Herod's army sustained a signal defeat Jos Ant xxi 5, 1. It is difficult to fix the exact date of this war. It was some considerable time after the divorce of Aretas's

daughter, in A.D. 29, for that was only the *beginning* of the quarrel. Ἀρχὴν ἔχθρας. Ib. And it was after the death of John the Baptist, in the spring of A.D. 31, for Herod's disaster was imputed as a judgment upon him for the death of the Baptist. Τῷ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔδωκε θάνατον τὸν Ἡρώδου σπύρον ὑπὸ τοῦ Οὐοῦ, καὶ μάλῃ ἐκείνως τισμένον κατὰ ποιήν Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπεκουλούμενου βαπτιστοῦ. Ant. xviii. 5, 2. On the other hand, Vitellius heard of the death of Tiberius (16 March, A.D. 37) when he was at Jerusalem, at the Feast of Pentecost (9 May) A.D. 37, and was then on his way against the king of Petra, to avenge Herod for Aretas's victory over him; and Herod had previously written to Tiberius, γράφει πρὸς Τιβέριον, Ant. xviii. 5, 1; and then Tiberius had sent a dispatch to Vitellius, γράφει πρὸς Οὐιτέλλιον, Ib.; and then Vitellius had made his preparations, παρασκευασάμενος ὡς εἰς πόλεμον, Ant. xviii. 5, 3; and finally marched against Petra; so that, making allowance for these intermediate transactions, the war between Herod and Aretas could not have broken out *later* than in A.D. 36. But further, it is said that the overthrow of Herod's army was owing to the treachery of some exiles from Herod Philip's tetrarchy, προδοσίας ὑπὲρ γενομένης ἐκ ἀνδρῶν φυγόντων, οἱ ὄντες ἐκ τῆς Φιλίππου Τετραρχίας Ἡρώδῃ συνεστράσαν, Ant. xviii. 5, 1; and if, as seems to be implied, Philip was still living, the battle must have taken place at least before 19 August, A.D. 34, as Herod Philip died in the twentieth year of Tiberius, i. e. some time between 19 August, A.D. 33, and 19 August, A.D. 34. Thus the date of the battle lies somewhere between the two extremes A.D. 31 and A.D. 34; and we are disposed to place it in A.D. 32, when the ascription of the defeat to divine vengeance for the death of the Baptist in the preceding year would be the most natural. It may appear an objection that no measures should have been taken by Tiberius to avenge Herod until the sending of a dispatch in A.D. 36; but the dilatory habits of the Emperor are well known, and besides there may have been good reasons for the delay in the present case from the alarm created by the Parthians. In A.D. 33, or A.D. 34, died Artaxias, the Roman king of Armenia, when Artabanus, king of Parthia, seized the opportunity of placing his own son, Arsaces, on the vacant throne. This bold step of Artabanus excited the fears of Tiberius, who

prepared to resist the Parthian encroachment, and, opportunely enough, at the very beginning of A.D. 35 an embassy from a Parthian faction, which had become disaffected through the insolence of Artabanus, arrived at Rome, soliciting support to their views, when Tiberius immediately sent off Phraates, one of the Parthian hostages, to contest the throne of Parthia with Artabanus. At the same time, Tiberius bribed the Iberi to invade Armenia and drive out Arsaces. These troubles continued till A.D. 36, when peace was concluded with Parthia; and then it was that Tiberius sent orders to Vitellius to take up the quarrel of Herod Antipas against Aretas (see A.D. 34, no. 1461; A.D. 35, no. 1472; A.D. 36, no. 1483; A.D. 37, no. 1498). If the defeat of Herod Antipas by the king of Petra occurred in the spring or summer of A.D. 32, the event would of course be fresh in every one's mind at the close of the year, and Our Lord could not have illustrated His subject more forcibly than by referring to the folly of the tetrarch in provoking hostilities without having the sinews of war to maintain the conflict.

1415. Jesus, in the course of His journey, uses the expression, εἰ ἐχέτε πλῆθυν ὡς κόκκων σιταίνων, ἐλέγετε ἅν τῇ συναγωγῇ ταύτῃ, etc. Luke, xvii. 6. It is said that the sycamine is to be found only in Lower Galilee, and that, in fact, the line of demarcation between Upper and Lower Galilee was where the sycamine began to grow. Mishna, i. 189, 2, cited 2 Gesw. Diss. 473; and see 1 Kings, x. 27; 1 Chron. xxvii. 28. Our Lord, at this time, therefore, would be in Lower Galilee, where He probably passed the winter months.

1415 a. Inscription.

*Soluti Perpetua Augusta Libertatque publica
Populi Romani + Genio Municipi Anna post
Intercanum Condium MCCII. ad Cn. Domi-
tium Eneobarbum . . . Cus + Providentie Fl.
Cecaris Augusti Noti ad ceteritatem Romani
nominis Subleto hoste perniciosissimo P. R.
Favustus Titius Liberalis ceteri Amp. Iter. P. S.
F. C. Gruter, 113, 2.*

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Pasover, April 13.

Pentecost, June 3.

Tabernacles, October 8.

A.D. 33. U.C. 786. Olymp. 203, 1.

SEB. SOFICLOS GAIUS
L CORNELIUS FELIX
EX Kal Jul
L SALVIVS OTRO

TIBERII XX FROM 19 AVG TRIB POT XXXV
FROM 27 JUNE COS V PONT MAX IMP
VIII

Thirty-seventh year of the reign of Herod
Antipas and Herod Philip

1416. Tiberius comes within three or four miles of Rome, but does not enter it Dion, lvi. 21 Tac Ann vi 15

1417. The Laws of Treason, or disaffection to government, are still rigorously enforced *Dei redeunt prores meius, postulat Migestatis Consilio Proculo* Tac Ann vi 18 It was under colour of these laws that Oui Loid was this year nailed to the cross (see A D 15, no 1065, A D 19, no 1106) From this morbid sensibility, Tiberius orders all who had been arrested as implicated in Scyanus's conspiracy to be put to death *Cunctos qui carcere adtinebantur accusati societas cum Scyano neuari jubet* (his cos) Tac Ann vi 19

1418. Tiberius, without having entered Rome, returns to Caprice, and Caius Casin (Caligula) accompanies him *C Casai, discedenti Capreis arto comes, Claudium M Siliam filiam conjugio accepit* (his cos) Tac Ann vi 20 The marriage was celebrated in A D 35 Caius at this time was twenty 1 e he had completed his twentieth year on 31 August, A D 32 (see A D 12, no 1045), and had been brought up hitherto, first by his mother, Agrippina and then by Livia, and on her death, in A D 29 by Antonia *Comitatus est (Caus) patrem et in Syriac expeditione, unde reversus primum in matris, deinde, ed relegati, in Livia Augustae prouta sua conubio inuasi, quam defunctam praetextus utam pro rostris laudavit, transiitque ad Antoniam aviam, et inde recessio atatus a mo uisitas Capreas a Tiberio uno atque eodem die togam sumptu barbamque posuit* Suet Calig 10 As Caius was educated under the auspices of Antonia from A D 20 to A D 33, this will account for the intimacy between Agrippa, afterwards king of Judea, and Caius for Bernice, the mother of Agrippa, was a very dear friend of Antonia Tac Ann xviii 6, 1

Agrippa would be often in the company of Caius at the house of Antonia, if, as we have supposed, Agrippa did not leave Rome until A D 31 (see that year, no 1359)

1419. Tiberius at this time, is deeply superstitious, and devoted to astrology (his cos) Tac Ann vi 21

1420. Drusus the son of Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, is put to death *Drusus deinde exstinguitur* (his cos) Tac Ann vi 23

1421. Agrippina herself dies, the victim of severe treatment at Pandataria Her death was on 18 October, *Acte ob id grates, decertantque ut quintum decimum Kalendas Novembri, utriusque (Sejan et Agrippinae) necis die, per omnes annos donum fore ueraretur* (his cos) Tac Ann vi 25. Dion, lvi 22 Suet Tib 53

1422. Tiberius appoints C Casar (Caligula) quaestor, and looks upon him as his successor *Kai ton Gaiou tamlyn ou en tois prwtos anti-deksen . . . tpe de di) l'ais ws kai monarxhsonnti proseien* (his cos) Dion lvi 23

1423. It is mentioned under this year that, from accumulated deaths, there was such a lack of prefects for the People's or Senate's provinces that the consular prefects (viz of Asia and Libya) were continued for six years together, and the praetorian prefects for three years. *Tosouton gar plithos tan e allwn kai tan bouleuton apwleto, wste ton archois tous alhroton, tous men ispatrhghontai epi tria, tous d ispatrhontas epi ex etn ras hgemonias tan ethwn, atopia tan dialekomewn aitoun, schen Ti gar an tis exoi tous aipe tous nomazein, ois kai apw prwtis epi pleiston archein edidon Dion, lvi 23*

1424. The Damascenes and Sidonians have a controversy before Maecus, governor of Syria when Agrippa (see A D 32, no 1369, A D 38, no 1553), being convicted or having taken a bribe from the Damascenes, is ordered out of the province Jos Ant xviii 6, 3 Sidon, in B C 20 (see that year, no 726), had been deprived of its liberty, and annexed to Syria, and as both Sidonians and Damascenes appeared before the prefect of Syria, it is evident that Damascus, at this time, also belonged to Syria The controversy was between the Sidonians and Damascenes, and not between the Sidonians and the ruler of Damascus, the latter city therefore, had not yet

fallen under the dominion of Aretas, king of Petra.

1425. Our Lord, in the spring, resumes His circuit, and continues His progress toward Jerusalem. His course is now from west to east, along the borders of Samaria and Galilee, in the direction of Perea. Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν ἐν ὁδῷ Σαμαρείαν καὶ Γαλιλαίαν. Luke, xvii. 11. The remark is apparently introduced to explain how it happened that one of the ten lepers, whose cure is related immediately afterwards, was a Samaritan. Some, as Groswell, understand Luke to say by these words that Our Lord passed through the midst of Samaria, and then through the midst of Galilee, and that Our Lord had, consequently, His back turned to Jerusalem when Luke tells us that He had steadfastly set His face towards it, Luke, ix. 53; but this interpretation cannot be thought of, as οὐ μόνον clearly means along the borders of Samaria and Galilee, i.e. between the two.

1426. Jesus arrives at the Jordan, and crosses it from west to east, i.e. from Galilee into Perea. Μετῆγεν αὐτὸς τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς τὰ ὅρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου. Matt. xix. 1. Κατέβηεν ἀναστὰς ἔρχεται εἰς τὰ ὅρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας [ῥαὶ τοῦ] πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου. Mark, x. 1.

The expression τὰ ὅρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας may mean either the parts of Perea on the confines of Judaea, or the parts of Judaea itself; but we have seen that τὰ ὅρια of Tyre and Sidon were probably the parts of Galilee of the Gentiles on the confines of Tyre and Sidon, and the same words may be rendered in a similar sense here—the parts of Perea on the borders of Judaea. The *textus receptus* of Mark, indeed, offers a difficulty by saying that Jesus came to τὰ ὅρια of Judaea *by way of Perea*. But, according to the best MSS., the words *ῥαὶ τοῦ*, before *πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*, should be omitted, and have accordingly been rejected by Lachmann. We should infer, both from Matthew and Mark, that Our Lord not merely passed through Perea, but remained in it for some time. Had they intended only to express that Our Lord arrived in Judaea, they would have said *simpliciter* that He came to Judaea, and not that He came to the borders of Judaea. The part of Herod's tetrarchy called Perea was bounded on the north by Pella, on the

south by Macherus, on the west by the Jordan, and on the east by Philadelphia. Jos. Bell. iii. 3, 8.

1427. At this point, Matthew and Mark, who omit the last journey of Our Lord through Galilee, again join Luke in their narratives, the next incident, that of Blessing the Infant Children, being recorded by all the three synoptic Evangelists. Matt. xix. 13. Mark, x. 13. Luke, xviii. 15. The Blessing of the Children was apparently in some house where Our Lord was lodging, for Mark adds, καὶ ἐκπορευόμενον αὐτοῦ εἰς ὄδον. Mark, x. 17.

1428. Our Lord, while in Perea, is attended by great multitudes, and works miracles. Καὶ ἡκολούθησαν αὐτῷ ὄχλοι πολλοὶ καὶ ἰθεράπευσεν αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ. Matt. xix. 2. And exercises His ministry in His wonted manner. Καὶ συμπαρονομαίαν πάλιν ὄχλοι πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ὡς εἰώθει πάλιν ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς. Mark, x. 1.

1429. The Pharisees try to entrap Jesus, while in Perea, by addressing to Him the insidious question whether a man might lawfully put away his wife. As Jesus was in the jurisdiction of Herod Antipas, who had divorced his wife, the daughter of Aretas, and married Herodias, the question was one of great delicacy. Matt. xix. 3. Mark, x. 2. In public, Our Lord gave a discreet answer; but in private, He told the disciples plainly that to put away a wife, and marry another, was adultery. Καὶ ἐν οἴκῳ πάλιν οὐ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ, εἰρ. Mark, x. 10.

1430. Peter, after Our Lord's discourse upon riches, observes, Ἰησοῦ, ἡμεῖς ἀφίκαμεν πάντα καὶ ἠκολούθησάμεν σοι. Mark, x. 28. Matt. xx. 27. Luke, xviii. 28. This declaration was peculiarly appropriate at the present time when Our Lord had just bid farewell for ever to Galilee, the native country of the disciples; and in the following passage Our Lord probably alludes to the house and wife and children which Peter had left behind at Capernaum. Οὐκ εἰς ἑσένα ὅς ἐρχεται οἰκίαν ἢ ἀδελφούς ἢ ἀδελφὰς ἢ πατέρα ἢ μητέρα, ἢ γυναικα, ἢ τέκνα, ἢ ἀγγέλους, etc. Mark, x. 29. Luke, xviii. 29.

1431. The parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard is now delivered by Our Lord, Matt. xxi. 1, and was prompted, perhaps, by the vineyards which abounded in Perea, Jos. Bell. iii. 3, 3; but were not found to the west of the Jordan.

1432 Jesus crosses the Jordan from Perea into Judaea, and takes the road to Jerusalem, and by the way communicates privately to the disciples (being the third warning of the kind) that He was about to suffer at Jerusalem Matt xx 17 Mark, x 32 Luke, xviii 31 (see A.D. 32, no 1380) The two previous warnings had been given in Galilee to the whole body of believers, and were expressed generally that He must close His life upon the cross, but Jesus now imparts to the Twelve exclusively that the time had arrived, and that He should suffer at the approaching Passover. Notwithstanding this the disciples did not comprehend it and they still imagined from their preconceived idea of the Messiah's character that after passing through this ordeal, He would take possession of His visible kingdom Accordingly, James and John, through their mother, immediately afterwards prefer a request that they might sit the one on His right hand and the other on His left in His kingdom Matt xx 20 Mark, x 35

It may be asked what pretensions had James and John to take precedence of the other disciples, and how could their mother presume to solicit such a distinction? The scene is natural enough if we consider the relationship of James and John. The mother of James and John was Salome, the sister of Mary, Our Lord's mother (see A.D. 29, no 1198), and James and John, therefore, being Our Lord's cousins, rested their claims on consanguinity, and Salome, as the aunt of Our Lord, according to the flesh, might well in that character take a liberty which in a stranger would have been presumption

1433. Jesus arrives at Jericho, Luke, xviii 35, Matt xx 29, Mark, x 46, and as He is passing through Jericho, Zacchæus ascends a sycamore tree that he might see Jesus Luke, xix 1 The English translation is, 'And Jesus entered and passed through Jericho, and behold,' etc., as if the incident had occurred when Our Lord left Jericho, but the Greek is 'And Our Lord entered and was passing through Jericho, and behold,' etc The sycamore grows in the plain only, and the incident, therefore, occurred in Jericho, and before Our Lord had entered the mountain pass Jesus lodges for the night at Jericho in the house of Zacchæus Συμμερον γαρ ἐν ᾧ οἴκῳ σου δεῖ με μείναι Luke, xix 6

1434. Jesus arrives at Bethany six days

before the Passover 'Ο οὖν Ἰησοῦς πρὸ τῆς ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάσχα ἦλθεν εἰς Βηθανίαν John, xii 1 The Passover was on 14 Xanthicus, or Nisan, and the sixth day before exclusive would be 8 Xanthicus, or Nisan That the Jews usually assembled at Jerusalem on that day appears from Josephus Ἀθροίζομενον τοῦ λαοῦ πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ἀζύμων ἑορτήν, ὁπόδ' ἐ' ἦν Πάσχα τοῦ μῆνός, etc Bell vi 5, 3 The day of the Passover or Paschal sacrifices was from sunset on Wednesday, 1 April, to sunset on Thursday, 2 April, the full moon occurring at 5° 12' P.M. on Friday, 3 April, for Pingré places an eclipse of the moon on that day at 3 P.M. for the meridian of Paris, i.e. at 5° 12' P.M. for the meridian of Jerusalem The Paschal sacrifices were slain in the afternoon on the day next before that on which the moon came to the full, and therefore, on this occasion, between noon and sunset on Thursday, 2 April The sixth day before was thus Friday, 27 March, but commencing from sunset of the evening before Jesus then arrived at Bethany on Friday, 27 March, but before sunset, when the Sabbath began

1435. Jesus rests at Bethany during the Sabbath, or Saturday, 28 March On the same Saturday, after 6 P.M., when the Sabbath ended, Jesus sups at Bethany, in the house of Simon the Lepet, Matt xxvi 6, Mark, xiv 3, and Lazarus and Martha and Mary are all present John, xii 2

1436. The next day, Sunday, 29 March (since called Palm-Sunday), Jesus rides triumphantly upon an ass from Bethany, or Bethphage, into Jerusalem The route taken was probably the ordinary one for travellers from Jericho, viz. along the southern slope of Mount Olivet Just as the descent begins, a partial view of the city is presented, and it was probably at this first glimpse of the holy places, ἐγγίζοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἤδη πρὸς τῇ καινῇ πόλει, Luke, xiv 37, that the multitudes, carrying branches of palm cut from the gardens on their road, shouted, Ἐδόξοντο οἱ ἐρχόμενοι ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου, etc Matt xxi 9 Mark, xi 10 Luke, xix 38 A little further on the whole city bursts suddenly into sight, and it was here that Our Lord, as He gazed upon Jerusalem, shed tears over the melancholy catastrophe which was impending καὶ ὡς ἠγγασεν ἰδὼν τὴν πόλιν ἔκλαυσεν ἐπ' αὐτῇ Luke, xix 41 See Stanley's Sinai and Palestine, 187-190

Jesus enters the Temple and looks around Him, and in the evening returns to Bethany to lodge. Καὶ περιπατῶν αὐτὸς πάντα, ὅπως ἦν ὡς τῆς ὥρας, ἐξῆλθεν εἰς Βηθανίαν μετὰ τῶν δούλων. Mark, xi. 11.

1437. Monday, 30 March, Jesus, on His road from Bethany to Jerusalem, causes the fig-tree to wither away. Καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον ἐξεληθόντων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Βηθανίας ἐπισύναγε, καὶ ἰδὼν σκῆν, etc. Mark, xi. 12. Πρώτος δὲ ἐπαύριον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, etc. Matt. xxi. 18. This act was emblematical. Jesus had before delivered a parable in which the Jewish nation had been represented as a fig-tree barren for three years, but which the husbandman was to dress for another, being the fourth year; and if it still bore no fruit, the fig-tree was to be cut down. Luke, xiii. 6. Jesus at the Passover A.D. 33 had completed the fourth year of His ministry without having brought the Jews to repentance, and from this time the Jewish polity was delivered over to its doom.

Jesus enters the Temple and expels the money-changers, or those whose occupation in the outer temple was to change at a profit the heathen coinage of the various countries into Jewish money, which could alone be received into the Corban, or Temple treasury. Mark, xi. 15. Matthew and Luke relate this without any note of time, Matt. xxi. 12; Luke, xix. 45; and if these two Gospels stood alone, it might be thought to have occurred on the Sunday; but it appears from Mark to have happened on the Monday.

In the evening Jesus again returns to Bethany. Καὶ ὅτε ὕλη ἐγένετο ἐκπορεύετο ἔξω τῆς πόλεως. Mark, xi. 19. Καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἐξῆλθεν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως εἰς Βηθανίαν καὶ ἠδύσθη ἐκεῖ. Matt. xxi. 17.

1438. Tuesday, 31 March. Jesus returns from Bethany to Jerusalem, and teaches in the Temple. Καὶ πρῶτ' ἀποκατασκευάζοντες, etc. Mark, xi. 20. Ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, etc. Matt. xxii. 23. Καὶ ἦν ἀκούσκων τὸ κατ' ἡμέραν τῇ ἱερῇ. Luke, xix. 47. The disciples point out the insignificance of the Temple to Our Lord, when He predicts its utter destruction. Καὶ τινῶν λεγόντων περὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὅτι λίθοις κτίστος καὶ ἀναθήμασι κεκοσμηται, εἶπε, etc. Luke, 21, 5. Matt. xxiv. 1. Mark, xiii. 1. This reference to the costly stones of the Temple, as also to the rich offerings sent from all parts of the world, and hung round the cloisters in

which Our Saviour walked, is remarkably true to history. See Jos. Ant. xv. 11, 3; xix. 6, 1; Philo Leg. ad Cai. 36, 40; Judith, xvi. 19; 2 Maccab. v. 16; ix. 16.

On this day, being two days before the Passover, i.e. before the day of Paschal sacrifices, the Sanhedrim meet at the house of Caiaphas, the high-priest, on the subject of Jesus, and concert His death; but are afraid to arrest Him during the feast, lest there should be an outbreak of the people. Οὐκ ἔσται ὅτι μετὰ τοῦ ἡμέρας τὸ πάσχα γίνεται. Matt. xxvi. 2. Ἦν δὲ τὸ πάσχα, καὶ τὰ ἄζυμα μετὰ ἑβδ. ἡμέρας, etc. Mark, xiv. 1. Ἠγγίζει δὲ ἡ ἱορτὴ τῶν ἀζύμων ἢ λειτουργίᾳ πάσχα. Luke, xxii. 1. Μὴ ἐν τῇ ἱορτῇ, ἵνα μὴ θύμωσιν γειτοὶ ἐν τῇ λαφῇ. Matt. xxvi. 5.

The rulers of the Jews are relieved from their embarrassment how to take Jesus by the offer of Judas Iscariot to betray Him into their hands without tumult. Matt. xxvi. 11. Mark, xiv. 10. Luke, xxii. 3. Our Lord quits His residence at Bethany and passes the night on the Mount of Olives. Luke, xxi. 37. The reason for avoiding Bethany, where He had sojourned hitherto, was no doubt lest the emissaries of the Sanhedrim, now in league with Judas, should lay hold of Him when not protected by the people.

1439. Wednesday, 1 April. Jesus remains in privacy, to avoid the machinations of the Jewish rulers; but some Hellenists ("Ἕλληνες, see John, vii. 35), through the intervention of Philip and Andrew, seek an interview with Him, when Jesus discourages with them. John, xii. 20. Why Philip and Andrew in particular should have been appealed to does not appear; but we may surmise that these Hellenists were from Bethsaida, the city of Andrew and Philip, or from its neighbourhood.

At the conclusion of the discourse Jesus again secretes Himself. Ταῦτα ἐλάλησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐκρύβη. John, xii. 36.

Jesus passes the night on the Mount of Olives. Καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἐπορεύθη κατὰ τὸ ἶθος εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν. Luke, xxii. 39.

1440. Thursday, 2 April. On this day the Paschal sacrifices were, by the custom of the Jews, to be slain between noon and sunset, and the Paschal lamb was to be eaten before the next morning. Jesus therefore sends Peter and John to Jerusalem to prepare the Passover; but that Judas, the traitor, might not know the place, Jesus tells them that they

should meet a man with a pitcher, to whose house they should go Ἦλθε δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν ἀζύμων ἐν ᾗ ἔδει θύεσθαι το πᾶσχα, καὶ ἀπέστειλε Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην, etc Luke, xxii 7 Ἰᾶ δὲ πρῶτη τῶν ἀζύμων προσῆλθαι οἱ μαθηταὶ τῷ Ἰησοῦ, etc Matt xxii 17 καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἀζύμων ὄτε τὸ πᾶσχα ἔθουν, etc Mark, xiv 12

When it was the hour, viz the usual hour, for eating the Passover, Jesus reclines with the disciples at the table καὶ ὅτε ἐγγεγονόη ἡ ὥρα, ἀνεπεσε καὶ οἱ ἑσθαι ἀπόστολοι σὺν αὐτῷ Luke, xxii 14 Ὅψις δὲ γενομένης ἀνέκειτο μετὰ τῶν δούλων Matt xxii 20 καὶ ὀψίς γενομένης ἔρχεται μετὰ τῶν δούλων, etc Mark xiv 17

Before eating the Paschal lamb (πρὸ ἧ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα), and when supper was ready (καὶ δεῖπνον γενομένου) Jesus rises from table (ἐγείρεται ἐκ τοῦ δείπνου) and washes the disciples' feet John, xiii 1 The expression πρὸ ἧ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα must be taken to mean not generally before the festival, but immediately before eating the *Paschal supper*, and δεῖπνον γενομένου should unquestionably be rendered, not, as in the authorized version, 'supper being ended,' but 'when it was supper-time,' i.e. when it was supper-time So γενομένης ὥρας in the above passages from Matthew and Mark does not signify when the evening was past, but when it was come That the supper was not over at the time of washing the disciples' feet appears from the subsequent expression ἀνυπσῶν πάλιν, John, xiii 12 and from the declaration afterwards made by Our Lord that one of them should betray Him, John, xiii 21, for both Matthew and Mark expressly state this to have been said during the meal καὶ ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν, etc Matt xxvi 21 Mark, xiv 18. The same conclusion would also follow from the circumstance that Jesus, after washing the disciples' feet gave the sop to Judas, John, xiii 26, for this was done in the course of the supper to mark the traitor without exciting observation The ceremony of washing the head, and hands, and feet was one of the preliminaries observed by the Jews before eating the Passover (see Philo de Septen, s 18), and Our Lord to imitate humility discharged the most menial of these offices, viz washing the feet

Jesus institutes the Eucharist Matt xxvi 26 Mark, xiv 22 Luke, xxii 17

Judas, on whom Satan had cast the devil,

with a bidding from Our Lord not to stay long, John, xiii. 27, but Judas, instead of returning, conceals his treachery with the rulers of the Jews It was now night Ἦν δὲ νύξ ὅτε οὐ ἐξῆλθεν John xiii 30 Our Lord utters a solemn prayer, John, xiii 1, and He and His disciples then sing a hymn Mark, xiv 26 Matt xxvi 30 That the Feast of the Passover was celebrated with prayer and hymns appears from Philo Mer' ευχῆς τε καὶ ὕμνων, De Septen s 18

Jesus withdraws to the Mount of Olives, to the Garden of Gethsemane, beyond the Brook Kedron, at the foot of the mount John xiii 1 Luke, xxii 39 Mark, xiv 32 Matt xiii 30 36 Gethsemane was so called from the oil-presser in that part, גתשמן, *torulus olei* See *hummel* on Matt xxvi 36 The ground now pointed out as Gethsemane is remarkable for the aged olive-trees which stand there, but they cannot be the same as in Our Saviour's time, as, at the siege of Jerusalem by Titus every tree in the vicinity for twelve miles round was cut down to form the military works The Garden of Gethsemane had been one of Our Lord's resorts, and Judas guided the conspirators thither in the hope of finding Our Lord there Ἠδεῖ δὲ καὶ Ἰούδας ὁν τόπον, οὗ πολλὰκις συνήχθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ John xiii 2

Our Lord is arrested by the chief priests and officers of the Temple, ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ πρεσβυτέρους, Luke xxii 52 with a company of soldiers and constables, under the direction of the chief priests Ἦ οὖν σπεῖρα καὶ ὁ χιλιάρχος καὶ οἱ ὑπάρχοντες τῶν λουκιῶν John, xxii 12 The band are armed, some (the soldiers) with swords, and some (the constables) with staves Ὅχλοι πολλοὶ μετὰ μαχητῶν καὶ ἐξόλων παρὰ τῶν Ἀρχιερέων καὶ τῶν γραμματέων καὶ τῶν προσευτῶν Mark xiv 43 Matt xxvi 47 The arrest of Jesus was without any intervention on the part of the Romans The company of soldiers was not part of the Roman guard, but of the Jewish guard of the Temple The Jewish Sanhedrin had the power of death in case of any violation of the Temple, even against the Romans themselves and the first charge brought against Our Lord was desecration of the Temple in saying that He would destroy the Temple, and build it again in three days

Peter draws a sword, and cuts off the right ear of one of the servants of the high-priest. Matt. xxvi. 51. Mark, xiv. 47. Luke, xxii. 50. The three first Evangelists suppress the name of the servant, from an apprehension, perhaps, of the consequences; but John, who wrote so long after the occurrence, states the name to have been Malchus. John, xviii. 10. Or perhaps John, who was personally acquainted with the high-priest (John, xviii. 15), had information which the other Evangelists did not possess. The violent assault of Peter upon the high-priest's servant may have been one of the causes that induced Peter, out of regard to his own safety, to deny Our Lord in the high-priest's house.

Jesus is bound, and led first to the house of Annas, the father-in-law of Caiaphas, the high-priest. Καὶ ἔδωσαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπήγαγον αὐτὸν πρὸς Ἀννᾶν πρῶτον, ὃν γὰρ πενθερὸς τοῦ Καϊάφου ὃς ἦν Ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκείνου. John, xviii. 13. This was probably a compliment paid to the aged patriarch, who had himself been high-priest, and all whose sons, at one time or other, attained the same dignity.

Thence Jesus is taken bound to the palace of Caiaphas, the actual high-priest. Οἱ δὲ κρατήσαντες τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπήγαγον πρὸς Καϊάφαν τὸν Ἀρχιερεῖ. Matt. xxvi. 57. Mark, xiv. 53. Luke, xxii. 54. Ἀπείσθεν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἄννας ἐδεμένον πρὸς Καϊάφαν τὸν Ἀρχιερεῖ. John, xviii. 24.

Peter and John follow Our Lord, at a distance, from Gethsemane to the palace of Caiaphas; and John, who was acquainted with the high-priest, is admitted into the palace, but Peter is excluded. However, John afterwards speaks to the porteress, and Peter also is then let in. John, xviii. 15.

Those who held Our Lord in the high-priest's palace mock Him, by bandaging His eyes, and buffeting Him, and telling Him to prophesy who smote Him. Καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες αἱ συνέχοντες τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐνέπαιζον αὐτὸν, &c. Luke, xxii. 63. Luke places this before the trial of Our Lord by the Sanhedrim; and as this Evangelist is the most methodical, he is here followed. In Matthew the words are *rōre* (after the trial) ἐνέπυσαν, &c. Matt. xxvi. 67; and see Mark, xiv. 65. But *rōre* and similar expressions in Matthew are mere transitives, without denoting any regular sequence of events. It is, however, highly probable that Our Lord was thus mocked both *before* and *after* the trial.

As Peter is warming himself at the fire, in the open court of the high-priest's palace, ἐν μέσῳ τῆς αἰλῆς, Luke, xxii. 55, he is charged with being a comrade of Our Lord, and denies Him. He then retires, to avoid notice, into the vestibule, εἰς τὸ προαύλιον, Mark, xiv. 68; εἰς τὸν πύλων, Matt. xxvi. 71; and on being questioned, again denies Our Lord. And an hour after, ἐπιστάσης ὡστὶ ὥρας μίας, Luke, xxii. 59, denies Him a third time, when the cock crows. If the cock crew at the time called the cock-crowing, it would be now about 3 A.M. Καὶ παραχρῆμα ἐπὶ λαλοῦντος αὐτοῦ ἐφώνησεν ὁ ἀλέκτωρ. Luke, xxii. 60. Matt. xxvi. 74. Mark, xiv. 72. John, xviii. 27.

Our Lord turns round, and looks upon Peter. Καὶ στρυφεὶς ὁ Κύριος ἐπέβλεψε τῷ Πέτρῳ. Luke, xxii. 61. As Peter, at this time, was in the high-priest's palace, and Our Lord had Peter in sight, Jesus evidently had not yet been brought before the Sanhedrim, which sat in the council-house.

1441. Friday, 3 April.—At break of day, Our Lord is led up from the high-priest's palace to the Sanhedrim, where the chief-priests and scribes and elders are assembled. Καὶ ὡς ἐγένετο ἡμέρα συνέχθη τὸ πρεσβύτεριον τοῦ λαοῦ ἀρχιερεῖς τε καὶ γραμματεῖς, καὶ ἀνήγαγον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἐκείνου. Luke, xxii. 66. Matt. xxvii. 1. Mark, xv. 1. It was contrary to law for the Sanhedrim to hold its sittings by night. The council, therefore, would meet about 6 A.M. Our Lord was led up to the Sanhedrim, ἀνήγαγον. The Βουλευτήριον, or council-chamber, where the Sanhedrim met, was contiguous to the western wall of the Temple, and may have occupied the site of the present Mekhimeh, or Town Hall; and the high-priest's palace would seem to have stood just below it.

At first, the Sanhedrim cannot find any tangible ground of accusation against Jesus, ἐξήρουν ψευδομαρτυρίαν . . . καὶ οὐκ εὗρον, Matt. xxvi. 59; Mark, xiv. 55; the testimony of the witnesses not agreeing. Καὶ οὐαὶ αἱ μαρτύρια οὐκ ἔσται. Mark, xiv. 56.

A charge of profaneness is now brought by two witnesses against Jesus, in having said that He could destroy the Temple, and build it again in three days. Matt. xxvi. 61. Mark, xiv. 57. But these witnesses also vary in their evidence, and the charge falls to the ground. Καὶ οὐδὲ οὕτως ἴση ἦν ἡ μαρτυρία αὐτῶν. Mark, xiv. 59.

Jesus is now solemnly adjured by the high-priest to say whether He were the Christ, the Son of God, and on His declaring Himself to be the Messiah, the high-priest rends his clothes, and pronounces that, with such open blasphemy, there was no need of further witnesses, and puts the question to the Sanhedrim, How think ye? when the Sanhedrim return a verdict of death *Τι ἔμιν δοκεῖ, οἱ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπον, "Γραφὸς θανάτου ἐστὶ" Matt xxvi 66* Οἱ δὲ πάντες κατακρίναν αὐτὸν εἶναι ἐσθλὸν θανάτου Mark, xiv 64 Luke, xxi 70 By οἱ πάντες must be meant the whole council as bound by the voice of the majority, for the Sanhedrim were not unanimous, Joseph of Arimathea being a dissident *Ὁὗτος οὐκ ἦν συναγαγεθεὶς τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ πράξει αὐτῶν Luke, xxi 50* And Nicodemus, and some others, no doubt voted with him.

The Sanhedrim had passed sentence of death, but the law did not allow them to execute a malefactor during the feast, and yet, if the matter were delayed, there might be an outbreak of the people. Besides, if the chief priests and scribes put Jesus to death, they themselves would incur the obloquy. Their object, therefore, was to extort, if possible, the death of Jesus, and that immediately, from the Roman Governor. The council adjourn in a body with Jesus to the prætorium late the palace of Herod the Great, and call upon Pilate to order the death of the malefactor. *Οἱ δὲ σπαραγίζοντες αὐτὸν ἔωσεν τῆς αὐλῆς, ὅ ἐστι πραιτώριον Mark, xv 16 καὶ ἦσαν αὐτὸν τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Πιλάτον Luke, xxiii 1* Ἀγούσιν οὖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ Καϊάφα εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον John xviii 28. As Jesus was led to Pilate from the Sanhedrim, which John here expresses by saying that He was led from the house of Caiaphas, it would appear, as is likely, that the house of the high-priest was contiguous to and communicated with the council-room. On, perhaps, at the close of the proceedings, Jesus had been led back from the Sanhedrim to the house of Caiaphas.

The prætorium is commonly thought to be identical with what is called the house of Pilate at the north-west corner of the Haram or Temple close. But never was any locality fixed upon with less reason or more in contradiction to the voice of history. The prætorium was unquestionably the palace of Herod in the Upper City, at the north-west corner of the hill now

known as Sion, and on the site now occupied by the castle of David, close to the Jaffa gate.

The Jews themselves do not enter the prætorium lest they should be defiled during the feast, which had begun the day before *Ἦν δὲ πρῶτη καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον, ὥστε μὴ μιανθῶσιν ἀλλ' ἔα φάγωσι τὸ πάσχα John, xviii 28* The argument urged by some, that the words *ἔα φάγωσι τὸ πάσχα* imply that the Passover had not yet been eaten, has little weight. The whole festival of eight days was called the Passover, the first day being the day of Paschal sacrifices, and the seven other days the days of unleavened bread, and as unleavened cakes were used from beginning to end of the seven days of unleavened bread, to 'eat the Passover' was to 'keep the feast of unleavened bread,' which had now begun. See 2 Chron xxx 22.

Pilate, in deference to the prejudices of the Sanhedrim, comes forth from the prætorium when the Jews call upon him to put Jesus to death as a convicted malefactor. *Εἰ μὴ ἦν οὗτος κακοεργός, οὐκ ἂν σοι παρεδόκαμεν αὐτόν John, xviii 30* When Pilate replies, 'If He be a malefactor by your law, proceed against Him by your law' *Κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὑμῶν κρίνατε αὐτόν John, xviii 31*

The Jews answer that their law did not allow them to put any man to death, i. e. during the Passover. *Ἐμὴν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀποκτεῖναι οὐδένα John, xviii 31* The meaning cannot be that the Jews had no power to inflict capital punishment, or Pilate, when they clamoured for the death of Jesus, would not have told them just before to deal with Him by their law. Nor, if the Romans only could put a man to death, would there be any sense in Our Lord's prediction by what death He should die, viz. not by stoning at the hands of the Jews, but by crucifixion at the hands of the Romans. Nor could the Jews intend to say that they were prohibited from putting any man to death without the fiat of the Roman governor, for Pilate gave them his full permission John, xviii 31. But this would not answer then purpose, the object of the Sanhedrim being to make the death of Jesus the act, not of themselves but of the Romans. The only consistent interpretation is that the Jews could not by their law proceed to execution during the feast. The Jews said themselves, 'Not on the feast-day lest there be an uproar of the people,'

Mark, xiv. 2; viz. from such an infraction of the Jewish law. We meet with a similar instance eleven years after, when Agrippa at the Passover of A.D. 44 arrested Peter and put him in prison, but could not bring him forth to the people, i. e. could not proceed to execution, until after the Passover. *Βουλόμενος μετὰ τὸ πάσχα ἀναγαγεῖν αὐτὸν τῷ λαῷ.* Acts, xii. 4.

Pilate refuses to order the execution of any one by *Roman* hands unless a criminal by the *Roman* law; just as Festus afterwards, when the Jews asked the life of Paul, refused compliance unless he were first tried. Acts, xxv. 16. The Jews now attempt to set up an offence against the Roman law, viz. that Jesus had held Himself out as King, when Pilate, returning into the pretorium, calls for Jesus and examines Him upon this head. *Εἰσηλθὼν οὖν εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον πάλιν ὁ Πιλάτος καὶ ἰθὺς ἤρως τὸν Ἰησοῦν.* John, xviii. 33. And on Our Lord explaining that He was a King, not of this world, but of the Truth, Pilate comes forth again from the pretorium, and pronounces that He could find no fault in the man. *Ἐγὼ οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν εὗρισκω ἐν αὐτῷ.* John, xviii. 38.

The Jews now accuse Jesus of having stirred up a tumult amongst the people all the way from Galilee to Judea. *Ἀνασείει τὸν λαόν ἐξ ἑσσεως καθ' ὅλης τῆς ἰουδαίας ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὥς ὧδε.* Luke, xxiii. 5. This alludes to Our Lord's last circuit from Galilee to Judea, which He had made in the most public manner and during which He had been constantly attended by great crowds.

Pilate, hearing of Galilee, asks if the man were a Galilean, and learning that His domicile was in Galilee, sends Jesus to Herod Antipas, who was then at Jerusalem, and who, as tetrarch of Galilee, had jurisdiction over the case. *Πιλάτος δὲ ἀκούσας Γαλιλαῖαν ἐπηρώτησεν εἰ ὁ ἄνθρωπος Γαλιλαῖός ἐστι· καὶ ἐπερὶ τούτου ἦν ἐκ τῆς ἑξουσίας Ἡρώδου ἐστίν, ἀπέπεμψεν αὐτὸν πρὸς Ἡρώδην, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς Ἱερουσαλήμοις ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις.* Luke, xxiii. 6. This compliment paid to Herod put an end to the quarrel which had previously existed between Herod and Pilate from the massacre by the latter of some Galileans, subjects of Herod, over their sacrifices at the last Feast of Tabernacles. *Ἐγένοντο δὲ φίλοι ὧς Πιλάτος καὶ ὁ Ἡρώδης ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μετ' ἄλλων.* Luke, xxiii. 12. (See A.D. 32, no. 1407.)

The chief priests and scribes now seek to

extort the death of Jesus from Herod, as they had attempted to do before from Pilate, by clamour; but the wily tetrarch, unwilling to mix himself up with an unpopular movement, exercises his jurisdiction *pro forma*, and then clothing Jesus in mockery with a *white* robe (the emblem of royalty with the Jews), remits Him to Pilate. *Ἐκένθησας δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἡρώδης ὅς τοις στρατεύμασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐμπαΐσαι, περιβαλὼν αὐτὸν ἰσθῆτα λευκὸν ἀπέπεμψεν αὐτὸν τῷ Πιλάτῳ.* Luke, xxiii. 11. These *στρατεύματα* were perhaps with Herod to prevent such another outbreak as that which had occurred at the sedition of Barabbas, when some subjects of Herod had been slain; or perhaps, as Herod and Aretas, king of Petra, were now at open war, Herod had brought a strong escort with him in passing to Jerusalem through Petra, which was part of his dominions bordering on Arabia.

On Jesus being remitted by Herod to the pretorium, Pilate informs the chief priests and elders that neither he nor Herod could discover any capital offence in Jesus, and that at the utmost He was punishable by scourging only for having called Himself a king, not in a political but in a mystic sense. *Οὐδὲν εὑρον ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τούτῳ αἰτίαν ὧν κατηγορεῖται κατ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Ἡρώδης . . . Παιδεύσας οὖν αὐτὸν ἀπολύσας.* Luke, xxiii. 14.

Pilate, as it was customary at the Passover to grant a pardon of some one prisoner, offers to release Jesus. *Πάλιν ἐβλήθη πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ λέγει, etc.* John, xviii. 38. But the chief priests and elders persuade the multitude to ask the release of Barabbas instead. *Οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἐπέισαν τοὺς ὄχλους ἵνα αἰτήσωσιν τὸν Βαραββᾶν, etc.* Matt. xxvii. 20. Barabbas, as the leader of an insurrection against the Roman government, was of course highly popular with the multitude, so that they could be easily prevailed upon to give him the preference.

Pilate, on the refusal of the people to accept the release of Jesus, enters again into the pretorium, and causes Jesus to be scourged and then to be mocked by the soldiery as a king with a crown of thorns, and a purple robe the emblem of royalty with the Romans. John, xix. 1. This scourging is illustrated by many passages in ancient authors, *μαστιγεῖ προκισσάμενος ἀνεσταύρωσι*, Jos. Bell. ii. 14, 9; *ὁ γὰρ μαστίγας πρότερος*, Φλάκιος ἐτόλμιεν ἄνδρας ἐκτεκὼν τάγματος *μαστιγεῖναι πρὸ τοῦ βίβματος* καὶ

σταυρῷ προσηλωσά, Bell ii 14, 9 etc., and the mocking of Jesus as a king is illustrated by a similar mockery of Agrippa at Alexandria (see A D 38, no 1586).

Pilate comes forth to the Jews with Jesus wearing the crown of thorns and the purple robe, and tells the Jews again that he could find no capital offence in Jesus, ἐξῆλθεν οὖν πάλιν ἔξω ὁ Πιλάτος, καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, "Ἵτε ἄγω ἡμῖν αὐτὸν ἔξω ἵνα γινώτε, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν εὕρισκω," John, xix 4, and Pilate, now pointing to Jesus, uses the memorable words *Behold the Man!* xix 5.

The Jews on this appeal to their compassion, clamour for His crucifixion when Pilate tells them to crucify Him themselves, for that he could discover nothing worthy of death, John, xix 6, when the Jews reply that their law was recognised by the Romans, and that by their law He was guilty of death in having made Himself the Son of God. *Ἡμεῖς ἱσχυόμεθα, καὶ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἡμῶν ὀφείλει ἀποθῆναι,* etc. John, xix 7.

Pilate, on hearing that Jesus assumed to be the Son of God, is the more afraid, and returns with Jesus into the praetorium, and again questions Him "Ὅτε οὖν ἤκουσεν ὁ Πιλάτος τοῦτον τὸν λόγον μᾶλλον ἐφοβήθη, καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον πάλιν." John, xix 8.

Pilate, leaving Jesus in the praetorium, comes forth to the Jews and once more seeks to release Jesus, but the Jews press the charge of treason against Jesus in asserting Himself to be a king, and threaten that Pilate, if he let Jesus go, would not be the friend of Caesar. "Ἴαν τοῦτοι ἀπολύσῃς, οὐκ εἰ φίλος τοῦ Καίσαρος." John, xix 12. This seems to have touched Pilate to the quick, and to have at last overcome all his scruples. From the jealous temper of the gloomy tyrant Tiberius, and the rigour with which the laws against treason were now enforced, Pilate became apprehensive of compromising his own safety, should he resist further. He, therefore, *pro forma* orders Jesus to be brought forth, and takes his seat on the bema, or tribunal, on the Gabbatha or tessellated pavement, in front of the praetorium, to try Jesus on the charge of treason. "Ὁ οὖν Πιλάτος ἀκούσας τοῦτο: τὸν λόγον ἤγαγεν ἔξω τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος εἰς τοποῖον λεγόμενον Λαθαστῶρον, Ἰβραϊστὶ δὲ Γαββαθα," etc. John, xix 13. This is illustrated by a passage in the time of Tiberius, one of Pilate's

successors, who came forth in like manner from the praetorium to occupy the same tribunal. Φλώρος δὲ τότε μὲν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις (the praetorium, or palace) αὐλίζεται, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ βῆμα πρὸ αὐτῶν θεμενός καθίζεται. Bell ii 14, 8.

While Pilate is sitting in judgment, his wife, who had been disturbed at break of day by the tumultuous uproar of the Jews to procure the death of Jesus, is terrified by a dream about Jesus, and sends to Pilate to do Him no harm. *Καθημέριου δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος,* etc. Matt xxvii 19.

According to John, it was now about the sixth hour. "Ἦν δὲ παρασκευὴ τοῦ Πάσχα, ὥρου ὅτε ὥσπερ ἐκτῇ." John, xix 14. This, if John reckoned from midnight, would be about 6 A.M., and there is no doubt that such a mode of reckoning was adopted by astronomers. Plin. N.H. ii 79. Gellius, N.A. iii 2. See Wieseler, Chronol. p. 410. At the same time, the common mode of reckoning the hours was from 6 A.M. Cic. Epist. ad Fam. vii 30, ix 26, iv 12. Plin. N.H. ii 79. Jos. Vit. 34. Senec. Apocol. Censorinus, c. 23, etc. And as the other Evangelists reckon invariably in this way, it is more reasonable to conclude that John does so likewise. The word ὥσπερ ἐκτῇ, about the sixth hour, or about noon, allows a considerable degree of latitude, and is therefore not inconsistent with the statement of Mark that the Crucifixion was at the third hour, or 9 A.M., Mark, xv 25, and the long series of transactions above enumerated precludes the supposition that they could all have occurred before 6 A.M.

The words ἦν δὲ παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα, in the passage cited above from John have been often misunderstood as meaning the preparation for the Passover, and that the Passover, therefore, had not yet arrived. But παρασκευή, or the preparation, had a purely technical meaning and denoted the day before, or the prelude to, the Sabbath. Thus, we read in Josephus, ἐν σάββατον ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης Παρασκευῇ ἀπὸ ἡρας ἐννάτης, Ant. xvi 2, and in Mark, Παρασκευὴ ὅ ἐστι Προσάββατον, Mark, xvi 12. The Παρασκευὴ τοῦ Πάσχα, or the preparation of, not for, the Passover, means therefore the preparation for the Sabbath in the Paschal week, and that John uses it in this sense is evident from the subsequent passage ἐπεὶ Παρασκευὴ ἦν, ἦν γὰρ μεγάλη ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνου τοῦ Σαββατου, for the preparation for that Sabbath

was a *High day*, John, xix. 31; viz. as being the second day of the Feast of Unleavened Bread, i. e. the sheaf-offering.

Pilate, having once more offered to release Jesus, but without effect, passes sentence of death upon Jesus, and releases Barabbas, Luke, xxiii. 24; Mark, xv. 15; Matt. xxvii. 24; John, xix. 16; having first washed his hands before the multitude, to signify that the blood of Jesus was on their heads. Matt. xxvii. 24. *Κρίναντος ἐκείνου* (Pilate) *ἀπολύειν*. Acts, iii. 13.

Our Lord is now led into the praetorium, and is again mocked, wearing the crown of thorns and a purple robe. Matt. xxvii. 27. Mark, xv. 16. He is then made to resume His own raiment, and is delivered over to a company of soldiers and led out of the city, *ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἔπαθε*, Heb. xiii. 12; probably by the gate next the praetorium and called Gemath, or the garden gate, as leading from the hill now called Sion down to the gardens on the north of the wall of Sion, and to the west of the second wall, which ran off northward from the middle of the northern wall of Sion. See Jos. Bell. v. 4, 2.

Jesus is taken to Golgotha, described as a place nigh to the city (Simon the Cyrenian bearing the cross), and is there crucified between two bandits. *Ἐλήθερ εἰς τὴν λεγόμενὴν Κρανίον τόπον, ὅς λέγεται Ἐβραϊστὶ Ὑλγυθά*. John, xix. 17. Matt. xxvii. 33. Mark, xv. 22. Luke, xxiii. 26. The Crucifixion is said to have been at 9 o'clock A.M. *Ἦν δὲ ὥρα τρίτη, καὶ σταύρωσαν αὐτόν*. Mark, xv. 25. But the Evangelist need not be taken to mean that hour exactly; it was probably somewhat later. Golgotha, or Calvary, which is now within the city of Jerusalem, agrees very well with the few *indicia* mentioned in the New Testament. That part of the city, though inclosed by the wall of Agrippa, begun in A.D. 43, and completed in A.D. 66-70, was in the time of Our Lord not comprised within either of the two old walls, for it had been very thinly inhabited, and numerous gardens lay interspersed. *Ταύτῃ γὰρ τό τε πρῶτον ἦν ἔρημα χθονιαιώτερον, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον οὐ συνήπτεν, ἀμελησάντων, καθ' ἃ μὴ λίαν ἡ καινὴ πόλις συσφίστο, τετιχίλειν*. Jos. Bell. v. 6, 2.

The two *λοῖσται*, or bandits, were probably two of the accomplices of Barabbas in the insurrection which had taken place at the preceding Feast of Tabernacles. The execution of Barabbas and his companions may have been

purposely reserved till the next Feast for greater public notoriety. *Non occiditur a iudicibus civitatis eunt, sed ad summum senatum Hierosolymam deducitur atque istic in custodia aservatur usque ad festum, et in festo occiditur*. Mishna, Sanhedr. x. 4.

1442. From 12 o'clock at noon to 3 o'clock P.M. a supernatural darkness prevails. *Πεποιήμενος δὲ ὥρας ἑκτῆς σκότος ἐγένετο ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν ἕως ὥρας ἑννάτης*. Mark, xv. 33. *Ἀπὸ δὲ ἑκτῆς ὥρας σκότος ἐγένετο ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἕως ὥρας ἑννάτης*. Matt. xxvii. 45. *Ἦν δὲ ὥσαι ὥρα ἑκτὴ καὶ σκότος ἐγένετο ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν ἕως ὥρας ἑννάτης*. Luke, xxiii. 44.

This supernatural darkness, recorded by the three first Evangelists, is confirmed by heathen writers. The testimony of Phlegon of Tralles, the author of the Olympiads, who lived in the reign of Adrian, is cited by Eusebius in his Chronicle, but unfortunately the Latin version only of Eusebius's work is now extant. The passage from the Latin version is as follows: *Jesus unctus Dei [filius] Domitianus noster, secundum prophetias de eo prolatas decimo nono regnantis Tiberii anno (A.D. 33) venit ad Passionem. Quod quidem circa tempus etiam in aliis Græcorum memoriis hæc ad verbum narrata reperimus, 'Solem videlicet defecisse, Bithyniam terra motu esse concussam, maximoque Nicææ partem prostratam.'* Atque hæc profecto cum iis congruunt, quæ in Vitisstæ nostri Passione acciderunt. Quin etiam Phlegon, Olympiadum scriptor, hæc ipsa de re tertio decimo libro sic loquitur, 'Ducentesime tertie Olympiadis anno quarto (A.D. 33) tanta fuit solis defectio quantum nemo antea cognoverat: ætæ quippe dii horâ nox adeo effusa est ut in cælo stellæ riserentur. Magnus quoque terra motus in Bithyniâ fuit, Nicææque pars magna ruit.' Sic prædictus etiam ait. Euseb. Chron. ad Olymp. 203, 1. Syncellus, however, the chronologer, who had, it is presumed, the original Greek text of the Chronicle before him, gives the passage in Greek. *Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, κατὰ τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ προφητείας, ἐπὶ τὸ Πάθος παρεμύει ἔτους δ' τῆς Τριτημυρίας βασιλείας. Καθ' ὃν καιρὸν καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις μὲν Ἑλληναῖς ἐπομοίημασιν ἐνόημεν ἰστορούμενα κατὰ λέξιν ταῦτα. 'Ὁ ἥλιος ἐξέλιπεν· Βιθυνία ἐσεισθη· Νικαίας τὰ πολλὰ ἐπέσεν' ἢ καὶ συνῆξει τοῖς περὶ τὸ Πάθος τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν συνηλυθηκόσι. Γράφει δὲ καὶ Φλέγων ὁ τὰς Ὀλυμπιάδας (συναγαγὼν) περὶ τῶν αἰτιῶν ἐν*

τῷ ἰγ' ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς τὰδε 'Τῷ δ' ἐτει τῆς σβ' Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐγένετο ἡλείψης ἡλίου μεγίστη τῶν ἐγνωρισμένων πρότερον, καὶ εἰδὲ ὥρα ἦν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγίνετο, ὥστε καὶ ἡστέρας ἐν οὐρανῷ φανῆναι σεισμός τε μέγας κατὰ Βιβλίον τα πολλὰ Νικαίου καταστρεφάτο' Καὶ αὐτῷ μὲν ὁ δηλωθεὶς αἶψα Syncellus. Muller's Frag. Græc. Hist. iii 607 The fourth year of the 202nd Olympiad began at Midsummer A D 32, and ended at Midsummer A D 33, and during that interval there was no natural eclipse of the sun, as may be seen by referring to the tables of eclipses in Pingré's *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*. The passage in Phlegon, therefore, can only refer to the supernatural darkness from 12 to 3 P.M., recorded by the Evangelists at the Passover A D 33. The moon being then at the full, an eclipse of the sun by the interposition of the moon was of course impossible. We need scarcely observe that the testimony of Phlegon determines the year of the Crucifixion, for the only Passover in the fourth year of the 202nd Olympiad was the Passover of A D 33.

1443. Our Lord expires upon the cross at 3 o'clock, P.M., on Friday, 3 April, A D 33 καὶ τῇ ὥρᾳ τῇ ἐννάτῃ ἐβόησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, etc. *Maik*, xv 31.

1444. The death of Our Lord at the Passover A D 33 fulfilled the prophecy of Daniel, that at the end of seventy weeks, or 499 years, 'from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to rebuild Jerusalem,' the Messiah should 'be cut off' Daniel, ix 24. There were altogether three decrees the first, of Cyrus, to rebuild the Temple, Ezra, i 2, the second of Darius the Mede, to the same effect, Ezra, vi 1, and the third, of Artaxerxes, to restore the nationality of the Jews Ezra, vii 25. The last is the one referred to by the prophet, as appears from the terms of the prediction itself. Artaxerxes died, as we know from the testimony of Thucydides, his contemporary, in the autumn of B.C. 425, Thucyd. iv 49, 50, and as Artaxerxes reigned forty years, Diod. Sic. xi 69, xii 64, he began to reign in the autumn of B.C. 465. The decree in question was issued on 1 Nisan, Ezra, vii 9, in the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes Ezra, vii 7. The seventh year began in the autumn of B.C. 459, and the 1 Nisan of the seventh year would therefore be the 1 Nisan of B.C. 458. This 1 Nisan fell,

according to Gresswell's Prolegomena, on 6 April, B.C. 458, and counting 490 years from that day, we arrive at 6 April, A D 34. Our Lord was crucified on 3 April, A D 33, so that the prophecy received its accomplishment in the exact number of years, and almost on the very day of the year when the period expired.

1445. Jesus is buried by Joseph of Arimathea, a member of the Sanhedrim, βουλευτῆς τῶν ἀρχῶν, Luke, xxiii 50, the same evening Ὁφίας ἐξγενομένης, etc. Matt. xxiii 57 John, xix 38, and before the Sabbath, which commenced at sunset καὶ μετ' ὀφίας γενομένης, ἔπει ἦν παρασκευὴ, ὁ ἵστι προάββατον, etc. *Maik*, xv 42 καὶ ἡμέρα ἦν παρασκευὴ καὶ σάββατον ἐπέφωσκε Luke xxiii 54. That persons crucified were usually buried before sunset the same evening we have the testimony of Josephus Ἰουδαίων περὶ τὰς ταφὰς προοίαν ποιούμενων, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ καταδίκης ἀναστεινόμενους πρὸ δέυτερος ἡλίου καθελείν τε καὶ θάπτειν Jos. Bell. iv 5, 2.

The Jewish chief-priests and Pharisees set a watch about the sepulchre of Jesus Matt. xxviii 66.

1446. Golgotha was nigh to the city, and in Golgotha itself was a garden, and in the garden a new tomb, and as nothing could be done after sunset, when the Sabbath began, the body was laid in all haste in the tomb close at hand in the garden. Ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ὅπου ἐσταυρώθη ἡ τοῖς, καὶ ἐν τῷ κήπῳ μνημεῖον λαϊκόν, ἐν ᾧ οὐδέτις οὐδέτις ἐτέθη. Ἐκεῖ οὖν δια τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οὗ ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ μνημεῖον, θάψαν τὸν Ἰησοῦν John, xix 41. The place of the Crucifixion and the tomb were thus close together, so that the sites of the Crucifixion and of the tomb as now shown at Jerusalem are not open to any objection on the ground of proximity. That the wealthy (and Our Lord was buried in the tomb of one) were interred in this angle just without the city having the northern wall of Sion on the south, and the western limb of the second wall on the east, is confirmed incidentally by Josephus, who speaks of the tomb of the high-priest John in the same place Jos. Bell. v 6, 2. The spot was probably called Golgotha, or the place of the skull, from the public executions enacted there, and from the interments in the vicinity. See Kraft, 28, 158. This part was afterwards enclosed by the wall of Agrippa, which was begun in A D 43.

and completed A.D. 66-70; and when Jerusalem was rebuilt by Adrian, under the name of Elia, the wall of Adrian occupied the line of Agrippa's wall; so that in the time of Eusebius Golgotha was (as it still is) within the city, a little to the north of Sion. *Πολυθόβη, Κουρίων τόπος, ἐνθα ὁ Χριστός ἰσταυρώθη, δε καὶ νῦν εἰκνυται ἐν Αἰλίᾳ πρὸς τῆς βορείας τοῦ Σιών ὄρους.* Euseb. Onomast.

1447. Saturday, 4 April, the Jewish Sabbath. This being the second day of the seven days' Feast of Unleavened Bread, which followed the Passover, was also the day of the Sheaf-offering, from which (exclusive) the fiftieth day (inclusive) was the Pentecost. Hence John calls this Sabbath a *high day*. *Ἦν γὰρ μεγάλη ἡ ἡμέρα ἑαυτοῦ τοῦ σαββάτου.* John, xix. 31.

1448. Sunday, 5 April, the Resurrection. Early in the morning Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome, and Joanna, and others visit the tomb, and find that Jesus had risen. *Καὶ λίαν πρῶτῃ τῆς ῥᾶς σαββάτου, etc.* Mark, xvi. 2. *Τῇ δὲ μὲτ' αὐτῶν σαββάτων ὁδὸν βύθου, etc.* Luke, xxiv. 1. *Τῇ δὲ μετ' αὐτῶν σαββάτων . . . πρῶτῃ σκορίας ἐστὶ ὥσης, etc.* John, xx. 1. *Ὅψε δὲ σαββάτων τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων.* Matt. xxviii. 1.

They tell the apocryphal, when Peter and John run to the sepulchre. John, xx. 3. Luke, xxiv. 12.

Jesus appears to Mary Magdalene, Mark, xvi. 9; John, xx. 11; and the other women, Matt. xxviii. 8.

Jesus appears to two of the disciples on their way to Emmaus. Mark, xvi. 12. Luke, xxiv. 13. The site of Emmaus has not been ascertained. According to Luke, it was a *χώμη*, or village, sixty stades, or seven miles and a half, from Jerusalem. Luke, xxiv. 13. Josephus also speaks of a place of that name sixty stades from Jerusalem. Jos. Bell. vii. 6, 6. Robinson thinks that both in Luke and Josephus sixty is a mistake for one hundred and sixty, and would identify Emmaus with Amwās, or Nicopolis, which the Irti Hieros. places twenty-two miles west of Jerusalem; but the distance appears too great to allow the disciples to return to Jerusalem, as they did, the same day.

Jesus appears to Peter. *Καὶ ὅτι ὥφθη Κηφῇ.* 1 Cor. xv. 5.

The same evening (Sunday) Jesus appears to the Apostles (with the exception of Thomas)

when assembled with closed doors. John, xx. 19. Luke, xxiv. 36.

The next Sunday He appears to all the Apostles, including Thomas. John, xx. 26. 1 Cor. xv. 5. Mark xvi. 14.

He shows Himself in Galilee to above 500 disciples. *Ἐπειτα ὥφθη ἐπάνω πεντακοσίοις ἀδελφοῖς ἐφαπίζε ἐξ ὧν οἱ πλείονες μένουσιν ἕως ἄρτι, τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἐκοιμήθησαν.* 1 Cor. xv. 6. Matt. xxviii. 16. Compare Matt. xxviii. 10; Mark, xvi. 7.

Jesus appears to certain of His disciples at the Sea of Galilee. John, xxi. 1.

Then to James. *Ἐπειτα ὥφθη Ἰακώβῳ.* 1 Cor. xv. 7.

Then to all the apostles. *Ἐπειτα τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσιν.* 1 Cor. xv. 7.

Jesus leads the Apostles out to Bethany, where they witness the Ascension. Luke, xxiv. 50. Mark, xvi. 19.

This took place forty days after the Resurrection. *Οἱ καὶ παρέστησαν αὐτὸν ἑπτὰ ἡμέραι καὶ ἑβδμήτην ἐν πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις, ἐξ ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα ὁπτανόμενος αὐτοῖς, καὶ λέγων τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ.* Acts, i. 3. The Ascension, therefore, was on Thursday, 14 May, A.D. 33. The last words of Our Saviour before He ascended mark the successive circles of the extension of the Gospel. *Ἄλλα λήψεσθε δύναμιν, ἐκελθόντες τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος (at the Pentecost) καὶ ἰστέθετε μὴ μόνον ἐν τῇ Ἱερουσαλὴμ (up to the martyrdom of Stephen) καὶ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ Σαμαρείᾳ (on the dispersion that followed the death of Stephen) καὶ ἕως ἐσχατοῦ τῆς γῆς (after the call of Cornelius).* Acts, i. 8.

1449. At this time the disciples hold their meetings in an upper room. *Καὶ ὅτε εἰσῆλθον, αἰζήσαντες εἰς τὸ ὑπερῶν, οὐ ᾗσαν καταμένοντες, ὅτε Πέτρος, καὶ Ἰάκωβος, καὶ Ἰωάννης, καὶ Ἀνδρέας, Φίλιππος καὶ Θωμᾶς, Βαρθολομαῖος καὶ Ματθαῖος, Ἰάκωβος Ἀλφαῖνός καὶ Σίμων ὁ Ζηλωτής, καὶ Ἰούδας Ἰσκαρίωτης . . . σὺν γυναικὶ καὶ Μαρίᾳ τῇ μητρὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ σὺν ταῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ.* Acts, i. 13. It would appear from this that Joseph was no longer living, and that the brethren of Jesus were not of the number of the Twelve, but that they now believed on Our Lord's divine mission. At the Feast of Tabernacles A.D. 31 they had been still in unbelief. John, vii. 5. Their conversion, therefore, had occurred in the interval, and perhaps during the last great circuit of Our

Lord in Galilee, or it may have been the result of Our Lord's resurrection.

1450 Matthias is appointed an Apostle in the place of Judas Iscariot Acts, i 26. As this was after the Ascension and before the Pentecost, it was sometime between 14 May and 24 May.

The number of the disciples assembled about Peter is 120. Ὡς ἑκατὸν ἑκοστὶν Acts, i 15.

1451. The descent of the Holy Ghost on Sunday, 24 May, the day of Pentecost, Acts, ii 1, and not long after the Ascension. Ὑμεῖς δὲ βαπτισθήσεσθε ἐν Πνεύματι. Ἀγνὸς οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ταύτας ἡμέρας Acts, i 5. The descent was at the third hour of the day, or 9 o'clock, i 11, the first season of prayer. Ἐστὶ γὰρ ὥρα τρίτη τῆς ἡμέρας Acts, ii 15. 3,000 converts are made. Ψυχὰς ὡσεὶ τριακίχλια Acts, ii 41.

1452. Peter and John, on their way into the Temple at 3 o'clock, ii 14, one of the usual hours of prayer, came the cripple at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple. Ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ Πέτρος καὶ Ἰωάννης ἀνέβαιον εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ὥρην τῆς προσευχῆς τὴν ἐν ἡμέρῃ, etc., Acts, iii 1, and 5000 converts are made on this occasion by Peter's preaching in Solomon's Porch. Ὡσεὶ χίλιαιδες ἦντες Acts, iv 4.

As to the Beautiful Gate, the Temple proper, or Inner Temple according to Josephus, had ten gates: four on the north, four on the south, one on the east from the Outer Temple into the court of the women, and one opposite to it leading from the court of the women into the court of the Israelites. All the gates but the outer eastern were gilt or plated, but the outer eastern was of Corinthian brass, and far exceeded the rest in proportions and general magnificence. Μία δ' ἡ ἐξωθεν τοῦ νεῦ Κορινθίου χαλκῷ, πολὺ τῇ τιμῇ τὰς καταρχομῶν καὶ περὶ χρίστους ὑπεράγαστα. Ἡ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν Κορινθίαν ἄπο τῆς Γυναικωνίτιδος ἐξ ἀνατολῆς ἀνοικομένη, τῆς τοῦ ναοῦ πύλης ἀντιπρὸς, πολὺν μείζων. Jos Bell v 5, 3, vi 5, 3. This Corinthian gate was, no doubt, identical with the Beautiful Gate, and the pool and cripples waiting naturally here solicit charity from those entering the court of the women, the place of prayer. Solomon's Porch, to which the Apostles and the people adjourned, was just opposite to, and only a few yards from, the Beautiful Gate, and formed the eastern cloister of the Outer Temple.

1453. The Sadducees (the party of Annas and

Caiaphas who had put Jesus to death), being distressed at the doctrine of the resurrection, lay hold of Peter and John and bring them before the Sanhedrim, when they are reprimanded and dismissed. Ἐπεστήσαν αὐτοῖς οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ ὁ σαραντὶχὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ οἱ Σαδδουκαῖοι. Ἐγενετο δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν αἴριον συναχθῆναι αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀρχόντας καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ γραμματεῖς εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, καὶ Ἄνναν τὸν ἀρχιερεῖα καὶ Καϊάφην καὶ Ἰωάννην καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐκ γενοῦς ἀρχιερατικοῦ, etc Acts, iv 1, 2, 5. This occurred when Herod Antipas was still tetrarch, and Pilate was still in office, for the disciples said in their prayer, συνήχθησαν γὰρ ἐπ' ἀληθείας ἐπὶ τὸν ἁγίον πατέρα σου Ἰησοῦ, ὃν ἐχρίσας, Ἠρώδης τε καὶ Πόλιτιος Παλάτος καὶ τὰ ὅτι, κυρίου, ἔκειτο ἐπὶ τὰς ἀτελείας αὐτῶν Acts, iv 27, 29.

1454. Herod Philip dies in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, and in the twentieth year of Tiberius, when the tetrarchy is attached to Syria. Τότε δὲ καὶ Φίλιππος (Ἠρώδου δὲ ἦν ἀτελής) τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον, εἰκοστῇ μὲν ἑταυρῷ τῆς Τιβηρίου ἀρχῆς (from 19 August, A.D. 33, to 19 August, A.D. 34), ἡγησάμενος δὲ αὐτὸς ἑπτα καὶ τριάκοντα τῆς Τραχυωνίτιδος, καὶ Γαυλιαιτικῆς, καὶ τοῦ Βαρυκυλίου ἔθρους πρὸς αὐτοῖς. Jos Ant xviii 4, 6. The commencement of his reign was probably dated, as in the case of his brother Archelaus, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan, a.c. 4 (see A.D. 6, no 1011), and then the thirty-seventh year of his reign would coincide with A.D. 33, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan, and as his death was also in the twentieth year of Tiberius, it was on some day after 19 August of this year, on which day the twentieth year began.

1455 Towards the close of the year dies L. Elius Lamia, who had been for some years the nominal prefect of Syria, and was then actual prefect of the city. Exiit anno mox Alis Lamiae fune e consensio celebrata, qui administrandae Syriae imagine tantum exsoluitus, ubi praefuerat (his cons.) Tac Ann vi 27. He is succeeded as prefect of the city by Cossus. Senec Ep 88 (see A.D. 82, no 1365, A.D. 39, no 1549).

1456 Still later in the year intelligence reaches Rome of the death of Pomponius Flaccus, Prefect of Syria. Exiit Flacco Pomponio Syriae Proprietore defuncto, recitantiu litterae Cossus, etc (his cons.) Tac Ann. vi 27 (see A.D. 20, no 1128, A.D. 34, no 1462). That Flaccus was prefect of Syria till near the close

of this year appears from a coin of Antioch struck by him in this year (see *infra*, no. 1457 a.).

At this time L. Arruntius, the nominal prefect of Spain, is in detention at Rome from his province for the tenth year current. His appointment, therefore, would be dated in A.D. 24. *Oblitus Arruntium, ne in Hispaniam pergeret, decimum jam annum adlineri* (His cos.). Tac. Ann. vi. 27.

1457. The wife of Anileus removes Asinus by poison, when Anileus succeeds to the sole authority in the tetrarchy of Babylonia. Jos. Ant. xviii. 9, 5. After this Anileus ravages the possessions of Mithridates, the son of Artabanus, and takes Mithridates prisoner, but releases him. Subsequently Mithridates is induced to take the field against Anileus, and a battle ensues. Ant. xviii. 9, 6. All this must have occupied at least a year (compare this date with the years A.D. 18, no. 1165; A.D. 34, no. 1464).

1457 a. Coin of Antioch.

ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ + ΕΞΙ ΦΙΛΑΚΚΩΝ ΒΗΠ. The letters ΒΗΠ (82) refer to the Era of Antioch, and the coin was therefore struck between

1 Nov. A.D. 33, and 1 Nov. A.D. 34 (see A.D. 6, no. 1016 a.).

Ezekiel, iii. 270.

Coin of Alexandria.

ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Λ.Κ. (i. e. in the twentieth year of Tiberius) + ΘΙΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ. Id. iv. 50.

Inscriptions.

Ti. Caesar Divi Aug. F. Div. Jul. X. Trib. Pot. xxi. Imp. ſic. Cos. v. A. Pisorum (Juxta Herream opp. Hisp. in Vaccarorum Regione). Gruter, 153, 7.

Osa Agrippine F. M. Agrippæ Divi Aug. Nupti Loris Germanici Cæsaris matris C. Cæsaris Aug. Germanici Principis (Rome). Id. 287, 4.

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 2.

Pentecost, May 21.

Tabernacles, September 27.

1458. The following Table for the Passovers of the years A.D. 31, A.D. 32, and A.D. 33, is taken from Anger, p. 37. The important facts are the times of the new moons, and the week days on which they fell:—

A.D.	New moon	1 Nisan	14 Nisan	Day of week	15 Nisan	Day of week
31	Ordinary 12 March, at 12h. 56m. A.M.	13, 14, 15 March.	26, 27, 28 Mar.	2, 3, 4.	27, 28, 29 Mar.	3, 4, 5.
	Intercalary 10 April, at 2h. 0m. P.M.	12, 13, 14 April.	25, 26, 27 Apr.	4, 5, 6.	26, 27, 28 Apr.	5, 6, 7.
32	Ordinary 29 March, at 10h. 37 m. P.M.	31 March, 1, 2 April.	13, 14, 15 Apr.	1, 2, 3.	14, 15, 16 Apr.	2, 3, 4.
	Intercalary 28 April, at 9h. 15 m. A.M.	30 April, 1 May.	13, 14 May.	3, 4.	14, 15 May.	4, 5.
33	Ordinary 19 March, at 1h. 16 m. P.M.	21, 22, 23 March.	3, 4, 5 April.	6, 7, 1.	4, 5, 6 April.	7, 1, 2.
	Intercalary 17 April, at 9h. 39 m. P.M.	19, 20, 21 April.	2, 3, 4 May.	7, 1, 2.	3, 4, 5 May.	1, 2, 3.

The following Table of Paschal full moons for the years A.D. 28-33, both inclusive, is taken from Brown's *Ordo Seclorum*, p. 55.

The hours are reckoned astronomically from midnight, and the week days are those on which the 14 Nisan (after midnight) fell:—

A.D.	Paschal full moon	14 Nisan	Week day
28	h. m. s. 29 March 5 26 10	28 March	Sunday
29	18 March 21 15 52	18 March	Friday
	17 April 8 7 45	16 April	Saturday
30	6 April 22 0 52	6 April	Thursday
31	27 March 13 18 13	26 March	Monday
32	14 April 11 11 29	13 April	Sunday
33	3 April 16 2 50	2 April	Thursday

A D. 34. U.C. 787 Olymp 203, 2.

L VITELLIVS I

P PABIVS PERSICVS

TIBERII ANNI FROM 19 ARG TRIM POI XXXVI
FROM 27 JUNE COS V POST MAX IMP
VIII.

Thirty-eight year of the reign of Herod
Antipas.

1459 Tiberius visits Albanum and Tusculum, but does not enter Rome (*his coas*) Μετὶ δὲ ταῦτα εἰσοστού ἐβουε ἡς ἀρχῆς ἐπιστηνται, αὐτοὶ μὲν, καίτοι ποιοῦ τε τοῖς Ἀλβανὸν καὶ περὶ τὸ Γούσκουλον διατρίβων, οὐκ ἐσπλάθην ἐς τὴν πόλιν Dion, lvi, 24

1460. Pomponius Laeoe, who had for eight years been prefect of Moesia, is driven to commit suicide at Rome *At Roma, caelo continet, Pomponius Laeoe, quera praefuisse Moesiae videtur, rei obnoxius viuas sanguinem effudit* (*his co-s*) Tac Ann vi 29 "ἄλλοι τε οὖν, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν δημῶν οἱ δὲ ἐν ἐαυτοῖς, ἀ-ἰθύνοντο, καὶ Πομπηίου Λαίω, καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἡς τε Μοισίας πότις αὐτῶ ἐ-εσιν μετὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀρξάν, καὶ ἔσρων μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς γραφικὴς ἐβλοσάτη, σὺν αὐτῇ διεκθάρη Dion, lvi, 24 (see A D 33, no 1479)

1461. Artabanus, king of Parthia, on the death of Artaxias, the Roman king of Armenia (see A D 18, no 1102, A D 33, no 1471), appoints his own son Asaces to the vacant throne (see A D 42 no 1618) Dion and Tacitus record the event as follows — Ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου ὁ Ἀρτάβανος ὁ Πάρθοι, τελευτήσας τοῦ Ἀρτάξου, τὴν Ἀρμενίαν Ἀρσακῆν τῷ ἐαυτοῦ νείεϊ ἰδῶκε καὶ ἐπεὶ μηδεμίαν ἐπὶ τὸ οὐτὶς τιμωρία πυρὶ τοῦ ἱβερικόν εγενετο, τῆς τε Καππαδοκίας ἐπέειρα, καὶ ὑπερῆφαι ὤτερον καὶ οὐτὶς Πάρθοις ἐχρησ-το Ὑποστάτας οὖν τινας αὐτοῦ (viz Sinaces and Abdus) ἐπρεσβεύσαντο (mountains vere, A D 33, as appears from Tacitus) πρὸς τὸν Πι-βίριον βασιλέα σφάν ἐκ τῶν ὁπρονόντων (the sons of Phraates) αὐτοῦ rec Dion, lvi, 26 C Cestio M Servilio coas (A D 35) *nobiles Parthia in urbem venere, ignaro rege Artabano Is superbiunt in nos exultant in populos superbi, felix bella quae secunda adveniam cum conjunctis nationes evenerat, et senectutem Tiberi ut uermem desuperiens, avidusque Armeniae, cui, defuncto rege Artabano, Arsacem liberorum suorum exultant, in prope Tar-*

Ann vi 31 Thus in the passage from Dion we have the following sequence of events —

1 The death of Artaxias 2 The occupation of Armenia by Asaces, the son of Artabanus 3 An interval of inactivity on the part of Tiberius 4 An attempt in consequence by Artabanus on Cappadocia 5 The insolence of Artabanus towards his own subjects 6 A sedition in Parthia 7 An embassy to Rome, which arrived soon after New Year's-day, A D 35 If we make due allowance for all these intervening occurrences, it is evident that the death of Artaxias must be carried back at least as far as the first half of A D 34, and perhaps to the latter half of A D 33

1462. Lucius Vitellius, who was consul this year, is appointed prefect of Syria (see A D 33, no 1456 A D 39, no 1554) That the appointment was in this year may be inferred with almost certainty from the fact that Pomponius Flaccus had died at the close of the preceding year (A D 33, see no 1456), as it cannot be supposed that so important a province as Syria would remain long without a prefect Suetonius remarks, *Lucius* (Vitellius) *ex consulatu Syriae praepositus* Suet Vitell 2 And hence it has been argued that Vitellius was not sent to Syria until after his consulship, and therefore after A D 34 But this does not follow, for consuls at this time were frequently designated for fragments of years, and particularly for the half year, so that Vitellius might well have been consul on 1 January, A D 34, and yet at the end of his consulship, in the course of the year, as on 1 July, have proceeded to Syria The historian, however, may be taken to mean, not that Vitellius went to Syria after his consulship, *post consulatum* which would be a commonplace observation, but that, from the urgency of the occasion, by the death of Pomponius Flaccus, he was, out of the common routine, taken from the consulship itself, *ex consulatu*, and transferred to Syria Glabrio, while consul, had been sent to the East in the same way (see B C 67, no 26) If this be so, it at once solves the prefecture in question to the year A D 34 the year of Vitellius's consulship

1463 It may be thought at first sight that Tacitus assigns the mission of Vitellius to the year A D 35 by saying that Tiberius in A D 35 set up Tirmidates as a competitor for the Parthian throne, and stimulated the Iberians

to an invasion of Armenia, and that *Tiberius caucalis quæ apud orientem parabantur* L. Vitellius prefect, Tac. Ann. vi. 32 (see the passage cited at large under A.D. 35, no. 1173); but the Annalist does not say that Vitellius was then appointed to the province of Syria, but that in so delicate a crisis the command of all the *East* was committed to him, an authority which might well have been conferred by a dispatch to him in Syria. Indeed, we learn from Josephus that this was actually the case, for Josephus writes, *πέμπει δὲ καὶ Τιβέριος ὡς Οὐτιέλλιον γράμματα . . . ταῦτα ἰὲ γράφων Τιβέριος πρὸς τὸν Οὐτιέλλιον, μεγάλων ὅσπερ χρημάτων πῦθι καὶ τὸν Ἰβέρων καὶ τὸν Ἀλλόανων βασιλῆα πολέμῳ Ἀραβίῳ μὲν ἐνδοῦσαι.* Jos. Ant. xviii. 4, 4. Vitellius, therefore, was already in Syria before the intrigues of Tiberius with the Iberi and Alban; and as the invasion of Armenia by this people was soon after midsummer A.D. 35, and some interval would be required for the assembling of their forces and for the previous transmission of the Emperor's lurgesses, we may conclude that Vitellius was in Syria, at all events, very early in A.D. 35, if not in A.D. 34. As to Vitellius, see further, Tac. Ann. vi. 32; Plin. N. H. xv. 21, 24.

1464. A battle takes place between Anileus, the Jew, and Mithridates, the son-in-law of Artabanus, when Anileus is slain. Jos. Ant. xviii. 9, 7. Artabanus was still on the throne, for Anileus had been afraid of his avenging Mithridates, should he suffer a defeat. *Πανθρίτος* (Mithridate) *τε ἀνέκαστον οὐκ ἀντρίχσεν βασιλῆα* (Artabanum). Ant. xviii. 9, 6. A general insurrection against the Jews follows, now that their champion is dead, and great numbers of them fly from Babylonia to Seleucia, and remain there in safety for five years. *Ἐπὶ πέντε ἔτη ἀπαθείς κακῶν ἦσαν.* Ant. xviii. 9, 8 (see A.D. 33, no. 1457; A.D. 40, no. 1503).

1465. Death of Ananias and Sapphira. Acts, v. 1.

1466. The disciples are now so numerous that their meetings are held, not as before in the *ὑπερῶν*, Acts, i. 13, but in Solomon's Porch, the eastern cloister of the Temple. *Καὶ ἦσαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἄπαντες ἐν τῇ στοᾷ Σολομῶνος.* Acts, v. 12.

1467. The Sadducees (the party of Annas and Caiaphas, who had procured the Crucifixion

of Our Lord) arrest the Apostles, and put them in ward. *Ἀιασῆς δὲ ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς* (Caiaphas) *καὶ πάντες οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, ἡ οὐσα αἵρεσις τῶν Σαδδουκαίων, ἐκλήσθησαν ζήλον,* etc. Acts, v. 17. *Ὅτε ἱερῶς, καὶ ὁ Στρατηγὸς τοῦ Ἰεροῦ καὶ οἱ Ἀρχιερεῖς, etc.,* v. 21. The Sadducees were apprehensive that the preaching of the Apostles would lead to an insurrection of the people against them for the death of Jesus. *Καὶ τοῦ πληθύνεσθαι τὴν ἱερουσιεὺς τῆς ἰδωχίης ἡρώων, καὶ βούλεσθαι ἐπαγρυεῖν ἐφ' ἡμῶς τὸ αἶμα τοῦ ὁθώσαντος τοῦτον.* Acts, v. 28.

1468. The Apostles are miraculously delivered, and, in the morning, preach as before in the Temple. Acts, v. 19.

1469. They are again brought before the Sanhedrin, when the Sadducees would have put them to death. Acts, v. 33. But Gamaliel, the leader of the sect of the Pharisees, advises milder measures, and they are scorned, and dismissed. *Ἀραστὺς δὲ τις ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ Φαρισαῖος ὀνόματι Γαμαλιήλ, ἰουδαϊστικῆς τήμος παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, etc.,* . . . *Πρὸ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνίστη Ουδᾶς, λέγων εἶναι τινα ἐαυτὸν. . . . Μερὶ τούτων ἀνίστη Ἰούδας ὁ Γαλιλαῖος ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς διασπορῆς.* Acts, v. 31. The Theudas referred to by Gamaliel was probably Judas the Rabbin, the conjurator of Matthias in cutting down the Roman eagle (see A.C. 4, no. 963). Others think that the Theudas of Gamaliel was Judas the insurgent, who rose up in Galilee shortly after the death of Herod (see A.C. 4, no. 933). As for Judas the Galilean referred to by Gamaliel, he was a well-known patriot in the days of Cyrenius (see A.D. 6, no. 1016).

1469 a. Coins of Tiberius.

TE. Caesar Divi Aug. F. August. P. M. Tr. Pot. averti. S. C. with a temple. As to this temple, see Tac. Ann. vi. 45. The temple is found on other coins of Tiberius, with the inscription *Tr. Pot. averti.* or *averti.*, so that some of the coins must have been struck while the temple was building, and before its completion in A.D. 30. Eckhel, vi. 197.

Coin of Rhescuporis, king of Bosphorus.

Br. P. AAT + *Head of Tiberius*, i. e. in the year 331, dating from U.C. 457 (see A.D. 2, no. 985). Id. ii. 375.

The Sabbatic year.

Passover, March 22.

Pentecost, May 12.

Tabernacles, September 16.

A D 35 BC 788. Olymp 203, 3.

C CISTIVS GALLVS
M MARCVTIVS NONIANVS

TIBERII XVII FROM 19 AUG TRIB POT
XXXVII FROM 27 JUNE COS V PONT
MAX IMP VIII

Thirty-ninth year of the reign of Herod
Antipas

1470. Tiberius, in the spring, is at Antium, where he celebrates the marriage of Carus to Claudia, the daughter of M Silanus. 'Ελ δὲ τούτου Γάμος μὲν Γάλλος καὶ Μάρκος Στραυλίος υπάναυσαι, Τιβέριος δὲ ἐν Ἀστῷ τοὺς τοῦ Γαίου γάμους ἐώρταζεν, ἐς γὰρ τὴν Ῥώμην οὐδ' ἐν εἰσόδῳ ἀπελθεῖν ἠθέλησεν. Dion, lvm 25, and see Tac Ann vi 20. The marriage was not long after Carus's residence at Caprea (see A D 33, no 1418). *Non ita multo post Juniam Claudiam M Silani, nobilitatis viri, filium duxit* (Caligula) *uocem.* Suet Calig 12.

1471. Tiberius was also at some time this year in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome. *Hæc* (the proceedings at Rome) *Tiberius non mori, ut olim, diuinus, neque per longinquos nuntios accipiebat, sed urbem iuxta, eodem ut die vel noctis interjectu litæ consulum resciveret* (his *cos*). Tac Ann vi 39.

1472. At the very beginning of the year, a secret embassy from Parthia sent by Sinnares and Abdus who wished to dethrone Artabanus, arrives at Rome, with a request that one of the sons of Phraates might be sent to Parthia as king. Tac Ann vi 31. Dion, lvm 26 (see the passages cited A D 34, no 1461).

1473. Tiberius sends Phraates, the son of Phraates, and on his death by the way in Syria, Tiberius sends Tiridates, another son of Phraates. *Onat* (Tiberius) *Phraatem arcumque patrum ad fastigium et Phraates apud Syriam morbo assumptus est. Sed non Tiberius omni incepti Tiridatem sanguinis evadens penulimus Artabano, recipi atqueque Armeniæ Iberum Mithridatem delegit, conciliatque fratri Pharsmani, qui gentile imperium obtinebat, et cunctis quæ apud Orientem parabantur L Vitellum præfexit.* Tac Ann vi 32. καὶ αὐτοῖς τότε μὲν Φράτην τὸν Φράτου, τελευτήσαντος δὲ ἐκείνου κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν, ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν ἐν τοῦ βασιλείου καὶ αὐτὸν γενοῦς ὡς ταῖς ἐμψε. Dion, lvm 26.

1474. Tiberius, in order to embarrass Artabanus,

nominates Mithridates, the brother of Phraatamanes, king of the Iberi, to the throne of Armenia (see A D 34, no 1461, A D 42, no 1651), and negotiates an invasion of Armenia by the Iberi (his *cos*). Dion, lvm 26. Tac Ann vi 32. Jos Ant xviii 4, 4. But Tiberius is under so much alarm from the successes of Artabanus, that he writes to Vitellius to establish friendly relations with him if only he could prevail on Artabanus to give hostages. *Περμετὶ δὲ καὶ Γιβέριος ὡς Οὐιτέλλιον γραμματὰς, κελύων αὐτῷ πρᾶσσειν φιλικὴν πρὸς Ἀρταβάνου πιστεύειν δὲ τῇ φιλίᾳ μόνως ομήρων αὐτῷ ἐδομένῳ, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου υἱος.* Ant xviii 4, 4.

1475. The Iberi invade Armenia and take possession of Artaxata, the capital, and Artabanus sends an army under his son Otodes to encounter them. The advance of Orodes was late in the summer, and at the time of the Etesiae, which blow in July and August. *Atqui Parthus adventabant facile arcebanus cum alios inpressus hostis clavisisset, castrum reliquum mare inter et extremos Albanorum montes castris impedit et, quia flatibus Etesium um impleverat, cauda, Iberis suis castris revolvit fluctus, pulsoque inthorsus fletu, brevia littorum nudantis* (his *cos*). Tac Ann vi 33. *Οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ* (the Iberi) *αντίχον, Σκύθης δὲ, διόδου αὐτοῖς εἰσόντες καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰς θύρας τὰς ἡσπείας ἀνολέειν τε, ἐπάγουσι τῷ Ἀρταβάρῳ, etc.* Jos. Ant xviii 4, 4, and see Dion, lvm 26.

1476. Otodes is defeated and slain. *καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ υἱὸς ἐκ τούτων τῶν μαχῶν ἔπεσε μετὰ πολλῶν στρατῶν μυριάδων.* Jos. Ant xviii 4, 4. But, according to Tacitus, he was wounded only. Tac Ann vi 35.

1477. Artabanus is about to bring succour, but is prevented by his fears of a Roman war, Vitellius threatening an invasion of Mesopotamia. *Mox Artabanus tota mole regni ultum ut nec ideo abscedebat, ut contactis legionibus, Vitellius, et subito summo, tanquam Mesopotamiam invasurus, metum Romani belli fecisset.* Tac Ann vi 36.

1478. The conspiracy in Parthia gains strength from Artabanus's ill-success, and he is obliged to fly to Hyrcania. Tac Ann vi 36. Jos Ant xviii 4, 4.

1479. Poppæus Sabinus, the prefect of Mesopotamia and Mesia (see A D 34, no 1411), dies. *his cos.* Ποππαῖος δὲ Σαβῖνιος τῆς τε Μυσίας ἐκτερες (see A D 20, no 1128) καὶ προσέτι καὶ

τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐξ ἑκείνου τοῦ χρόνου παρὶ πάντων ὡς εἶπεν τὴν τοῦ Τιβερίου ἀρχὴν ἡγεμονεύσας, ἥτοιμα πρὸς πᾶσαν τὴν αἰτίαν λαβεῖν. Dion, lvi. 25. According to Tacitus, Poppæus had been prefect of the most important provinces for twenty-four years. *Fiat anni* (A.D. 35) *Poppæus Sabinius concessit vitâ, modicus originis, principum amicitia consulatus ac triumphale decus adeptus, maximisque provinciis per quatuor et viginti annos impositus, nullam ob eximiam artem, sed quod par negotiis neque supra erat.* Tac. Ann. vi. 39.

1480. The Hellenists, or Jews of the dispersion who had embraced Christianity, complain of an undue preference being given to the widows of Hebrews, or Jews of Judæa, in the distribution of alms, and seven deacons are appointed in consequence to superintend the alms. The widows and orphans of poor Jews were supported from the Corban, or Temple treasury, 2 Maccab. iii. 10; and of course the Sadducees and Pharisees took care to exclude the widows and orphans of Christian converts (or apostates, as they would be called) from all participation in this bounty, and hence the necessity of an eleemosynary subscription amongst the Christians themselves. The deacons would appear, from their names, to have been chiefly Hellenists, a choice intended to obviate more effectually the suspicion of any undue leaning towards the Hebrews. Καὶ ἔξελεσάτο Στέφανος . . . καὶ Φίλιππον καὶ Πρόχρον καὶ Νικάνορα καὶ Τίμωνα καὶ Παρμενῆαν καὶ Νικόλαον προσήλυτον Ἀντιόχεια. Acts, vi. 5.

1481. The number of disciples had now greatly increased, but still the Church was confined to Jerusalem. Ἐπληθύνετο δ' ἀριθμὸς τῶν μαθητῶν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ σφόδρα. Acts, vi. 7.

Inscription.

Ti. Cæsar Divi Augusti F. Divi Julii Nepos Augustus Pont. Max. xxi. Cos. v. Imp. Trib. Potest. xxxvii. Ab Jano Augusto qui est ad Batem usque ad Augustum lxxvii. (Cordubæ). Gruter, 153, 4.

First year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 10.

Pentecost, May 31.

Tabernacles, October 5.

A.D. 36. U.C. 789. Olymp. 203, 4.

Sext. PATENTIS ALLIANTIS.

Q. TIBIUS.

ex Kal. Jul.

P. PETROPOLO.

TIBERIUS XXIII. FROM 19 AUG. TRIB. POT. XXXVIII. FROM 27 JUNE. COS. V. PONT. MAX. IMP. VIII.

Fortieth year of the reign of Herod Antipas.

1482. Agrippa, son of Aristobulus, and grandson of Herod, sails to Rome a year before the death of Tiberius, which occurred on 16 March, A.D. 37. Ἀγρίππας ἐξ ὁ Ἀριστοβούλου υἱὸς ἐνιαντῷ προτέρῳ ἢ τελευτῆσαι Τιβερίον, ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἀνέεισι, πράξων τε παρὰ τῇ Αυτοκράτειρ, ἐν-ἡμέρῃς τούτο παραγενομένης. Jos. Ant. xviii. 5, 3 (see A.D. 33, no. 1421; A.D. 37, no. 1503). Agrippa sailed from Anthedon; and Erennius Capito was at this time procurator of Janina, which had formerly belonged to Salome, who had left it by will to Julia, or Livia, the mother of Tiberius. Καὶ γινώσκ. Ἐρένιος Κυρίων ὁ τῆς Ἰαμίας ἐπιτροπός, πέμπει στρατιώτας, etc. Ant. xviii. 6, 3. Agrippa sailed by way of Alexandria, Ant. xviii. 5, 3; and arrived at Puteoli when Tiberius was at Caprea. Ἀγρίππας δὲ εἰς Πορτολὸς παραβαλὼν, ἐπιστολὴν ὡς Τιβερίον Καίσαρα γράφει ἐνιαντῶν ἐν Καπρία. Ant. xviii. 6, 4. Josephus adds that Agrippa from this time became the daily companion of Caius or Caligula. Αὐτὸς δὲ αὐτῷ (Αγρίππῳ) Τιβερίος ὁ Καίσαρ συνιτάσθαι υἱόνων τὸν αὐτοῦ, κελεύων τὰ πάντα αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἐξόδους παραπυχνάειν. Ant. xviii. 6, 4. This agrees with the statement of Tacitus, that Tiberius had taken Caius with him to Caprea, toward the close of A.D. 33 (see that year, no. 1418). Agrippa appears to have come to Caprea under the plea of having some charge to make against Herod Antipas; but Tiberius favoured Antipas, and would not listen to it. Κἀν τούτῳ κατηγορῶς Ἡρώδου τοῦ Τετραρχοῦντος Ἀγρίππας υἱὸς Ἀριστοβούλου, ὃν ὁ πατὴρ Ἡρόδης ἀπεκτόνει, παραγίνεται πρὸς Τιβερίον, τοῦ δὲ μὴ προσελαβένου τὴν κατηγορίαν, μένων ἐπὶ Ῥώμης τούτῳ τε ἄλλως τῶν γνωρίμων ἐθερίπνευε καὶ μάλιστα τὸν Γερμανικοῦ παῖδα Γάϊον, ἰδιώτην ἔτι ὄντα. Bell. ii. 9, 5. The accusation was probably the same that Agrippa afterwards brought against Antipas before Caligula, viz. that Antipas had been

pury to Sejanus's conspiracy, and had a secret understanding with the Parthians. *Ant xviii 7, 2* Δ^c Caligula disliked Antipas, and favoured Agrippa, the charge on the latter occasion was more successful (see A D 39, no 1561).

1483. Vitellius, in the spring, accompanies Tiridates (who, on the death of Phraates, had been sent from Rome to contest the throne of Parthia) as far as the Euphrates. *At Vitellius, profugo Artabano, et fletis ad novum regem populorum animis, hortatus Taidulen, parata cupessere, robur legionum sociorumque* (including Herod Antipas) *ripam ad Euphratis ibant*. *Tac Ann vi 37* This was very early in the year, for the rainy season was not over, and it was remarked as a phenomenon that the Euphrates was overflowing, though there had been no great amount of rain. *Euphratem nulla imbrum vi, sponte et immensum altit*. *Tac Ann vi 37*

1484 From the Euphrates Vitellius sends Tiridates forward, and returns himself to Antioch. *Utin cum legionibus in Syriam venisset*. *Tac Ann vi 37* Tacitus, after relating the embassy of the Parthians at the beginning of A D 85, and bringing down his narrative to the return of Vitellius from the Euphrates, adds *Quæ dnabus militibus* (A D 35 and A D 36) *gesta conjunxit, quo requiescit et animus a domesticis malis*. *Tac Ann vi 38* The return of Vitellius to Antioch was therefore in A D 36, but it must have been in the first half of it.

1485. The Chtræ, a people of Cilicia Aspera, who had been the subjects of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia (see B C 26, no 675), rebel, and Vitellius sends 4 000 legionaries, with auxiliaries, under M Trebellius, to reduce them. *M Trebellius legatus a Vitellio præside Syriæ cum quatuor milibus legionariorum et delectis auxiliis missus, etc* (his *co*ss) *Tac Ann vi 41*

1486. Tiridates, having parted from Vitellius at the Euphrates, advances on his way to Parthia, and is crowned at Seleucia, which revolts from Artabanus. *Tac Ann vi 42*, but soon afterwards Artabanus advances at the head of an army of Dahæ and Sacæ and repels Tiridates, who returns to Syria. *Nec ultra moratus* (Artabanus) *quam dum Scytharum auxilio concreat, perijt propius, et proveniens impericorum et in, amissioni impericorum, etc*

Tiridates cum paucis in Syriam relictus. *Tac Ann vi 44* Οὐ μὲντοι καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ὁ Τηριδάτης ἐβασίλευσε· ὁ γὰρ Ἀρτάβανος Σκύθας προσλαβὼν, οὐ χυλετώς αὐτὸν ἐξήλασε (his *co*ss) *Dion lvi 26* Καὶ πολλὴν μετὰ ταῦτα στρατιὰν Ἀθροίσας, Δαῶν τε καὶ Σαῶν καὶ πολεμίσας τοὺς ἀθεσπρότας, κατέσχευε τὴν ἀρχήν. *Jos Ant xiii 4, 4* Seleucia held out against the king of Parthia for seven years after this, and was taken at last by Vaidanes at the close of A D 42 or early in A D 43 (see A D 42, no 1652)

1487. Intelligence reaches Rome that Artabanus had expelled Tiridates and recovered possession of Parthia, when Liberius sends orders to Vitellius to come to an arrangement with him, and Artabanus is ready to meet the overtures. *ταῦτα* (the return of Artabanus) *ἀκούσας ὁ Τιβέριος ἤγειρε φίλους αὐτῷ γεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸν Ἀρτάβανον*. *Jos Ant xviii 4, 5* It is not improbable, however, that Vitellius, without any further dispatch from Rome, may have acted on the orders given him in the previous year (see A D 85, no 1474) to arrange a peace if practicable.

1488. Vitellius and Artabanus have a meeting (at which Herod Antipas, as an ally of Vitellius, is also present) on the Euphrates, and peace is concluded, Artabanus giving his son Darius as a hostage. *Ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην παρῆσαν, ὅτε Ἀρτάβανος καὶ ὁ Οὐντέλλιος καὶ Ἀρτάβανος μετ' οὐ πολὺ πέμψει Τιβέριον ὄμνηρον Δαρείον τὸν υἱόν*. *Jos Ant xiii 4, 5* Καὶ ἄλλα δὲ αὐτῷ (Caligula) πολλὰ, ὡς καὶ λίαν οὐ συνήκολούθησε, καὶ Δαρείος, αἱ ἦρ Ἀρσακίδης, ἐν τοῖς ὀμνέουσιν τότε τῷ Πάρθω ὦν *Dion, lvi 17* *Πρὸς αὐτὸν (Caligula) Darium puerum ex Parthorum obediens*. *Suet Calig 19*

1489. At the conclusion of the treaty, Vitellius and Artabanus are feasted by Herod Antipas, who, at the same time, clandestinely sends off a dispatch with the news to Tiberius, and as this dispatch reached Tiberius before that of Vitellius, the latter took offence, and avenged himself upon Herod the following year for the affront. *Καὶ λόγων αὐτοῖς συμβατικῶν γενομένων Ἡρώδης ὁ Τετράρχης ἐίστασεν αὐτοὺς κατὰ μέσον τὸν πόρον σινητικῆ ἐπιστηφένους τῷ πόρῳ πολυτελεῖ . . . Ἡρώδης δὲ βουλόμενος δι' αὐτοῦ πρότον γενέσθαι πύστιν Καίσαρι τῶν ὀμνηρῶν τῆς λήψεως, ἐπέμπευε γραμματῶν τὰ πάντα ἀκριβῶς γράψας εἰς*

ἐπιστολὴν καὶ μὴδὲν ἐπιλειπόμενος ἐπὶ μνησσεῖ τῷ βασιλεῖ. Πρὸς Οὐρέλλαν δὲ ἐκπεμφθεῖσαν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπιστημάναντος πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὡς ἔβλεπε αὐτῷ γίνεσθαι, πρότερον πύστιν περὶ αὐτῶν Ἡρώδου προτεθειμένος, παραχθὲς ὁ Οὐρέλλιος μεγάλως, καὶ πεπονημένος τὴν μεζόνως ἢ ἐπέροκτο ὑπολαμβάνων, ἔβηλον τὴν ἐκ' αὐτοῦ ἐκρυσπεν ὄργην, μέχρι ἧ καὶ μετῴθε τ' αἰὸν τὴν ἄρχην πασιλαρόους. Jos. Ant. xviii. 4, 5. This anxiety of Antipas to send the first news of the conclusion of peace may be well accounted for. In A.D. 32 his army had been defeated by Aretas, and he had written to Tiberius, his patron, to give him redress. From that time to the present Tiberius had been obliged to watch and counteract the designs of Artabanus; and, instead of ordering Vitellius to lead his army in support of Antipas against the king of Petra, had commanded Antipas to join Vitellius in the war against the Parthians. Tiberius no doubt promised that, at the conclusion of the war, vengeance should be taken upon the king of Petra. Herod Antipas, in compliance with this mandate, had been amongst the allies of Vitellius at the beginning of the year, and afterwards accompanied him to the Euphrates, Tac. Ann. vi. 37; and his services, in now sending the first intelligence to the emperor, were rewarded by Tiberius's immediately ordering Vitellius to march against the king of Petra (see A.D. 37, no. 1493).

1490. At the termination of the hostilities between Vitellius and Artabanus, the former returns to Antioch, and the latter to Parthia. 'Ἐπὶ τοῦτοις Οὐρέλλιος μὲν ἐπ' Ἀρτιωχίαν ἦεν, Ἀρτάβαρος δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας. Jos. Ant. xviii. 4, 5. As Vitellius was at Jerusalem, on his way to Petra, at the Pentecost (9 May) A.D. 37 (an expedition which he would not have undertaken until hostilities had ceased with the Parthians, and orders to that effect had reached him from Tiberius), we must assume that during the interval a dispatch had been sent to Tiberius of the conclusion of peace, and that Tiberius had, in return, commanded Vitellius to make war upon Aretas; and several months, therefore, must have elapsed between the conclusion of peace on the Euphrates and the campaign of Vitellius against Petra. Vitellius was at Jerusalem at the Passover, 19 March, A.D. 37, and had not then received any orders to make war upon Aretas; but such a dispatch must have arrived

soon after, or he could not have been again at Jerusalem, on his way to Petra, at the Pentecost A.D. 37. A dispatch from the Euphrates to Rome, and a counter-dispatch from Rome to Antioch, would require about five months; and we may therefore place the meeting on the Euphrates about the beginning of October. Had it occurred later, the river, when swollen by rains, would scarcely have permitted an interview upon its waters.

1491. The Samaritans, in the course of the summer, meet in arms on Mount Gerizim, οἱ δὲ ἐν ὄρει τε ἦσαν, etc., Jos. Ant. xviii. 4, 1; ostensibly for a religious observance, but really for less peaceful purposes, as may be gathered from the subsequent defence of the Samaritans themselves, who, admitting this warlike attitude, endeavoured to explain it away. Οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει Ὑμαρίων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ διαφύγῃ τῆς Παλᾶτου ἐβήμεν, εἰς τὴν Τιβουραῖν παραγενησάμεν. Ant. xviii. 4, 2. Pilate pours horse and foot upon them, and numbers are slain. Ant. xviii. 4, 1. It is likely that those who escaped became freshbooters, and that Eleazar (the famous bandit of that day) was at the head of them, for he was ultimately taken in A.D. 56 (see that year, no. 1828), after a brigandage of twenty years, Bell. ii. 13, 2; which would place the commencement of his career in A.D. 36. In A.D. 51 (see that year, no. 1759), we find the same Eleazar heading a similar insurrection in Samaria, Ant. xx. 6, 1; which makes it the more likely that he had been engaged in the former outbreak in A.D. 36.

1492. The Samaritans lay a complaint against Pilate before Vitellius. Σαμαρείων ἡ δοχὴ παρὰ Οὐρέλλαν ὑπαγαγὼν ἴσιν ἰστέρα, Συρίαν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντα, καὶ Παλᾶτου καταγγέλλον ἐπὶ τῇ σφαγῇ τῶν ἀπολωλότων. Jos. Ant. xviii. 4, 2. And Pilate defends himself, and probably in person, at Antioch. Had Vitellius gone to Jerusalem, Josephus would have mentioned it. The historian also observes that Vitellius in committing the care of Judaea to a friend of his own, as *locum tenens* vice Pilate, did not appoint him on the spot, but sent him, viz. from Antioch. Ἐκπέμψας ἐπαμειβντῆν. Ant. xviii. 4, 2. The hearing of Pilate before Vitellius may be placed about November, on the return of Vitellius from the Euphrates, after the conclusion of peace with the Parthians (see *supra*, no. 1490).

1493. At the close of the trial, Vitellius

deposes Pilate from his office, and orders him to Rome, to answer for his delinquencies before the emperor, and dispatches Marcellus to Judæa, to take charge of affairs until the appointment of a successor. *Και Ουιτελλιος Μάρκελλον τον αὐτοῦ φίλον ἐπεμψας ἐπιμελητὴν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις γεινόμενον* Jos Ant xviii 4, 2 (see A.D. 26, no 1160 A.D. 37, no 1504). In connection with this removal of Pilate, Josephus notices two important facts: first, that Pilate had been at the time ten years in office and secondly, that, though he hastened to Rome, he did not reach it until after the death of Tiberius, which occurred on 16 March, A.D. 37. *Καὶ Πιλάτος δέκα ἔτησιν διατρίψας ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίᾳ, εἰς Ῥώμην ἤτειετο, ταῖς Οὐιτελλίου πεθόμενοι ἐντολαῖς, οὐκ ὄν ἔντεταιν πρὶν δὲ ἢ τῇ Ῥώμῃ προσχέιν αὐτοῖ φθάσει Ἰβήριος μεταστάς* Ant xviii 4, 2. Pilate had assumed office in A.D. 26 (see that year, no 1160), and the expiration of the ten years would therefore coincide with A.D. 36. The word *ἤπειρο* implies haste, and there was also a general standing order that every prefect, on quitting office, should appear at Rome within the next three months. *Ἐν τῇ ἀνακομῇ μὴ ἐγγροσίζεαι, ἀλλ' ἐν τὰς τριῶν μηνῶν ἔσταιναι* Dion, lvi 15. As Pilate was on his way to Italy, but had not arrived at Rome by 16 March, A.D. 37, his removal must have taken place towards the end of A.D. 36, and it was after the Feast of Tabernacles, 24 September, A.D. 36, for Vitellius, to prevent any *emende* in consequence of Pilate's dismissal, went up with a strong force to Jerusalem, at the Passover A.D. 37, and had Pilate been deposed before the Tabernacles A.D. 36, Vitellius would, for the same reason, have been present at the Tabernacles A.D. 36, instead of the Passover A.D. 37.

1493 a Coin of Tiberius

In Cæsari Divi Aug F Augusti + Tr Pot
xxviii Eckhel, vi 108

Inscriptions.

Ingr Ti Cæsar Aug Pontif Maxim Trib Pot
vii vii Cos i Imp vii (Rome)
(Gruter, 170, 3)

Osea Tib Cæsaris Divi Aug F Augusti Pontif
icis Maximi Trib Pot xviii Imp vii
Cos ii (Rome) Id 216, 1

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle
Passover, March 30
Pentecost, May 20
Tabernacles, September 24

A.D. 37. U.C. 790 Olymp 204, 1

GN ACERRONTES PROCLTUS
C PONTIUS NIGRINUS
et Kal Jul
C CÆSAR AUGUSTUS GERMANICUS, I
TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS, I

CALIGULA I FROM 16 MARCH TRIP POT I
FROM SAME DAY PONT MAX GERMANICUS
COS I

Forty-first year of the reign of Herod Antipas

Fifty year of the reign of Agrippa I from
1 April

1494. Tiberius, after various changes of abode, retires to the Lucullan villa at Misenum. *Mutatque æquos locos, tandem apud pronon-torium Misens coasedit in villi cui L. Lucullus quondam dominus (his coss.)* Tac Ann vi 50. Suet Tib 72, 73.

1495 Vitellius, in order to repress any outbreak of the Jews from Pilate's removal, is present at Jerusalem at the Feast of the Passover (19 March). It was usual for the procurators of Judæa to attend at the festivals, and as Pilate, the procurator, had been deposed, and sent to Rome, Vitellius deemed it prudent to march thither himself with a considerable force to keep the peace. Vitellius, at the festival, confers various boons on the people, as by remitting some taxes, and committing the custody of the pontifical robes, before kept by the Romans in Antonia, to the care of the priests. The visit of Vitellius to Jerusalem is related by Josephus immediately after, and in close connection with, the removal of Pilate at the close of A.D. 36. *Και Οὐιτελλιος Μάρκελλον τὸν αὐτοῦ φίλον ἐπεμψας ἐπιμελητὴν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις γεινόμενον, Πιλάτον ἐκλευσεν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἀτίειαι πρὸς ἀναγοροῖεν Ἰουδαῖοι διδάσκοντα τὸν Ἀντοκρίτοσα καὶ Πιλάτος, δέκα ἔτησιν διατρίψας, ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίᾳ εἰς Ῥώμην ἤπειρετο, ταῖς Οὐιτελλίου πεθόμενοι ἐντολαῖς, οὐκ ὄν ἔντεταιν πρὶν δὲ ἢ τῇ Ῥώμῃ προσχέιν αὐτόν, φθάσει Ἰβήριος μεταστάς* Οὐιτελλιος δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀφικόμενος ἐπὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἡγήει καὶ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ Πάσχα δὲ καλεῖται ἀποδεχθεῖς δὲ μεγαλοπρεπῶς Οὐιτελ-

λαιο, τὰ τέλη τῶν ὡρηίων κερπὼν ἀφίστην εἰς τὸ πᾶν ταῖς ταύτην καιροῦσιν, καὶ τῇ στολῇ τοῦ Ἀρχιερέως, καὶ τὸν πάντα κόσμον συνεχώρησεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κείμενῳ ὑπὸ τοῖς ἱερῶσιν ἔχειν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. Jos. Ant. xviii. 4, 2, 3. Vitellius is said incidentally, in another part of the Antiquities, to have written on the subject of the pontifical robe to Tiberius, who gave his permission that the Jews should have the custody of them. Οὐτέλλιος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμὼν ἐπιστήμης τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις . . . ἐπεὶ παραδέσσαν τὴν ἱερὴν στολὴν ὑπὸ τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν, ἐγράψε περὶ τούτων Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι, κάσιντος ἐπέτρεψε. Ant. xv. 11, 4. But if Josephus means that Vitellius received the rescript from Tiberius, he has fallen into a slight error: for though Vitellius may very well have written to Tiberius upon the subject, yet, as Tiberius died on 16 March, A.D. 37, the rescript must have been sent by his successor.

1496. Vitellius, before quitting Jerusalem, removes Caiaphas from the pontificate, and appoints Jonathan, son of Ananias or Annes. Καὶ τὸν Ἀρχιερεὺς Ἰωάννην, τὸν καὶ Καϊάφαν ἐπικαλούμενον, ἀπαλλάξας τῆς Ἱερουσλήμ, ἰωνάθην καθίστησιν Ἀνάου τοῦ Ἀρχιερέως υἱόν. Jos. Ant. xviii. 4, 3 (see A.D. 17, no. 1096; and *infra*, no. 1506). The removal of Caiaphas may have been consequent on the degradation of Pilate, with whom Caiaphas had great influence, and in whose illegal proceedings he may have been implicated.

1497. Vitellius, at the close of the Feast of Passover, sets out on the road to Antioch. Ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας δὲ αὐθις ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ὁδόν. Jos. Ant. xviii. 4, 3.

1498. Vitellius soon after, and apparently before reaching Antioch, though he had passed Acre, receives a dispatch from Tiberius commanding him to make war upon Antas, king of Petra; when Vitellius, again collecting his forces—two legions, with some auxiliaries—marches to Acre. Οὐτέλλιος δὲ παρασκευασάμενος ὡς εἰς πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Ἀντίαν ἐπὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ὀκταταί, ὅσα τε περὶ αὐτὰ ψάλλοι καὶ ἱππεῖς συμμαχοῦντες ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίων βασιλείῳ ἀγόμενοι, ἐπὶ τῇ Πύρρῳ ἡπικεῖται καὶ ἄσχε Ἰππολμεῖδα. Jos. Ant. xviii. 5, 3. At Acre he is met by an exhortation of the Jews not to carry the Roman standards bearing forbidden images through Judæa, when he sends his army round by the great plain of Esdrælon, lying between Samaria and Galilee:

and goes up himself with Herod Antipas, to Jerusalem, at the feast, which, as appears from the sequel, was the Feast of Pentecost (9 May). Καὶ διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου πλείου ἐκδόσεως χωρὶν τὸ στρατόπεδον, αὐτὸς τε μετὰ Ἡρώδου τοῦ Τετραρχοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα ἰσθίει θύσων τῷ θεῷ, ἐφ' ἧς παύσιν τοῖς Ἰουδαίῳ ἐκστρατεύας. Ant. xviii. 5, 3 (see *note*, no. 1508).

1499. As Vitellius had only two legions with him, and some auxiliaries, the preparations for the war must have been brief; and Vitellius made all haste. Ἠνέγχετο. Jos. Ant. xviii. 5, 3. It would, therefore, occasion no surprise that this visit, on the way to Petra, was only fifty days after his former visit at the Passover of the same year. The visit at the Passover could not have occurred in the preceding year, A.D. 36, as Josephus relates it just after, and in connection with, the deposit of Pilate, which was certainly at the close of A.D. 36.

1500. The death of Tiberius, on 16 March, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. *Act. Kal. Aprilis interfectus antioq creditus est mortuoluliam experuisse, etia sic Tiberius fuit octavo et septuagesimo octavo aetatis.* Tac. Ann. vi. 50. *Obiit i. e. iussu Lucullianus octavo et septuagesimo octavo annu, tertio et circulo imperii, septimo decimo Kalendas Aprilis.* Cn. Accursius Proculo C. Pontio Nigro Coss. Suet. Tib. 75. According to Dion, he died on 26 March. Μετῃλλας τῇ ἑστῇ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τοῦ Μαρτίου ἡμέρῃ, ἔβη δὲ ἐκτὴ καὶ ἐξήκοοντα ἔτη καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας καὶ ἡμέρας ἑννέα ἡμέρῃ μὲν ἐξο καὶ εἰκοσι μῆνας, δὲ ἐκτὴ καὶ ἡμέρας ἐπὶ ἑμονόρχησι. Dion. lxxii. 28. Josephus differs from himself as to the length of the reign of Tiberius. "Ebare (Tiberius) σχίζοι αὐτὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ πέντε μῆνας πρὸς ἑννέα-σὶν ἑκατὶ καὶ εἰκοσι. Jos. Ant. xviii. 6, 10. *Τετρακόντην ἡγερμένους ἔτη ἑξο πρὸς τοῖς εἰκοσι καὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ μηνσι i.* Bell. ii. 9, 5. Philo states the reign of Tiberius in round numbers at twenty-three years. Τρεῖς πρὸς τοῖς εἰκοσι ἔτη γῆς καὶ βασιλείας ἡναγόμενον τὸ κράτος. Philo Leg. 21. And so Cassiodorus *sub cos.* Suet. *Pompeius et Suet. Appuleio.* Clemens Alexand. computes the reign at twenty-six years, six months, and nineteen days. Strom. lib. i. c. xxi. p. 406. Tiberius began to reign on 19 August, A.D. 14, and died on 16 March, A.D. 37; and he had therefore reigned twenty-two years, six months, and twenty-five days.

1501. Caligula succeeds to the empire in the twenty-fifth year of his age Ἦγε δὲ πέμπτου καὶ εικοστῶν ἔτος, ἡμερῶν τεσσάρων καὶ μηνῶν πεντε ἐπίδωκ Dion, lxx 6 As Caligula was born on 31 August A D 12 (*Caius Clesius natus est pridie Kalendas Septembris patre suo et Caio Ponticio Capitone coss*, Suet Calig 8, ἦν γὰρ (τῷ γενέθλιῳ) ἡ τελευταία τοῦ Ἀβγούστου, Dion, lxx 7), Dion places the accession of Caligula, and the death of Tiberius, on the day fixed by himself, viz the 26, and not the 16, March

1502 Caligula is at Misenum on the death of Tiberius, and follows the body to Rome *Hicque ut a Miseno mouit, quatuor lugentis habitu et funus Tiberii prosequens, tamen inter altaria et victimas, ardentisque ieddas, densissimo et latissimo obuium agmine incescit Ingressoque uibent luctu publica luctitia ut tridus prioribus mensibus, ut ne totus quidem, supra centum sequebantur milia uictuarum castra traduntur* Suet Calig 13-14 The funeral oration is pronounced by Caligula *Tiberio cum plurimis uicinis pro concione laudato funeratoque amplissime* Suet Calig 15

1503. Agrippa is released from prison by Caligula, and is made king of Trachonitis, which had been Herod Philip's tetrarchy According to Josephus, Caligula would have released Agrippa the very day of Caligula's arrival at Rome with the body of Tiberius, but was restrained by Antonia, who represented the indecency of such haste However the release of Agrippa was not delayed many days, and may therefore be placed about the beginning of April Γάιος δ' ὥς ἐπὶ Γούρην παρὴν αἰών τοῦ Τιβερίου τὸ σῶμα, ταφῆς τε ἡν-οὐ ποιεῖται πολυ-ελαῖς νόμοις τοῖς πατρίοις Ἀγριππᾶν δὲ αὐθήμερον λύνει οἷα τριθήμερον κώλυμα Ἀντωνία ἦν, οὐ τε μίση τῷ τῶν δὲ ζευμένῳ, τραμηθείᾳ δὲ τοῦ Γαίου εὐπρεποῦς, μὴ δέξαι ἀπάγοισι ἰδὼν δὲ δεχομένη οὖν τὸν Τιβερίου με-άστῃσι, διέρει ὑπ' ἑλκυσιν ἐδεμένῳ λυμὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὅπως ἐκλθούσῳι μεντοὶ οὐ πολλὸν ἡμερῶν μεταμελόμενος αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς οἶκον βασιλεῖα καθίστησιν αὐτὸν τῆς Φιλίππου τετραρχίας, ὥρησάμενος αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ Δυνατίου τετραρχίᾳ Jos Ant xiiii 6, 10 The tetrarchy of Lycaonia here mentioned was Achaia, of which Lycaonia was tetrarch in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, as occurred by Luke, iii 1 (see B C 4, no 450, A D 41 no 1620) However, Josephus here anticipates the time of the gift of this tetrarchy, as

it was not bestowed until four years later (see A D 41, no 1619), and accordingly, in the Wars, mention is made at this time (A D 37) of Philip's tetrarchy only Ἀποδείχθεις δὲ Γάιος Καῖσαρ αἰετοὶ τε τῷ δεσπῶν τὸν Ἀγριππᾶν καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου τετραρχίας ἐτεθνῆκε γὰρ οὗτος καθίστασι βασιλεῦς Bell ii 9, 6 And so Philo, Γάιος Καῖσαρ Ἀγριππᾶ τῷ Ἰριόδου βασιλείᾳ νῦν ᾧ ἰδῶσι βασιλείαν τῇ πεππῶρας λήξεως τριτην μοῖραν, ἣν Φίλιππος τετράρχης, θείας αὐ αὐτῶν, πρὸς πατρὸς ἐκαμποι-το Philo in Flacc 5, and see Dion, lxx 8

1504. Caligula, at the same time, sends Marius, with the title of Hipparch, to take charge of Judea Ἰππάρχην δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ιουδαίας ἐκπεμπει Μάρκον Jos Ant xviii 6, 10

1505 Dion couples with the exaltation of Agrippa the appointment of Antiochus IV to the kingdom of Commagene, with part of Cilicia Ὁ γὰρ (Caligula) Ἀντιοχῶν τε τοῦ Ἀντιόχου τὴν Κομμαγενίην, ἣν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἔσχε, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὴν παραθαλάσσιαν τῆς Κιλικίας δυνεὶ, καὶ Ἀγριππᾶν τὸν τοῦ Ἡρόδου ἑγγονοὶ δόσας τε (ὑπὲρ γὰρ τοῦ Τιβερίου ἐδέξτο), καὶ τῇ τοῦ σαπτοῦ ἀρχῇ προστάξας, ὅν αὐτῶν ἦ καὶ τὸν νῦν αὐχὸν τῶν πατρῶν ἀνεντέρρησι ἄλλα καὶ κατάρχατε Dion, lxx 8 And Suetonius also alludes to the appointment of Antiochus *Ac si quibus regna restituit, adiecit et fructum omnem relictationum et redditum medi temporis, et Antiocho Commagene sesterium nullius confiscatum* Suet Calig 16 Commagene had been made a Roman province in A D 18 (see that year, no 1104, and A D 41, no 1622) The part of Cilicia annexed to Commagene was Cilicia Aspera, as is evident from the fact that Tirochobis rebelled against Antiochus, and besieged Antiochia, which was in Cilicia Aspera Tac Ann xii 85 It also appears from coins that Liana or Sebaste, and Lacanata, cities of Cilicia Aspera as well as Lycaonia, and Alexandria near Issus, were under the jurisdiction of Antiochus The coins referred to run as follows —

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ + ΑΝΤΑΙΩΤΩ
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ + ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝΩΙ
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ + ΑΝΤΑΙΩΙ

A crowned head resembling that of Antiochus + ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΩΙ Et IP, i.e. in the 110th year which would place it in A D 43, when Antiochus was still king

Eckhel, m. 255 (see A D 18 no 1103, A D 41, no 1622)

Antiochus IV. was afterwards deposed by Calpurnia, and again restored by Claudius (see A. D. 41, no. 1622), and reigned until A. D. 72. See Jos. Bell. vii. 7.

1506. Vitellius, at Jerusalem, at the Feast of Pentecost, does not hear of the death of Tiberius for the first three days; and during that time he removes Jonathan from the pontificate, and appoints his brother Theophilus. Τρεῖς μὲν ἡμέρας τὴν διατριβὴν ποιεῖται, ἐν αἷς ἰωάννην τὴν Ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀφελόμενος ἐγχειρίζει τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ Θεοφίλῳ. Jos. Ant. xviii. 5, 3 (see A. D. 37, no. 1496; A. D. 42, no. 1643).

1507. On the fourth day of Vitellius's sojourn at Jerusalem arrives the intelligence of the death of Tiberius, when Vitellius, resenting the affront which he had received the preceding year from Herod Antipas, at once disperses his army, under pretext that he could not march against Aretas without an order from the new emperor. Τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ καὶ γραμμάτων αὐτῷ παραγενόμενων ἃ ἐξήλθον τὴν Τυβέριου τελευτὴν, ὥρτασεν τὴν πληθύν ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ τῇ Γαίῳ, ἀνεκάλει δὲ καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκία ἐκείνου χειμαῖσόντος, πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν οὐκ ἐθ' ὁμοίως ἐνόμενος διὰ τὸ εἰς Γάϊον μεταπειπώκεναι τὰ πράγματα. Jos. Ant. xviii. 5, 3. The arrival of the news when Vitellius was at Jerusalem is confirmed by Philo. Γαίῳ παραλαβόντι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν πρῶτα τῶν κατὰ Συρίαν ἀπάντων ἡμεῖς (the Jews) συνήθημεν, Οὐτιέλλιον τότε, παρ' οὐ ἐπέβλεψεν (Petronius), τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν, ἐν τῇ πόλει διατρίβοντος, ᾧ τὰ περὶ τούτων ἐκμίσθη γράμματα. Philo Leg. 32.

1508. The fact that Vitellius was present at Jerusalem at a feast when the news came of Tiberius's death furnishes some important data for ascertaining the rule by which the time of the Passover was regulated. Josephus does not mention the name of the feast, but it must clearly have been either the Passover or the Pentecost. As to the Passover, it is well known that this feast was observed at the full of the moon. There was a full moon on 20 March, and again on 18 April; and as Tiberius died on 16 March, the feast in question could not have been the Passover, whether celebrated on 20 March or 18 April, as even in the latter case the interval between the death and the feast would be only thirty-three days, and there is no instance of intelligence having ever travelled from Rome to Judea in less than forty-seven days. The usual period was two

months. Supposing the day of Paschal sacrifices, or 14 Nisan, to have been on 19 March, the day before the full, the Pentecost, which was the fiftieth day from the Sheaf-offering, or 16 Nisan, would fall on 10 May; and if Vitellius was then at Jerusalem, the transmission of the news would have occupied just about two months. If, on the other hand, the day of Paschal sacrifices was on 17 April, the Pentecost would fall on 8 June, in which case the transmission of the news would have occupied about three months. This is inconceivable, as a dispatch of so much importance, and in the second quarter of the year, could not have been a month longer on the road than usual. It is evident, therefore, that the Passover this year must have been observed on 19 March. The vernal equinox was placed by the ancients on 25 March. *Æquinoctium vernalium a. d. viii. Kalendas Aprilis puragi videtur.* Plin. N. H. xviii. 66, 1. The Passover, therefore, which was notoriously governed by the vernal equinox, was in this case on the full moon next before the vernal equinox. On the other hand, in A. C. 4, the full moon was on 13 March, when was an eclipse, and yet the Passover was not celebrated until after the death of Herod, which was about 1 April; so that in this case the Passover was on the full moon next after the vernal equinox. According to Ægidius Bucherius, *De Paschali Judaicorum Cyclo Doctrina Temp.*, 349, the Jews considered the equinox as arrived when the sun was in the first point of Aries; and the Paschal limits, as fixed by Bucherius, were 18 March, before which the Passover could not be celebrated, and 16 April, after which it could not be celebrated. See Gresswell's Dissert. i. 265. This canon would reconcile the times of the various Passovers, and is probably well founded. It certainly tallies with the statement of Josephus that the Passover was celebrated when the sun was in Aries, Jos. Ant. iii. 10, 5; for the sun entered Aries, according to the ancient calendar, on 17 March, and entered Taurus on 17 April; and, excluding the two broken days, we have from 18 March inclusive to 16 April inclusive for the range of the Paschal feast.

1509. Vitellius, on quitting Jerusalem, returns to Antioch. Καὶ Οὐτιέλλιος μὲν ἐπ' Ἀντιόχειας ἀνελθόμενος. Jos. Ant. xviii. 5, 3.

1510. About this time, viz. on the departure of Vitellius from Jerusalem for Antioch, may

be placed the martyrdom of St Stephen. Acts, vi 9. Peculiar facilities for the commission of the outrage now offered themselves. The Jews could not by law punish capitally without the fiat of the Roman governor. Jos Ant xv 9, 1. Whenever, therefore, they were relieved from the pressure of the Roman power, they were ever ready to assert their ancient rights by deeds of violence. Such was the martyrdom of James the Just, in the interregnum between the death of Iustus and the arrival of Albinus in A.D. 62 (see that year, no 1931). At the present moment, Pilate had been deposed, and the jealous and gloomy emperor Tiberius was dead, and there was great confusion and comparative anarchy in consequence. Vitellius himself, on this pretence, had abruptly abandoned the expedition ordered by Tiberius against Petrus Theophilus, the high-priest, was the brother-in-law of Caiaphas, who had been so instrumental in the death of Christ, and would gladly avail himself of such a season of license to give full play to his hatred of the Christians, and all the attendant circumstances show that the martyrdom of Stephen was purely a Jewish proceeding, without any intervention of the Romans. Thus he was stoned: the punishment by the Law for blasphemy, Levit xxiv 16, and the execution was without the city, Levit xxiv 14, and the witnesses cast the first stone, Deut xxi 7. The arraignment of Stephen arose from the opposition of certain of the synagogue of Africa, and of those of Cilicia and Asia. Ὑποστησαν ἱερεῖς τῶν ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς τῆς λεγομένης Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Κυρηναίων καὶ Ἀλεξανδρίων, καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Κιλικίας καὶ Ἀσίας. Acts, vi 9. It is quite possible that these disputants might have been domiciled at Jerusalem, but it is much more likely that they were attending some feast: and if so, as Pilate was deposed toward the close of A.D. 36, the feast in question must have been one of the great feasts in A.D. 37, and the license afforded by the death of Tiberius leads to the inference that this feast was the Pentecost.

1511. Stephen clothes his address to the council, or Sanhedrim, as follows.—Τίνα τῶν προφητῶν οὐκ ἔτιωξαν οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν, καὶ ἔπετασαν αὐτοὺς προκυταγέλαντας περὶ τῆς ἐλευσίνης τοῦ Δαυὶδ οὗ νῦν ὑμεῖς προδοῦναι καὶ φοβεῖσθαι γεγενήσθε, Acts, vii 52, and this language suggests the idea that no long interval had elapsed since the death of David,

in A.D. 33, and it was only four years. However, the νῦν may refer to the existing generation only, as opposed to their fathers.

1512. Saul, or Paul, is now a young man, and takes an active part in the death of Stephen καὶ οἱ μαρτυρῆσαι ἤπειθε τοὺς ἱμάτια αὐτῶν παρα τοὺς πόδας νεαροῦ τινος καλουμένου Σαῦλου. Σαῦλος δὲ ἦν συνενδούων τῇ διωρεσίᾳ αὐτοῦ. Acts, xvi 18. The word νεαρός implies an age above twenty-one and under twenty-nine, and he was probably about twenty-eight (see A.D. 9, no 1035). It would seem that Saul was even at this time a member of the Sanhedrim, and that he gave his vote for the death of Stephen. Ὑποστημμενοι τὸν αὐτῶν κατηγορεῖν. Acts, xvi 10.

1513. The death of Stephen is followed by a general persecution of the Christians at Jerusalem, when Christianity, by the dispersion of the disciples, makes a second step in advance by spreading through Judea and Samaria. Διασπάρησαι κατὰ τὰς χώρας τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Σαμαρείας, πληρὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων. Acts, xvi 1. And Saul throughout was the most active in the persecution. Acts, viii 3.

1514. Saul, soon after the outbreak against the Christians, applies to the high-priest and Sanhedrim for letters to the synagogues of Damascus, that if he found any followers of Jesus there, he might bring them to Jerusalem to be tried for blasphemy, and the conversion of Saul occurs on his way to Damascus. Ὁ δὲ Σαῦλος ἐπεὶ ἐμπνέων ἔπειθε καὶ φόβου, ἐπὶ Acts, ix 1. From the expression, ἐπεὶ ἐμπνέων, it would seem that the mission of Saul to Damascus was a continuance of the persecution on the death of Stephen. The scene of the conversion was most likely at Kaikaba (the place of the Star), a village six miles to the south-west of Damascus, on the high road from Jerusalem to Damascus. The place now pointed out, but which was not the tradition a few centuries ago, is half a mile to the south-east of Damascus. See Porter's Damascus, i 13.

1515. Paul, in his address to the Jews from the stairs of fort Antonia in A.D. 58, makes a remarkable reference to this period of his life. Ὅς ταύτην τὴν ὁδὸν ἐτίωζα ἀχρὶ θανάτου, δεπνέω καὶ παραδίδους εἰς φυλακὴν ἀνδρὸς τε καὶ γυναικὸς, ὡς καὶ οὗ ἄρχιερεὺς μαρτυροῦν μοι, καὶ πάντες οἱ τρεσβυτέραιοι, παρ' οἷς καὶ ἐπιστολὰς δεξιμένοις πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἐπιμενέοντων, ἔξωκα καὶ τοὺς ἐτίωσα.

ἔστας ἐδεξάμενοι, εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴν ἦνι τιμωρηθῶ-
σιν. Acts, xxii. 4.

One interpretation of this passage is that the high-priest from whom Paul had received his credentials to Damascus was still living in A.D. 58, and could testify to the truth of Paul's story; and if so, it may be thought to furnish a clue to the time of the conversion. From the Crucifixion, in A.D. 33, to A.D. 40 (and no one would place the conversion in any later year), there were only three high-priests, viz.—1. Caiaphas, who was deposed at the Passover A.D. 37 (see no. 1436); 2. Jonathan, who was removed at the Pentecost A.D. 37 (see no. 1506); and, 3. Theophilus, who succeeded Jonathan, and was displaced in A.D. 42 (see no. 1643). It is clear that, if the high-priest to whom Paul applied was living in A.D. 58, Paul could not have received his letters from Jonathan, as the latter was certainly assassinated before the arrival of Paul in Jerusalem in A.D. 58, as is evident from the fact that the *'Sicarii'*, who took their name from the *sina* with which they stabbed Jonathan, are expressly referred to by Lysias in his conversation with Paul. Οὐκ ἴσμεν οὐδὲ ὁ Διόγηντιος ὁ πρό τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀναστρώσας καὶ ἐξαγαγὼν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον τοὺς τετρακοσίων ἀνδρας τῶν Σικαρίων. Acts, xxi. 38. Paul, then, must have been commissioned either by Caiaphas or Theophilus. If the former, the conversion was before the Passover A.D. 37, when Caiaphas was removed; if the latter, it was after Pentecost A.D. 37, when Theophilus was appointed in the place of Jonathan. Caiaphas was high-priest in A.D. 17, and must therefore have been even then of a discreet age; and the presumption would lie against his being alive, after an interval of more than forty years, in A.D. 58. However, as his death is not mentioned, it is possible that he might have survived that period. Theophilus was one of the five sons of Ananias. The father was high-priest A.D. 7; and all the sons were high-priests in the following order, viz.—Elezazar, A.D. 15; Jonathan, A.D. 37; Theophilus, A.D. 37; Matthias, A.D. 42; and Ananias, A.D. 62. Jonathan came to a violent end A.D. 57; and Ananias (the son) in A.D. 67. Jos. Bell. iv. 5, 2. Theophilus, who came between his two brothers Jonathan and Ananias, was, as we have every reason to believe, still living in A.D. 58.

Another interpretation of the passage, ὅς

καὶ ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς μαρτυρεῖ μοι, καὶ πᾶν τὸ πρεσβυτέρων παρ' ὧν, etc., is that the *parron iehous* high-priest of the time when these words were spoken by Paul in A.D. 58 had been one of the Sanhedrim when the letters to Damascus were granted; and that he, as all the rest of the Sanhedrim, could confirm the truth of Paul's statement. If this meaning be considered the more probable, it implies only that when Paul was at Jerusalem, in A.D. 58, there was then a high-priest who had been a member of the Sanhedrim in A.D. 37. This assumes, however, that in A.D. 58 there *was* a high-priest, and contradicts the theory maintained by some that Jonathan, when assassinated, was actual high-priest, and that in A.D. 58 the office was vacant by his death. But that, in fact, Ananias held the office of high-priest in A.D. 58 may be collected from Josephus, who, in reckoning up the high-priests from the accession of Herod to the fall of Jerusalem, evidently assumes Ananias to have been invested with the office from A.D. 47 to A.D. 59 (see A.D. 37, no. 1894).

Upon the whole, we should place the mission of Paul to Damascus a little after Pentecost A.D. 37, in the time of Theophilus, who, as the son of Ananias, the bitter enemy of Christianity, would willingly grant the authority. That the conversion of Paul occurred some time between the Feast of Tabernacles A.D. 36 and the Feast of Tabernacles A.D. 37, we learn from Paul himself; for he was at Jerusalem at the Feast of Tabernacles A.D. 53, and he tells us that he had been there fourteen years before, viz. at the Feast of Tabernacles A.D. 39, and that his conversion had occurred in the third year current before that, which would be the current year from the Tabernacles A.D. 36 to the Tabernacles A.D. 37. Ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Ἀραβίαν (A.D. 37) καὶ πάλιν ἐπέστρεψε εἰς Δαμασκόν. Ἐπειτα μετὰ ἔτη τρία ὡς ἦλθεν εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα (at the Tabernacles A.D. 39). . . . Ἐπειτα εἰς δεκαεσσάρον ἐτῶν πάλιν ἀνέβη εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα (at the Tabernacles A.D. 53). Galat. i. 17; ii. 1. For the proof that the expression μετὰ ἔτη τρία means the third year current, and not three years complete, see A.D. 39, no. 1581.

1516. Paul, after his conversion, is led into Damascus, to the house of Judas, in Straight Street. Ἀνιστάς πορεύεθαι ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν εὐθεῖαν εἰς Εὐδῆταν, etc. Acts, ix. 11. Straight Street is now called Sultaneh, or Queen Street.

It is about a mile long, and runs direct from the west gate, Bab el Jabyah, to the east gate, Bab Shucky. The street anciently was a most noble one, being 100 feet wide, and divided by Corinthian colonnades into three avenues—one grand central one, and two at the sides. The west and east gates had three portals, of which one only in each now remains, viz. the northern portal of the east gate, and the southern portal of the west gate, the other portals having been walled up. The house of Judas is a little within the west gate, on the right or south side of the street. See Porter's Damascus, i. 47.

1517. Paul remains blind for three days, when his sight is restored by Ananias. *Καὶ ἦν ἡμέρας τρεῖς μὴ βλέπων.* Acts, ix. 9. The traditional house of Ananias is a grotto or cellar in a side street leading northward from Straight Street, about 200 yards from the east gate. See Porter's Damascus, i. 56.

1518. Paul, after his conversion, retires for a short time into the adjacent parts of Arabia (a general name, which comprised Ituraea and other neighbouring regions), and then returns again to Damascus. *Ὅτε δὲ εὐδόκησεν ὁ Θεὸς . . . ἀποκαλῆσαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, εὐθὺς οὐ προσανέβημι σαρὰ καὶ ἄματι . . . ἀλλ' ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἀραβίαν, καὶ πάλιν ὑπέστρεψα εἰς Δαμασκόν.* Galat. i. 16. From the word εὐθὺς following immediately after *ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι*, it has been thought by some that Paul preached in Arabia; but the context seems to imply that he did not preach in Arabia, but only received certain divine revelations there.

1519. Shortly after the return of Vitellius from Jerusalem to Antioch, Artabanus voluntarily crosses the Euphrates, and makes his submission to the new emperor. *Namque Artabanus Parthorum rex, odium semper contemptumque Tiberii pro se ferens, amicitium ejus (Caligulae) ultro petit, venitque ad colloquium legati consularis, et transgressus Euphratem aquilas et signa Romana Caesarumque imagines adoravit.* Suet. Calig. 14. *Lucius (Vitellius) ex consulari Syria praepositus, Artabanum Parthorum regem evanidis artibus non modo ad colloquium suum, sed etiam ad veneranda legionum signa perlevit.* Suet. Vitell. 2. The treaty between Vitellius and Artabanus in A.D. 36, and the submission of Artabanus in A.D. 37, were distinct transactions,

but in the following incidental reference to Parthian affairs in Dion the two appear to be mixed up together. *Καὶ τὸν Ἀρταβανὸν καὶ ἑκείνῳ (Syriae) ἐπιβουλεύοντα, ἐπειδὴ μηδελίαν τιμωρίαν ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ εἰδέσκε, κατέπληξέ τε, ἀκαταήσως αὐτῷ ἐξαπατάως (Vitellius) περὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἦν διτι (A.D. 36), καὶ ἐς τε λόγους αὐτὸν παγγάγετο, καὶ θύσαι τὰς τοῦ Αὐγούστου τοῦ τε Γαίου εἰκόνας ἠνάγκαζε (A.D. 37), σπονδὰς τε αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων σύμφωνον δυνε, καὶ προσέτε καὶ καίνας αὐτοῦ ὁμήρους λυβίων (A.D. 36). Οὗτος οὖν ὁ Βιτελλίως μετεπέμφθη μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαίου, ὡς καὶ ἀπολαύμενος· ἐφ' οἷς γὰρ οἱ Πάρθοι τὸν βασιλεῖα σφῶν ἐξήλασαν (not the expulsion in A.D. 35, but that in A.D. 41), ἐπὶ τούτοις ἑκείνος αἰτίαν ἔσχε, μισθθεὶς τε ὑπὸ του φθόνου καὶ ἐπιβουλή-θεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου.* Dion, lix. 27.

1520. At the end of six months from 1 January, Caligula and his uncle Claudius are consuls. *Ἐπειδὴ ἑκείνοι (the consuls of the year) τὸν ἔκμητον, ἐς δὲ ἀπεδέειχθοντο, εὐηρεῖν, οὗτος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπάτευσεν, τὸν Κλαύδιον τὸν θεῖον προσλαβών.* Dion, lix. 6. Claudius at this time was forty-six years old. *Τότε πρῶτον, καίπερ ἔξ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη βεβιωώς, καὶ ὑπάτευσεν ἅμα καὶ ἰβουδένσεν.* Dion, lix. 6. Caligula was consul for two months and twelve days, and therefore his consulship expired on 12 September. *Ταυθ' οὕτως ἐν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ ἔπραξε, ὅου τε μηνὶ καὶ ἡμέραις ἑξήδεκα αὐτὴν σφῶν· τὸν γὰρ λοιπὸν τῆς ἑξαμήνου χρόνου τοῖς προαποτετέλεταιμένοις ἐς αὐτὴν ἀπέδωκε.* Dion, lix. 7. *Consulatus quatuor gesit, primum ex Claudiis Julio per duos menses.* Suet. Calig. 17. *Consulatus gessit (Claudius) una (cum Caio) per duos menses.* Suet. Claud. 7. This brief consulship was principally occupied in games and banquets, particularly during the Augustalia, the second day of which, 31 August, was Caligula's birthday. *Τὰ τε γὰρ τῆς μουσικῆς ἐχόμενα ἐσχήθη, καὶ ἔπειτα ἑὸς ἡμέραις ἡγωνίσαντο, τῇ μὲν προτέρᾳ εἰκοσάκις, τῇ δ' ὑστέρᾳ καὶ τετράκις, ἐὰν τὸ τὰ γενέθλια αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην εἴναι· ἦν γὰρ ἡ τελευταία τοῦ Αὐγούστου.* Dion, lix. 7.

1521. Not long after the expiration of his consulship, and at the beginning of autumn, i.e. in October, Caligula suffers from illness. *Μετὰ δὲ τούτου (the consulship) νοσήσας αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἀέθλων.* Dion, lix. 8. This was in the eighth month of his reign (October). *Τῷ δὲ ὀγδόῳ (μηνί) κατασκήπτει βάρβαροι νόσος τῷ*

Ταῖρ Philo Leg 2 Διαγγελλεις οὖν τῇ
ὁι τοσούτῃ φήμης, ἐπὶ πλοῖμῳ ὄπισθε—ἀρχὴ γὰρ
ἦν μετόπισθεν, etc Philo Leg 3

1522. Death of Tiberius, son of Drusus, on
a charge of having wished that Caligula's ill-
ness might be fatal Dion, lxx 8 Suet
Calig 23

1523. Death of Antonia through ill-treat-
ment by Caligula Dion, lxx 3 Suet Calig 23

1524. M Silanus, the father-in-law of
Caligula (see A D 35, no 1470) is driven to
despair by Caligula, and commits suicide Dion,
lxx 8 This was shortly after some voyage of
Caligula, probably to or from Campania Si-
lanum item socium uel necem secandasque nova-
culis fauces conpulsi, causatus quod hic
ingressum se turbulentis mare non esset secutus
Suet Calig 23

1525. In the course of this year at the latest
Izates succeeds his father Monobazus as king
of Adiabene, for Izates reigned twenty-four
years, and Monobazus, his son and successor,
was on the throne early in A D 61 (see A D
62, no 1936) Mer' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον τε-
τραστοῖν μὲν καὶ πέμπτον ἀπὸ γειεῖς πληρωσας
εἶσι, τεταρτον δὲ τρὶς εἰκοστὸν δυναστεύσαι,
θνήσκει (Izates) Jos Ant ix 4, 3

1526. At the end of this year Caligula,
having repudiated or lost by death his wife
Claudia, the daughter of M Silanus, marries
Cornelia Orestina Dion, lxx 8 Suet Calig 25

1527. Birth of Nero on 15 December of this
year Nero natus est Aelia, post nono mense
quam Tiberius excessit, duodevicesimo Kalendas
Januarii Suet Nero, 6

1528. Coins of Caligula

C Cæsar Aug Germ P M T Pot + Divus
Aug Patre Patre

C Cæsar Aug Germanicus P M T Pot
Petrus + Divo Aug S C

C Cæsar Aug Germanicus Pon M T Pot +
Agrippina Drusilla, Julia (the three sisters
of Caligula)

C Cæsar Aug Pont Max T Pot + Agrippina,
Julia

C Cæsar Aug Germanicus + Imperator Pont
Max Aug T Pot

C Cæsar Aug Germanicus P M T Pot +
Adlocut Coh, with figure of Caligula on
tribunal addressing the soldiery

C Cæsar Aug Germ P M T Pot + S P
Q R Ob C 8, 1 e ob eius sevatus

C Cæsar Aug Germ P M T Pot Cæs
Finkel, 11 118

A coin of Agrippa as king of Philip's tetrarchy,
and in the time of Caligula, but without date,
and therefore perhaps in Agrippa's first year
Caput Caligulae + ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙΑΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΣ
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΠΡΟΤΟΓΑΤΟΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΑΥΡΑΝΤΙΟΥ
The ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙΑ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΣ is Cæsar-
Philippi Eckhel, iii 491

Inscription

Jovi Conservatori Sacr C Julius C F Quo
Artius V S Dedic to Kal Martias Cu
Arenario et Pontio Nigro Cos (Romæ)
Munatori, i 803, 2

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle

Passover, March 19.

Pentecost, May 9

Tabernacles, September 13

A D. 38. U.C. 791 Olymp 204, 2

M AQUILUS JULIANUS

P NOVUS ASPERNAS

CALIGULA II FROM 16 MARCH THIS POT II
FROM SAME DAY COS DESIG II PONT MAX
GERM

Forty-second year of the reign of

Herod Antipas

Second year of the reign of Agrippa I
from 10 April

1529. Caligula restores the old form of
election of magistrates by the votes of the
people 1ῷ δ' ἔξῃς ἐπὶ ἑταῖροι Μάρκος τε
Γουλαῖος καὶ Πούπλιος Νύμιος ἐκ τῶν προ-
ποδεδειγμένων ἐγενοντο Τὸς ὑρχαιεῖσται
τῷ -ε ἔμφω καὶ τῷ πληθεὶ ἀποδεδωκε, λύσας ὅσα
περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Τυβέριος ὥριε. τῷ μὲν φαῖν
ἐχαρίσατο, τοὺς δὲ ἐμφρονας ἐλύθησε, λογι-
σάμενος ὅτι, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς αἰ ἀρχαὶ αὐτῆς
γίνονται. πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ συμβήσεται
Dion, lxx 9 Tentavit et, comitorum more re-
novato, suffragia populo reddere Suet Calig
16 (see A D 32, no 1367, A D 39, no 1571).

1530. Macro, the prefect of the praetorian
guard, is nominally appointed to the province
of Egypt, but he and his wife Lonia Nævia
are driven by Caligula to commit suicide
Actian εἶχε (Caligula), καὶ οὗτοι τὸν Μάρκον
μετὰ τῆς ἑταίρας ἐς τὴν εἰσοδίου ἐθ' οὐαίου
αἰ ἀγκυρῇ, καίπερ καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον οἱ προσέταξας,
μετίστησε Dion, lxx 10. Suet Calig
12 Philo Leg 9, in Flacc. 8 (see A D 31,
no 1357, A D 43, no 1653)

1531. The death of Drusilla, the favourite
sister of Caligula (his cosa) Dion, lxx 10.

Suet. Calig. 24. The death of Drusilla must have occurred about June (see *post*, no. 1537).

1531 a. Caligula, to divert his grief at the loss of his sister, makes a voyage to Sicily, sailing to Messina. *Peregrinatione quidem Siciliensi, irrisis multorum locorum miraculis, repente a Messana noctu profugit, Etinae verticis fono ac murmure parvifectus*, Suet. Calig. 51; and thence along the coast of Sicily (see Seneca *Cousol.* ad Polyb. 36) to Syracuse, whence he returns hastily to Rome. *Maroris impatiens, quum repente noctuque profugisset ab urbe, transcurrissetque Campaniam, Syracusam petit. Rursusque inde prope rediit, barbâ capilloque promissa*. Suet. Calig. 24, and see 20.

1532. Caligula marries Lollia Paulina, but almost immediately afterwards divorces her. *Διολπῶν αὐτὴν ὀλίγους ἡμέρας (from the death of Drusilla) ἔγγηκε Λολλίαν Παινίαν . . . καὶ εὐθὺς γὰρ ἐκέλευεν ἐξῆλθαι* (his *cons.*). Dion, lix. 12. *Lolliam Paulinam, C. Menenio consulari, exercitus regenti, nuptam . . . subito ex provincia evocavit ac perductione a marito conjunct sibi, brevique missam fecit*. Suet. Calig. 25.

1533. Caligula makes a new distribution of some of the eastern provinces, and gives the kingdom of *Iudaea Libani* to Socimus (see B.C. 47, no. 286; A.D. 49, no. 1727), *Armenia Minor* and some parts of *Arabia* to Cotys (see B.C. 20, no. 727; A.D. 55, no. 1823), and what had been the dominions of Cotys, viz. part of *Thrace*, to Rometalces (see A.D. 19, no. 1122), and *Pontus, Colchis* and *Bosphorus*, the kingdom of Ptolemy I., to Ptolemy II. (see B.C. 2, no. 966 a; A.D. 41, no. 1623; A.D. 66, no. 1998). 'Ἐν τῷ τούτῳ Σοαίμω μὲν τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων τῶν Ἀράβων, Κόντῳ δὲ τὴν τῶν Ἀρμενίων τὴν σμικροτέραν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας τι αἰ, τῇ τε Ῥομητάλῃ τῇ τοῦ Κόντος, καὶ Πολέμωνι, τῇ τοῦ Πολέμωνος υἱῇ, τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχὴν, ψηφισαμένων δὴ τῆς βουλῆς, ἐχωρίσαστο, ἔν τε τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐν ἑσθρῷ μετὰ τῶν ὑπᾶτων κηθεύοντες, καὶ παραπετύσμασι σποικίαι, ὡς γὰρ νῦν φασί, χρησάμενος (his *cons.*). Dion, lix. 12. From the mention of the silken awning against the heat of the sun, the season must have been summer or autumn.

These changes may throw some light upon the annexation of Damascus to the kingdom of Petra under Aretas. Caligula was the friend of Agrippa, and Aretas through Agrippa may have obtained the emperor's favour. The Damascenes had been connected before with

an earlier Aretas, *Jos. Ant.* xiii. 15, 2; and Agrippa had been specially interested on their behalf, and had received a bribe from them to advocate their claims. *Ant.* xviii. 6, 3. It is, therefore, not unlikely that by the influence of Agrippa the Damascenes at their own request may have been now transferred from the province of Syria to the kingdom of Petra. The coin of Aretas referred to at the end of this year (if, as conjectured, it belongs to Damascus) may have been struck on this occasion; and the desire of Aretas to conciliate the Greek population of Damascus would account for the title of Φιλέλλην upon the coin. It is remarkable that coins of Damascus have been found with the heads of Augustus and Tiberius, but none with the head of Caligula or Claudius. In the time of Nero the head of the emperor again appears (see *Eckhel*, iii. 331). The inference is, that Damascus during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius was annexed to Syria, but that in the time of Caligula it was severed from it and appropriated to some other jurisdiction until the reign of Nero. This would explain how Damascus came to have an ethnarch, or Jewish ruler, under Aretas in A.D. 39 (see that year, no. 1586). 'Ἐν Δαμασκῷ ὁ ἐθνάρχης Ἀρέτα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐφρούρει τὴν Δαμασκίαν πόλιν. 2 Cor. xi. 32. There is great improbability in the hypothesis commonly received that Aretas in the course of the war between him and Antipas took forcible possession of Damascus, which was no part of Herod's dominions, in defiance of the Romans. He would scarcely have dared to do this; and had he dared, the Romans must immediately have expelled him.

1534. Agrippa sets sail for Judaea in the second year of Caligula, and therefore after 16 March, A.D. 38. Δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς Γαίῳ Καίσαρος ἡγεμονίᾳ Ἀγρίππῃ ἥλιος οὐχώρησεν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι πλεῖσταν, τὴν τε ἀρχὴν καταστήσασθαι, καὶ τα ἰδὺα εἰς αὐτοῦ οἴκου ὁρμαίνον ἐκταύκῃ. Καὶ συγχωροῦντος τοῦ αυτοκράτορος παρὴν, etc. *Jos. Ant.* xviii. 6, 11. Agrippa had intended to go by way of Greece, but Caligula induced him to wait for the Etesian winds, which begin to blow in July. Μᾶλλον δ' ἀπαύρειν συνεβούλευσε ὁ Γάιος τὴν μὲν ἀπὸ Βριταννίου καὶ μέχρι Συρίας πλοῦν, μακρόν ὄντα καὶ καματηρόν, παραστήσασθαι, χρησάμενος δ' ἐπεταίρῳ, τοὺς Ἑσθίους ἀναμείναντας, τῇ δὲ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρειας. Philo in *Flacc.* 5.

1535. When Agrippa quitted Italy, Caligula appears to have been at Rome, for Agrippa, after his interview with Caligula, is described as going from Rome to Puteoli. He had a prosperous voyage, and reached Alexandria in a few days. Καταβὰς δ' εἰς Δικαιαρχίαν, καὶ ταῦς ὑφ' αὐτοῦ Ἀλ. Ζαῦτιδους ἰδὼν εὐπρεπεῖς πρὸς ἀναγνώγην, ἐπιβὰς μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων, εὐπλοῖα χρησαίμενος, ἀλλοταῖς ὅστερ' αὖθις ἀντιπαύσας καὶ ἀφωρτάς κατέβηται. Philo in Flacc. 5. His arrival at Alexandria was some time in July or the beginning of August, for having waited for the Etesias, he would of course set sail when they began to blow. That it was at the end of July or the beginning of August appears also from this, that it was before the outbreak against the Jews at Alexandria, which was at its height on the birthday of Caligula on 31 August (see *post*, no. 1537).

1536. Agrippa is mocked in effigy at Alexandria. Ἦντις μερῶς οἶον Καυθαί· . . ἄθυρμα ἡγῆσαν καὶ μερικῶν σχολάζοντων. Συνελθόντες τὸν ἄθλιον ἔχον τῶν γυμνασίων, καὶ στήσαντες μετ' αὐτῶν ἵνα καθορῶτο πρὸς πάντων, βύβλαν μὲν ἐνθῆνυντες ἀντὶ ἐπιστάματος ἐπιτιθέσιν αὐτοῖ τῇ κεφαλῇ, χαμαιοστρίαν δὲ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα περιβάλλουσιν ἀντὶ χλαμύδος, ἀντὶ δὲ σκήπτρου βρυχὴ τὴν πατέρων τμήμα τῆς ἐγχύρου, καθ' ἃ δὲν ἐρμηνεύοντες, ἀναεὶδούσιν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ, ὡς ἐν θεατρικοῖς μίμοις, τὰ παρόρσημα τῆς βυσσίδος ἀνελήθει, καὶ διεκδοσάμενο εἰς βασιλεῖν, νεανίαι βόλβους ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων φέρυντες ἀντὶ λοχυφώρου ἐκείρωθεν εἰσθηταῖον, μισοῦμενοι δορυφόρους, εἰδ' ἑταροῖ προσέπειν, αἰ μὲν ὡς ἀπασσάμενοι, οἱ δ' ὡς ἐντενδύμενοι περὶ κινῶν πρυμνίων. Εἰ δ' ἐπεριστώτες ἐν κυκλῶ πλήθους ἔζηεν βοή τις ἄποκος Ἐμάρην ἀποκαλούντων. Οὕτως ἐφασκεν τοὺς κύριον ἀνεμύζεσθαι παρὰ Σύριος. Philo in Flacc. 6. We have inserted the whole passage as a curious illustration of the mockery of Our Saviour at Jerusalem five years before (see A.D. 33, no. 1441). As Flaccus had broken his promise of forwarding to Caligula the congratulatory address of the Alexandrian Jews on his accession to the imperial purple, Agrippa now takes charge of the address, and dispatches it to Rome with explanations. Ἀγρίππας γὰρ ἐκτεμνήτας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπαγγελμένους ἦν τὴν ἐκ Φλᾶκκου γενομένην ἐπιβουλὴν ἐναντιοθῆναι τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ, ὑποσχόμενος τὸ ψήφισμα διαμειψέσθαι λαβὼν, ὡς ἠκούομεν, ἔπειθεν ἀπολογησάμενος καὶ περὶ τοῦ χρόνου. Philo in Flacc. 12.

1537. The outbreak against the Jews begins at Alexandria soon afterwards. It was subsequent to the death of Tiberius, the son of Drusus (at the end of A.D. 37, see no. 1522). Ὡς δ' ἦκουσε (Flaccus) τὸν Τιβέριον μὲν νικῶν, καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀναεὶδόμενον Γαῖον κελεύσαντος, etc., Philo in Flacc. 3; and after the death of Macro (at the beginning of A.D. 38, see no. 1530), ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν καὶ τούτου (Macrobian) ἔγνω προαιρημένον ὁ Φλᾶκκος, Philo in Flacc. 4; and after the harvest of A.D. 38, τοῦ μὲν ποτίμου ταῖς πλημμύραις τὰς ἀρούρας πλουσίως λιμνύσαντος, τῆς δὲ πεδίονος, ἥσιν πυρφόρος, ἀφθοῶτατον ὑπεργονίας τὸν αὐτὸν κωπόν ἀνιγούσης, Philo in Flacc. 9; and after the death of Drusilla, for μηδὲν δὲ κελαιόντος, καὶ τὰ ἐργαστήρια τῶν Ἰουδαίων, συρκακλεισμένα εἶναι τὸ ἐπὶ Δρουσίᾳ τῆς θοῆς, ἀναβήσαντες, ὅσα ἔχον (πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα) ἦν) ἐξέφρησαν, Philo in Flacc. 8 (as the mourning at Alexandria for Drusilla was after the arrival of Agrippa at the end of July or beginning of August (see no. 1540), and before the birthday of Caligula on 31 August, the death of Drusilla must have occurred about June). In short, the insurrection against the Jews at Alexandria was raging on the birthday of Caligula, which was on 31 August. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ καὶ νεκρῶς ἐπολιτῆσαι τινὲς χριστοῦ γενεθλιακῆς αὐτοκρατορίας. Philo in Flacc. 10.

1538. Flaccus is suddenly arrested by the order of the emperor at the Feast of Tabernacles (October 2); and this was while the chiefs of the Jews were still in ward, to which they had been committed during the insurrection. Ἐορτὴ μὲν γὰρ ἦν πάνδημος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κατὰ τὴν μετοπωμένην ἰσημερινῶν, ἐν ᾗ εἰσάγον Ἰουδαίους ἔθος ἐν σηναις· οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν ἐν ἱερτῇ συνάλως ἀπεταλόντων, τῶν μὲν ἀρχόντων εἶναι καθεργαζόμενον μετὰ τῆς ἀντικέστονος καὶ ἀφορίστους αἰτίας καὶ ὕβρεις, τῶν δὲ ἰδιούτων τὰς τε κελίων συμφόρας ἅπαντος τοῦ ἔθνους κοινὰς νομίζοντων, καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκείναις, ἥς ἐξία ἔκυστος ὑπέμεινε, οὐ μετρίως καταφώνων. Philo in Flacc. 14. Flaccus sets sail from Egypt immediately, notwithstanding the winter. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀναχθεὶς ἀνωχρεῖν χειμῶνος (εἶπε γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν ἐν θαλάττῃ φορητῶν ἀπολαύσαι, τὴν στοιχείαν τοῦ παυτοῦ ἀσθημάτων ἀναπλήσαντα) μυρία ποινηθεὶς, μόλις ἦλθεν εἰς Ἰταλίαν. Philo in Flacc. 15. He had been in office for six years (see A.D. 32, no. 1368; A.D. 55, no. 1822).

1539. The Jews send to Rome an embassy consisting of Philo and four others (*ἐν ἡμῖν δὲ πάντα πρεσβευταί, Philo Leg. 46, and see Jos. Ant. xviii. 8, 1*) to intercede with Caligula against the persecution at Alexandria. This was in the *midwinter* of A.D. 38-39. Χειμῶνος μέσου διακλείσαμεν ἡγουσύντες ὅσος χειμῶν ἐφεδρὸς ἐστὶν ὁ κατὰ γῆν, ἀργαλειώτερος πολλῶ τοῦ κατὰ θάλατταν, τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἡ φύσις αἰτίας, διακρίνουσα τοὺς ἐτησίους καιροὺς, . . . ἐκείνου δὲ ἡ θύρωπος, Philo Leg. 29. The departure of the embassy was, of course, after that of Flaccus, for the latter sailed ἀρχομένου χειμῶνος, and the former χειμῶνος μέσου. Besides, had Flaccus been still in office, he would not have allowed an embassy, as he had before prohibited an embassy of the Jews on the accession of Caligula. Πρεσβείαν αἰτησαμένους οὐκ ἂν ἐπέτρεψεν. Philo in Flacc. 12.

1540. When the embassy started, Agrippa had been at Alexandria not long before on his voyage from Rome to Judaea. Ἦν δὲ σχεδὸν τοῦτο (the petition to Caligula) ἐπιτομή τις ἱερείας μακροτέρας, ἣν ἐπετύμφεμεν πρὸ δολίγῳ δὲ Ἀγρίππα τοῦ βασιλέως· ἐκ γύχης γὰρ ἐπεδήμησε τῇ πόλει (Alexandria) μέλλων εἰς Σηρίαν κατὰ τὴν δοθείσαν αὐτῷ βασιλείαν ἀπαίρειν. Philo Leg. 28.

1541. Josephus is born at the beginning of this year, or was born towards the close of the preceding year. His birth was sometime between 16 March A.D. 37 and 16 March A.D. 38, for it was in the first year of Caligula's reign, which expired on 16 March, A.D. 38, τούτου γίνεται Ἰώσηπος, ἐν ἡμῖν δὲ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρας ἀρχῆς καὶ Ἰωσήπου Ματθίας βασιλεύοντος Ἀρχελάου τὸ δέκατον (A.D. 6), Μιθράει δὲ ἐγὼ τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς Γαζῶν Καίσαρος ἡγεμονίας, Jos. Vit. 1; and his birth was after 18 September, A.D. 37, for the thirteenth year of Domitian began on 13 September, A.D. 93, and Josephus was then in his fifty-sixth year. Κἂν τὸ θεῖον ἐπετρέψῃ, κατὰ περιτροπὴν ὑπομνήσαν πάλιν τοῦ τε πολέμου καὶ τῶν συμπεληθῶν ἡμῖν μέχρι τῆς νῦν ἐκείσεως ἡμέρας, ἥτις ἐστὶ τρεκακισκίων μὲν ἔτους τῆς Δομετιανοῦ Καίσαρος ἀρχῆς, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀπὸ γενέσεως πεντηκιστοῦ καὶ ἑκτοῦ. Ant. xx. 12.

1542. Paul is now preaching the Gospel at Damascus. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς ἐκήρυσσε τὸν Χριστὸν. Acts, ix. 20 (see A.D. 37, no. 1518).

1543. The conversion to Christianity of a

city of Samaria by Philip the Deacon, who with other Christians had been driven out of Jerusalem, may be placed in this year. Φίλιππος δὲ κατελθὼν εἰς πόλιν τῆς Σαμαρείας ἐκήρυσσε αὐτοῖς τὸν Χριστὸν. Acts, viii. 5. The city was perhaps Gitton, for Simon Magus, who was of that city (Justin Mart. Apol. i. 26), was among the converts. Acts, viii. 25.

1544. The Apostles at Jerusalem, hearing of the conversion in Samaria, send Peter and John to confirm the disciples there. Acts, viii. 14.

1545. Peter and John evangelize many of the villages of Samaria, and return to Jerusalem. Acts, viii. 25.

1546. Philip converts the Ethiopian eunuch on the road from Jerusalem to Gaza. Acts, viii. 26. The eunuch was on his return from a feast. Ὃς ἐληλύθει προσκυνήσων εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ. Acts, viii. 27. It is not said what feast it was, but we may infer that it was the Feast of Tabernacles, for he was reading Isaiah, Acts, viii. 30; and the lessons for the day in the Jewish ritual were taken at the season of the Feast of Tabernacles from Isaiah.

This was another step in advance of Christianity, for the eunuch appears to have been a proselyte of the gate. Deut. xxiii. 1. The Gospel had before been preached, first to the Jews and then to the Samaritans, and now the door was opened to proselytes.

1547. The angel had commanded Philip to take the road which led from Jerusalem to Gaza, and it is added αὕτη ἐστὶν ἔρημος. Acts, viii. 26. The word αὕτη here refers not to Gaza, but to the road. From Jerusalem to Gaza were at least three different routes, and the most southern was the one which led through the desert, i. e. a country devoid of villages or fixed habitations. In a wady or valley between Beit Sibrin (or Eleutheropolis) and Gaza Dr. Robinson observed standing water, which was not to be found along the whole road elsewhere. This, therefore, may have been the spot where the eunuch was baptized. Robinson's B. R. ii. 41; and note xxxii. p. 514. If the word αὕτη be thought to refer to Gaza the remark must be a parenthetical one of Luke himself, and his Gospel could not in that case have been published before A.D. 66, which was the year in which at the outbreak of the Jewish war Gaza was laid desolate (see that year, no. 2011).

1548. Coin of Caligula.

C. Cesar Aug. Gerni, P. M. Tr. Ptd. + S. P. Q. R. P. P. ob C. S. i. e. Pater Patriae ob cives servatos.

C. Cesar Aug. Germanicus Pon. M. Tr. Ptd. + S. P. Q. R. P. P. ob cives servatos.

C. Cesar Aug. Germanicus + P. M. Tr. Ptd. Iter.

(It appears from Dion, lix. 3, that Caligula, immediately on his accession, assumed all the titles bestowed on Augustus, except that of Pater Patriae, and that he assumed the last not long after his accession; and it will be seen from the above coins that he took the title of Pater Patriae in the first year of his tribunitian power, i. e. before 16 March of this year.)

Coin of Sinope.

An. lxxviii. Caligulae, i. e. in the eighty-third year dating from U. C. 700.

Eckhel, ii. 302.

A coin apparently of Damascus, under the rule of Aretas, *Βασίλειος Αρετου Φάλαγγος*, with the date *AP*, or 101. The era here used is thought to be that of Pompey, which was adopted in many cities of the East, and commenced from the autumn of a. c. 63. Damascus, as having been liberated from Tigranes by Pompey, might well adopt the *Æra Pompeiana* out of compliment to their deliverer. Pompey was at Damascus in B. C. 64 (see no. 61), and again in A. C. 63 (see no. 70), and on the latter occasion he made some stay there. Supposing *AP* to date from the *Æra Pompeiana*, the 101 year would be from autumn A. D. 37 to autumn A. D. 38. See Mionnet, and Wieseler's Chronol. p. 174, and Ideler's Handbuch, i. 458. Aretas was certainly the sovereign of Damascus in A. D. 39 (see that year, no. 1580), and had probably received Damascus from Caligula in A. D. 38, on which occasion the medal may have been struck (see *supra*, no. 1533).

Inscription.

..... *Germanici Cæs. . . . Divi Aug. Princip. Divi Julii Aug. Aug. Pater Patriæ Cæs. ii. Imp. Trib Potestate ii. Pontifex Max. A. Pate et Jano Augusto ad Oceanum lxxviii. (Corbulo).*

Murator, i. 411, 2.

Fourth year of the Sablatic cycle.

Passover, April 7.

Pentecost, May 28.

Tabernacles, October 2.

A.D. 39. U.C. 792. Olymp. 204, 3.

C. CESAR ARGENTVS GERMANICVS, II. Qui abdic. et eum excepit prid. Kal. Feb. Sanguinius Maximus. L. AFRONIUS CASSIANVS. Qui abdic. et eum excepit Kal. Jul. Cn. Domitius Corbulo.

ex Kal. Sept.

SEXT. DOMITIUS ALEX.

C. CERNIS RUTVS.

CALIGULÆ III. FROM 16 MARCH. TRIB. POT. III.

FROM SAME DAY. COS. II. COS. DESIG. III.

PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR.

Forty-third year of the reign of Herod Antipas.

Third year of the reign of Agrippa I. from 1 April.

1549. Caligula is consul for thirty days only, when he resigns in favour of Sanguinius Maximus, the prefect of the city. *Consulatus quatuor gessit . . . secundum ex Kalendis Januariis per triginta dies.* Suet. Calig. 17. *Μετὰ τὴ τοῦτο ἀπαρέσθας αὐτὸς . . . τράκοντα εἰς δὴ ἡμέρας ἡνέκε, καίτοις Λοκίω Ἀποωνίῳ τῷ ποιήσαντι εἰς μῆνας ἐκπερέλας· καὶ αὐτὸν Σαγκουνίου Μάξιμου πολιρχῶν διεδέξατο.* Dion, lix. 13. Sanguinius Maximus, the prefect of the city, was probably successor to Cossus. See A. D. 33, no. 1455; A. D. 61, no. 1908.

1550. Caligula, before the expiration of his consulship, retires to Campania, but returns on the birthday of Drusilla. *Προστάξας δὲ ἐτέρους τοῖς τοῦς ἀγῶνας ποιεῖν ἐς Καμπανίαν ἀπέηκε· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐκταλθὼν πρὸς τὰ τῆς Δρουσίλλης γενέσθαι, &c.* Dion, lix. 13.

1551. The Alexandrian embassy (see A. D. 38, no. 1589) are admitted to the presence of Caligula at Rome, and are promised another audience at a future day. *Δεξιόμενος γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ πρὸς Τυβέριος πεδίῳ τὸ πρῶτον (ἔτυχε ἐξ οὗς τῶν μητρῶν ἐξὼν κήπων) ἀντιπροσηγόρευσε . . . Αὐτὸς, ἔφη, τῆς ὑμετέρας δευτέρας ἀκούσομαι προσευκαίρησαι.* Philo Leg. 28. As the hearing was postponed until it suited the emperor's convenience, it may be readily supposed (as was the case) that a long interval occurred (see A. D. 40, no. 1600).

1552. Caligula utters a tirade against the servile senate in their presence, and then turns his back upon the city. *Ἔς τε τὸ προσεστῶν αὐθήμερον ἐξώμνησεν.* Dion, lix. 16.

1553. Erennius Capito, at Jamnia, socks a quarrel with the Jews, and the Syrian inhabitants erect an altar to Caligula, which the Jews demolish. Capito writes word of it to Caligula early in the year. *Φόβων ἐκλογαὶς ὁ*

Καπίτων ἐστὶν τῶν τῆς 'Ιουδαίας· ἔχει δὲ πῶς πρὸς τοὺς ἑγχωρίους ἐγκότως . . . Ἑρμῖον δὲ εὐρησέναι νομίσεις, ὅπερ ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων ἀνεζήτηι, γράφει Γαίῳ διαίρων τὰ πράγματα καὶ μετεωρίζων. Philo Leg. 30. In Josephus Capito is designated as Ἑρένιος Καπίτων ὁ τῆς Ἰαμερίας ἐπίτροπος. Ant. xviii. 6, 3. He was procurator of Jamnia and the adjoining district given by the will of Herod to Salome, Ant. xviii. 11, 5; and by her bequeathed to Julia, Livia, or Augusta, the wife of Augustus. Bell. ii. 9, 1 (see A.D. 10, no. 1038).

1554. P. Petronius Turpilianus is appointed prefect of Syria in the place of Vitellius, who is recalled. Οὗτος μὲν ὁ Βασιλεὺς μετεπέμψθη μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαίου ὡς καὶ ἀπολούμενος· ἐφ' οἷς γὰρ οἱ κλήρῳ τὸν βασιλεῖα σφῶν ἐξήλασαν, ἐπὶ τοῖσιν ἐκεῖνος τὴν αἰτίαν ἔσχε, μισθθεὶς τε ὑπὸ τοῦ φθάνου καὶ ἐπιβουληθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου. Dion, lix. 27. Josephus ascribes the appointment of Petronius to Caligula's design of erecting his statue in the Temple of Jerusalem. Γαῖος δὲ ἐν τεινῷ χρόνῳ εἰς τοσούτῃ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων περιωφθεὶς μόνον, πρεσβευτήν ἐπὶ Συρίας ἀπέπεμψε Πετρώνιον εὐαδόχον Οὐρελλίῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς. Ant. xviii. 8, 2. But Philo speaks of Petronius at that time as already in office. Ἡ δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀναθέσεως τοῦ ἀνιμάντος ἐπιστολὴ γράφεται . . . περισκερμένως εἰς ἀσφαλὲν κελεῖται γὰρ Πετρωνίῳ τῷ τῆς Συρίας ἀπάσης ὑπάρχῳ, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐγεγράφει, etc. Philo Leg. 31. And Josephus himself afterwards hints that Petronius had been sent for a different purpose than the erection of the statue; for Caligula, in recalling his orders, writes: Τὸν τε στρατὸν διάλυε, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἃ τὸ πρῶτόν σε ἔστειλα ἐπέθι. Ant. xviii. 8, 8 (see A.D. 34, no. 1462; A.D. 42, no. 1647).

1555. Herod Antipas and Herodias being jealous of Agrippa, who had now arrived in the East as king, while Herod was only a tetrarch, set sail for Rome to solicit from Caligula an exaltation to the same dignity. Jos. Ant. xviii. 7, 2; Bell. ii. 9, 6.

1556. Caligula visits Mevania in Umbria, where he conceives the design of an expedition against Germany and Britain, and makes immediate preparations. *Quum ad risendum novius flumenque Clitumnus Mevaniam processisset . . . expeditionis Germanicæ impetum cepit; neque distulit sed legionibus et auxillis undique ecclis, delectibus undique aurbissime actis, contracto et omnis generis commatu quanto nun-*

quam antea, iter ingressus est. Suet. Calig. 43. That there was a royal palace at Mevania appears from Philogon. Ἐγίνετο καὶ ἐν Μηονανίῃ, πόλει τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐν Ἀγριππίνῃ τῆς Σαβηστῆς ἱαυδαί ἀνέρόγγινος. Philog. Mir. Mull. Frag. Græc. Hist. iii. 619.

1557. Caligula retires to Campanian, and the Alexandrian embassy come thither from Rome, and expect a hearing daily. Ἀφίγμεθα μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης εἰς Δακτύρχειαν ἠπακλουθεῖντες Γαίῳ· κατεληλύθει δὲ ἐπὶ θάλατταν καὶ εὐεργετὴ περὶ τὸν κόλπον, ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς ἰδίαις ἐπαύλει πολλὰς καὶ πολυτελῶς ἡσκημένας . . . αἱ γὰρ κληθήσονται προσεκοῦμεν. Philo Leg. 29 (see *ante*, no. 1551).

1558. The dispatch of Erennius Capito reaches Italy, and Caligula is enraged at the affront offered at Jamnia, and resolves to erect his statue in the Temple at Jerusalem, and writes to that effect to Petronius. Philo Leg. 31. This agrees with the statement of Josephus, who observes that Caligula exercised some moderation for the first two years of his reign, which would end on 16 March of this year, and that he arrogated divine honours in his third year. Γαῖος δὲ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἐναντιὸν καὶ τὸν ἐξῆς πᾶν μεγαλοπρόνως ἐχρήτο τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ μέτρον παρέχων αὐτὸν εἰς ἐνοσίαν προνέχευε . . . πρότερον δ' ἐκείνατο τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φρονεῖν. Jos. Ant. xviii. 7, 2.

1559. While the Alexandrian embassy are at Puteoli they are apprised of Caligula's dispatch to Petronius in answer to Capito's letter. Φροντίζουσι δὲ ἡμῖν τῆς υποθέσεως (αἱ γὰρ κληθήσονται προσεκοῦμεν) προσέχεται τις . . . Ἠκούσατε, ἔφη, τὰ κυνὰ; Philo Leg. 29. And Philo then proceeds to relate the circumstances that occurred in Judea during his stay in Italy.

1560. Caligula constructs a bridge across the sea from Baulos to Puteoli. Suet. Calig. 19. Dion, lix. 17. Amongst the causes assigned for this extraordinary undertaking one was that he might terrify Germany and Britain, against whom he had planned an expedition. *Scio pterisque existimasse talem a Caio pontem excogitatum emulatio Nervæ . . . alios ut Germaniam et Britanniam, quibus imminelat, alicujus immensi operis famâ territaret.* Suet. Calig. 19.

1561. Herod Antipas (see *ante*, no. 1555) and Fortunatus (an envoy from Agrippa to oppose Herod) arrive at Puteoli, and have an audience before Caligula at Baia. Kai

προσέπλευσαν ἀμφότεροι (Antipas and Porumnus) Δακισαρχίᾳ, καὶ τὸν Γάϊον ἐν Βαίᾳς λαμβάνουσι. Jos. Ant. xviii. 7, 2.

Josephus gives two accounts, at variance with each other, how Herod Antipas was deprived of his tetrarchy and sent into banishment. In the Wars he writes: Ταῦτοις ἀπισθεῖς Ἡρώδης ἔκει πρὸς Γάϊον, ὅψ' οὐ τῆς πλεονεξίας ἐπιτιμᾶται φυγῇ εἰς Ἰσπανίαν, ἀλλοιούθησε γὰρ αὐτῷ κατήγορος Ἀγρίππας, ὃ καὶ τὴν τετραρχίαν τὴν ἐκείνου προσέθηκε Γάιος. Καὶ Ἡρώδης μὲν ἐν Ἰσπανίᾳ, συμφυγούσης αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς γυναίκος, τελευτᾷ. Bell. ii. 9, 6. But in the Antiquities: Ὡστὶ ἡγούμενος (Caligula) εἶναι τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποστάσει κατηγγροβύμενα, τὴν τετραρχίαν ἀφελόμενος αὐτὸν, προσθήκην τῇ Ἀγρίππᾳ βασιλείᾳ ποιεῖται, καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὅμοιος τῇ Ἀγρίππᾳ ἰδῶσι, αὐτὸν τε φυγῇ πείθειν ὡμώσεν, ἀποδείξας οἰκητήριον αὐτοῦ Λούγδουρον πόλιν τῆς Γαλλίας. Ant. xviii. 7, 2. It would seem at first sight that the banishment of Herod Antipas was decreed at Baie; and if so, the event must have taken place before 31 August of this year, for on that day Caligula was at Rome, and went thence, or from one of the suburbs, to Gaul, and did not return till 31 August, A.D. 40; and appears never again to have visited Baie, though he may possibly have done so. If he did, it must have been some time between 31 August, A.D. 40, and 1 January, A.D. 41, which would place the banishment of Antipas, if then decreed at Baie, too late. It will be observed, however, that Josephus does not say expressly that Herod Antipas was banished at Baie. In the Antiquities, on the contrary, he couples together the banishment of Herod and the annexation of his tetrarchy to the dominions of Agrippa as contemporaneous events. Τὴν τετραρχίαν ἀφελόμενος αὐτὸν προσθήκην τῇ Ἀγρίππᾳ βασιλείᾳ ποιεῖται. And the acquisition of Herod's tetrarchy by Agrippa was in the fourth year of Agrippa's reign over Philip's tetrarchy (see A.D. 37, no. 1503), and therefore in A.D. 40. Τῆς Φιλίππου μὲν τετραρχίας εἰς τριετιὰν ἄρξας (A.D. 37–40) τῷ τετάρτῳ δὲ (A.D. 40) καὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου προσεληφώς. Ant. xix. 8, 2. In the Wars also the banishment of Herod is attributed to the presence of Agrippa. Ἠκολούθησε γὰρ αὐτῷ κατήγορος Ἀγρίππας. And Agrippa, who had sent forward an envoy to Baie, did not arrive himself until A.D. 40, when he joined Caligula in Gaul. If Herod

was banished not at Baie in A.D. 39, but in Gaul in A.D. 40, it explains the coins of Herod which were seen by Vaillant and Galland, and bore the inscription ΜΔ, or 44, i.e. in the forty-fourth year of his reign (see Eckhel, iii. 186); for if Agrippa was king on 1 April, A.D. 37, the forty-fourth year would commence on 1 April, A.D. 40. The probability is that, as was commonly the case in audiences before Caligula (as in the instance of Philo, see *ante*, no. 1551; A.D. 40, no. 1600), there were two hearings, one at Baie, when Agrippa's envoy was present, and when the trial was adjourned from the absence of Agrippa; and a second and final hearing in Gaul, in the presence of Agrippa himself, who had by that time arrived. It confirms this view that at the beginning of A.D. 40 there was a rumour at Rome that Agrippa and Antiochus, for which we should read Antipas, were with Caligula in Gaul. Ἐπυθίσοντο τὸν τε Ἀγρίππαν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον (lege Ἀντίππον) τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ὥσπερ τινὲς τυραννοῦντας ἀκούσας συνεῖναι. Dion, lix. 24. This explains also how Josephus fell into the inconsistency of saying in the Antiquities that Herod was banished to Lyons, and in the Wars that he was banished to Spain. The trial having been adjourned from Baie, where the case was opened, to Lyons, where sentence was passed, the historian in the Antiquities wrote by mistake the place of condemnation, Lyons, for the place of banishment, Spain.

1562. Dion, perhaps, had in view the first hearing of Herod Antipas at Baie, when, after relating the construction of the bridge at Puteoli, he adds: Ἐξέταξε δὲ (Caligula) καὶ ἰδίᾳ (at Puteoli) καὶ μετὰ πίσεως τῆς γερονσίας (i. e. at Rome). Dion, lix. 18. He also alludes to the ultimate fate of Herod Antipas in the following passage: Ἀγρίππαν τὸν τοῦ Ἡρώδου ἔγγονον λύσας τε (Caligula) . . . καὶ τῇ τοῦ πάππου ἀρχῇ προτάξας . . . τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἢ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν (viz. Herod Antipas) οἷχθαι τὸν πατρῶιον ἀπεστέρησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατέσφαξε. It would seem from this that Herod Antipas came eventually to a violent end, and indeed Caligula is charged with having subsequently put all his exiles to death. *Opinans eidi quoque exules suos mortem impetrari, passim circum insulas qui universas trucidarent.* Suet. Calig. 28. Οὐδέ γὰρ τοῖς ἐξελαντομένοις ἀσφάλεια ἦν, ἰδὲ καὶ ἐκείνων πολλοὶ ἦσαν κατ' ἄνδρ., ἢ καὶ ἐν τῇ φυγῇ διεφθείροντο. Dion, lix. 18.

1563. Petronius, on receipt, late in the autumn, of the emperor's dispatch ordering the erection of the statue at Jerusalem, is in perplexity. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Πετρώνιος τὴ ἐπιστάλῃ διαταγὴν ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ ἦν, οὔτε ἐναντιοῦσθαι δυνάμενος διὰ φόβον, ἤξει γὰρ ἀφόρητον, οὐ μόνον κατὰ τῶν τὰ κελυσθέντα μὴ πραΰναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τῶν μὴ εἰθὺς οὔτε ἐγγχεῖν εὐμαρῆς. Philo Leg. 31. And his deliberations are assisted by the council of Syria. Συμβούλιον δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ πολλοὶ τῶν συνεπιστάτων τὰ κατὰ Συρίαν ἀντὶ Ῥωμαίων. Ib.

1564. Petronius proceeds ostensibly to execute the commands of Caligula, and collects a force, and marches from Antioch to Acre, where he proposes to winter. Καὶ Πετρώνιος, Συρίαν παραλαβὼν, ἡγεῖτο διακονεῖσθαι ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος, συμμαχίαν δὲ πλείστην ὅσην ἡδύνατο ἀθροίσαι, καὶ τάγματα δύο τῆς Ῥωμαίων δυνάμεως ἀγαγὼν, ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίδος παρῆν, αὐτοῦ χειμάζων, ὡς πρὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ πολεμεῖν οὐκ ἀφεξιμέτος. Jos. Ant. xviii. 8, 2; Bell. ii. 10, 1.

1565. No statue having been sent from Rome, Petronius, to gain time, gives orders to the Sidonians to make one, and sends for the chiefs of the Jewish nation to come to him. Οἱ δὲ ἐν Σιδῶνι εἰργάζοντο. Μεταπίμπεται δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τέλει τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἱερεῖς τε καὶ ἄρχοντας. Philo Leg. 31.

1566. Petronius writes word of his plans to the emperor, who tells him to proceed with vigour. Καὶ πρὸς τὸν Γάιον ἔγραψε (Petronius) περὶ τῶν ἐπεγνωσμένων, ὃ δὲ ἐπήγει τῆς προθυμίας αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκέλευε μὴ ἀνίεσθαι, πολεμεῖν δὲ μὴ πειθομένους ἐντεταμένους. Jos. Ant. xviii. 8, 2.

1567. The Jewish nation, having learnt from their chiefs the intentions of Petronius, assemble in vast multitudes before him at Acre. Πυθόμενοι δὲ . . . μὴ ῥύμῃ συνείπειν εἰς φονίαν· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ὡς ἐνύχχανεν ὁ Πετρώνιος, Philo Leg. 32. Ἰουδαίων δὲ πολλὰι μυριάδες παρήσαν ὡς τὸν Πετρώνιον εἰς Πτολεμαίδα. Jos. Ant. xviii. 8, 2; Bell. ii. 10, 1.

Petronius deliberates with his council, and it is agreed to waste time in making the statue. Ἐπελυσσας δὲ μετὰ τῶν συνέρων ἐβουλεύετο τὰ πρακτέα. . . . Τίνας οὖν ἦσαν αἱ γνώμαι; μὴ κατατελεῖν τοὺς ἑτοιμογροῦς, etc. Philo Leg. 33.

1568. Petronius, leaving his army at Acre, proceeds with some friends to Tiberias, for the

purpose of testing the firmness of the Jews, when they again assemble about him in vast numbers. Καὶ ὁ Πετρώνιος . . . ἐπὶ Τιβεριάδου ἡγεῖτο . . . Λῶδες πολλὰι μυριάδες ὑπερτάζον Πετρώνιον εἰς τὴν Τιβεριάδα γενόμενον. Jos. Ant. xviii. 8, 3; Bell. ii. 10, 3. This was at seedtime, and therefore toward the close of the year. Ταῦτα (the gatherings of the Jews about Tiberias) ἐπαύσατο ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ τοῦ γεωργεῖν ὑπερίσταντο τὸ λοιπὸν ἦσαν, καὶ ταῦτα τῆς ὥρας οὔσης πρὸς σπάρην. Ant. xviii. 8, 3. Πρὸς δὲ μηδεμίαν πείραν ἐνδαδόντων (the Jews), ὡς ἔωρα (Petronius) καὶ τὴν χώραν κενδυνεύουσιν ἱσποροὶ μέναι, κατὰ γὰρ ὥραν σπάρην πενήκοντα ἡμέρας ἀργὰ ὑέτριβεν αὐτῶν τὰ πλήθη, etc. Bell. ii. 10, 5.

1569. Aristobulus and others of the Agrippa family intercede also with Petronius in favour of the Jews. Ἐν τοιαύτοις δὲ ὄντων τῶν πραγμάτων, Ἀριστάρχουλος ὁ Ἀγρίππου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφός, καὶ Ελκίας ὁ μέγας, ἄλλοι τε οἱ κρείττους τῆς οἰκίας καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι συν αὐτοῖς εἰσάειν ὡς τὸν Πετρώνιον παρακαλοῦντες αὐτόν, etc. Jos. Ant. xviii. 8, 4. Agrippa himself was not in Judaea at this time, but had set sail for Rome, to counteract the intrigues of Antipas, for at the beginning of the next year he was with Caligula in Gaul (see A.D. 40, no. 1591).

Petronius at length gives way; and assembling the Jews at Tiberias, informs them that he will write to the emperor on their behalf, and exhorts them to go to their work. Συγκιλήσας δὲ εἰς τὴν Τιβεριάδα τοὺς Ἰουδαίους . . . ἅπτε οὖν ἐπὶ ἔργῳ τὰ αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι καὶ τῇ γῇ ἐπιπονεῖτε . . . προμθεῖσθαι τῶν εἰς τὴν γεωργίαν ἡξίου τοὺς ἐν τέλει, καὶ καθορμεῖν τὸν λαὸν ἐλπίσι χρηστούς. Jos. Ant. xviii. 8, 5 and 6. This was near the close of the year, for immediately afterwards, and at the end of a very dry year, the rainy season commenced. Καὶ αὐτίκα βετὸν ἤφει μέγαν, παρ' ἐλπίτα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις γενόμενον, διὰ . . . τὸ πᾶν ἔτος αἰχμῶς μεγάλῃ κατεσχημένον. Aut. xviii. 8, 6.

1570. Caligula is at Rome on 31 August, his birthday, and also on 2 September, the anniversary of the battle of Actium; for the consuls not having sufficiently observed the former day, and having celebrated the latter day (both of which were causes of offence), Caligula deprives the consuls of office, and appoints others. Τὸν δὲ τῇ Δομίτιον καὶ Ἰπαστον εἰθὺς ἀπέδειξε, τοὺς τότε ἀρχοντας καταλίσας, ὅτι τε εἰς τὰ γενέθλια αὐτοῦ ἱερομηνίαν οὐκ

ἐπήγγειλαν . . . καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ Λυγουσίου
ρίκταις, ὅς τὸν Ἀντίωνον ἐνεκρίκει, ἑορτὴν, ὡς-
περ εἶπατο, ἡγάγον . . . Ἐκείνους μὲν δὴ διὰ
ταῦτα αὐθημερὸν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπαναθεὶς βάζουσιν
σφῶν προσωπίδας. Dion (*his coass.*), lix. 20.
Cousulibus obliſis de naturali suo edicere abrogavit
magistratum, ſubique per triduum sine summi
potestate reſpublica. Suet. Calig. 26.

1571. From the disorders attending the
popular elections, Caligula abandons the prac-
tice of referring them to the people, and puts
the elections on the same footing that they had
been under Tiberius. Τὸν δὲ τῇ Δομίτιον
τὸν συνάρχοντα αὐτοῦ . . . λόγῳ μὲν ὁ ἔχθρας,
ἔργῳ δ' αὐτὸς εἰλετο· ἀπέκρινε μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἡρ-
μαιώσεως αὐτοῖς . . . τὸ μὲν σχῆμα τῆς ἑμμο-
κρτίας ἐσωζέτω, ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν αὐτῆς ἐγένετο·
καὶ οὕτω τῷ αὐτῷ αὐτὸς αὐθις τοῦ Γαίῳ κατελ-
θσαι, κῆς τοῦτον τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ
τοῦ Τιβερίου, καθίσταται, στρατηγὸς δὲ τότε μὲν
πενταετίας, ἔστι δ' ὅτε ἐπὶ πλείους, ἢ καὶ ἐλάν-
τους, ὥς που καὶ ἔτιοντο, ἡρῶντο. Dion, lix.
20 (see A.D. 38, no. 1529; A.D. 60, no. 1890).

1572. Africa is divided into two provinces.
Καὶ εἶχα τὸ ἔθνος ῥέμας, ἐτέρῳ τὸ, τε στρατιω-
τικὸν καὶ τοῖς ναυμάχαις τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸ προση-
ταῖς. Dion, lix. 20.

1573. Caligula takes his departure for Gaul,
ostensibly on an expedition against Germany
and Britain, but really to feed his extravagance
by plunder. Καὶ (ἥς γὰρ τὰ τε ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ
Ἰταλίᾳ χρήματα πάντα ὡς εἶπεν . . . ἀναλώ-
κει) . . . ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν ἀφώρμησε. Οὐ
μῆντοι καὶ αὐταυτὸς τὴν ἔξοδον προσηγγεῖλεν,
ἀλλ' ἐς προάστειον τε ἐλθὼν εἰτ' ἐξαίφνης ἄπρη-
ε, πολλοὺς μὲν ὀρχηστὰς, πολλοὺς δὲ μονομήχους,
ἔπειθε, γυναικάς, τὴν ἄλλην τρυφὴν ἐπαγώ-
μενος (*his coass.*). Dion, lix. 21. From the
passages cited before from Suetonius (see
supra, no. 1556), it appears that the design
was not now first conceived, but had been
formed at Mevania, and persevered in at the
construction of the bridge at Puteoli.

1574. When Caligula starts for Gaul the
roads were still dusty, and it was therefore
before winter. Ὅτ' . . . a propinquum urbium
plebe verri sibi vias et conspergi propter pulverem
exigeret. Suet. Calig. 13.

On arriving in Gaul he marches beyond the
Rhine, and then to the coast opposite Britain,
but returns without anything done. Εἰθὺς τε
γὰρ ὁδόν τε τοῦ Ῥήνου προχωρήσας ἐπέ-
στρεψε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐρύμνας ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν

Βρεττανίαν στρατεύσων, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰλλεανῶ
ἀνεκρούσθη . . . (*his coass.*). Dion, lix. 21.
Nilil autem amplius quam Adminio, Clnobellini
Britannorum regis filio, qui putre cum
cecidit manu transfugerat, in delititionem recepto,
quasi universa tradidit insula, magnificas Romanis
litteras misit. Suet. Calig. 41.

1575. Caligula exhibits games at Lyons.
Οὐ μῆντοι καὶ περιεποιεῖτο τι, ἀλλ' ἐς τε ἄλλα
ἐξοπάρνα ὥσπερ εἰσθεῖ (καὶ γὰρ θίς τις ἐν
τῷ Λουγούνηῳ ἐπετέλεσε) καὶ ἐς τὰ στρατεύματα.
Dion, lix. 22.

1576. Caligula banishes his sisters Agrippina
and Julia while they are with him in Gaul,
and writes bitter invectives against them to
the senate. Πολλὰ περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ἰσχυρὰ καὶ
ἀσελγῆ τῇ συνερίῳ γράψας. Dion, lix. 23.
And the senate send an embassy to him. Dion,
lix. 23 (see A.D. 41, no. 1626).

1577. Caligula in Gaul marries Caesonia,
with whom he had intrigued before; and
thirty days after the marriage a child is born,
who is called Drusilla. Τότε δὲ (*his coass.*)
ἐξοχλὼν τὴν Παυλίαν . . . Μικωνίαν Καίσα-
ρίαν ἐγγμει, ἣν πρότερον μὲν ἐρῶιχεν, τότε δὲ
καὶ γαμετὴν ποιήσασθαι ἠθέλησε, ἐπειδὴ ἐν
γαστρὶ ἔσχευ, ἵνα αὐτῇ παῖδον τριακοσθήμερον
τέκῃ. Dion, lix. 23.

1578. Agrippa had sailed from Judaea to
Rome before the arrival of Caligula's dispatch
to Petronius ordering the erection of the statue
in the Temple at Jerusalem; and he reaches
Italy probably soon after Caligula's departure
for Gaul, and follows him thither, for at the
beginning of the next year the senate were
alarmed by hearing that Agrippa was with
Caligula at Lyons, and had Agrippa accom-
panied Caligula to Gaul, the senate would have
known the fact. Dion, lix. 24 (see A.D. 40,
no. 1591).

1579. This year an affray takes place at
Antioch in Syria between the two factions of
Βέρετοι and Παράσιτοι, when the Jewish
synagogues are burnt. Τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ ἔτει τῆς βασι-
λείας αὐτοῦ (Caligulae), etc. Malala, Lib. 10.

1580. The Jews form a plot against the life
of Paul at Damascus, and the ethnarch, or
ruler of the Jews under Aretas (see A.D. 38, no.
1533), endeavours to apprehend him, but he
makes his escape over the wall in a basket. Ὡς
δὲ ἐπληροῦντο ἡμέραι ἱκαναὶ συνεβουλευσάντο
οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν, etc. Acts, ix. 23.
Ἐν Δαμασίῳ δ' Ἐθνήρχης Ἀρέτας τοῦ βασιλέως

ἐφοῦρει τὴν Δαμασκηνῶν πόλιν τῖσαι με θέ-
λων καὶ διὰ θυρίδος ἐν σαργίνῃ ἐκλιύσθῃ διὰ
τοῦ τείχους, καὶ ἐξέφυγον τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ
2 Κοι vi 32

1581 Paul returns to Jerusalem in the third
year current from his conversion (see A D 87,
no 1514), and sojourns there for fifteen days,
and lodges with Peter "Τεῖτα μετὰ ἔτη
τρία ἀνῆλθον εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα ἱστορεῖσαι Πέτρον,
καὶ ἐπιμείνα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡμέρας δεκαπέντε
ἕτερον δὲ τῶι ἀποστόλῳ οὐκ εἶδον, εἰ μὴ Ἰάκω-
βον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ κυρίου Galat 1 18
Apparently Peter was the only one of the Twelve
that Paul saw on this occasion and when Luke
speaks of ipostles, Βαρναβᾶν δὲ ἐπιλεγόμενον
αὐτὸν ἤγαγε πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους, Acts 12
27, James, the Bishop of Jerusalem who is
called an apostle, Galat 1 19, but was not
one of the Twelve (see A D 29, no 1105), is
probably included.

That the expression μετὰ τρία ἔτη (supra) sig-
nifies not after three years complete, but in the
third year current may be considered is clear
Μετὰ μίαν τῆς ἑορτῆς, Jos Ant xviii 4, 3, 18
the day next after the feast Μετὰ δὲ ἔτη δύο,
Bell 1 18, 1, is rendered Ant xiv 13, 3, by δευ-
τερω δὲ ἔτει Μετὰ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας, Bell 1
16, 2, is rendered by εἰς τεσσαράκοντὴν ἡμέρας
Ant xiv 13, 4 Μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναστήσῃαι,
Mark viii 31, is equivalent to τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ
ἐγερθῆναι Matt xvi 21. So in Latin, *negue*
te illo die, neque postero die post diem
tertium veni, etc Cicero Philipp ii 35 *Post*
septem lucas Junius actus erit, Ovid Fast vi
774, is the seventh day inclusive. And in H
Stephens's Thesauri sub voce μετὰ, μετ' ἡμέρας
δύο, secundo post die The return of Paul
to Jerusalem was therefore in the third year
current from the spring of A D 37 (see that
year, no 1515), and it was in fact about the
Feast of Tabernacles A D 39, for it was at an
interval of fourteen years complete from his
visit at the Feast of Tabernacles A D 53
"Ἐπειτα διὰ δεκαεσσάρων ἐτῶν (viz from his
first visit, A D 39, at his conversion) πάλιν
ἀνέβην (v d 53) εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα Galat ii 1
(see A d 53, no 1794)

1582. During Paul's sojourn at Jerusalem
in this year he disputes with the Hellenists,
when the Jews seek to take his life, and the
disciples send him to Caesarea ou-sea, as opposed
to Casarea Philippi, on his way to Tarsus
Acts, ix 30.

1583. Paul now preaches in Cilicia and
Syria, and the churches of Judea hear only of
his progress Εἰτα ἦλθον εἰς τὰ κλίματα τῆς
Συρίας καὶ Κιλικίας Ἦμην δὲ ἀγροῦμενος τῷ
προσώπῳ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Ἰουδαίας ταῖς ἐν
Χριστῷ, μόνον δὲ ἀκούοντες ἦσαν, ὅτι οὐ διόλων
ἡμᾶς πότε ἢ ὑν εὐαγγελίζεται τὴν πιστὴν ἡ πόσιν
ἐπόρθει Galat i 21 From the order of the
words τῆς Συρίας καὶ Κιλικίας it would seem
that Paul travelled by land through Syria to
Cilicia

1584. During the commotions in Judaea
consequent upon the attempt of Caligula to
place his statue in the Temple of Jerusalem,
the churches of Judaea, Samaria, and Galilee
have rest Αἱ μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησίαι καθ' ὅλης τῆς
Ἰουδαίας καὶ Γαλιλαίας καὶ Σαμαρείας εἶχον
εἰρήνην Acts ix 31 (see supra, no 1558)

1584 a. Coins of Caligula

C Caesar Divi Aug Fion Aug P M T P u
P P

C Caesar Divi Aug Fion Aug S C + Cos
Desig in Pion M Tr P u P P R C C
Lckbel, vi 223

The letters R C C stand for *remissa duce-
centum*, or the repeal of one half per cent *ad
valorem* duty on sales *Ducecentum annu-
ationum Italiae remissu* Suet Calig vii

C Caesar Aug Germanicus Pion M T P u
+ Vesta S C Lckbel, vi 221

1585. A coin of Herod Antipas in the forty-
third year of his reign

On the obverse ΗΡΩΔΗΣ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΗΣ Ι ΜΓ,
and on the reverse ΠΑΙΟ ΚΑΙΟ ΓΓΡΜ ΓΕΒ
(Herodes Tetrarches anno quadiageimo tertio
Cneo Caesar Germanico Augusto)
Id iii 480

1586. Another coin of Herod Antipas

With the same obverse, and on the reverse
ΠΑΙΟ ΚΑΙΟ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟ Id iii 487

1587 A coin of King Agrippa

ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΑΒΒΑΤΟΣ ΙΙ Caput Caligula laureatum
+ ΒΑΣΙΛ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ Γ Princeps cum sceptro in
tenuis quadiage, viz in the third year of the
reign of Agrippa Id iii 491

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle

Passover March 27.

Pentecost, May 17

Tabernacles, September 21

A.D. 40. U.C. 793. Olymp. 204, 4.

C. CAESAR AUGUSTUS GERMANICUS, III. (solus).

prid. Id. Januarii.

L. CASSIUS PISONIUS.

M. CORDUS NERVA.

ex Kal. Jul.

SENE. JENOS. CETER.

SENE. NONIS. QUINTILIANIS.

CALIGULA IV. FROM 16 MARCH. TRID. POT. IV.
FROM SAME DAY. COS. III. COS. DESIG. IV. POKI.
MAX. PAT. PATR.

Forty-fourth year of the reign of Herod
Antipas.

Fourth year of the reign of Agrippa I. from
1 April.

1588. Caligula is at Lyons on 1 January of this year. *Tertium autem (consulatum) Lugduni in illi solus, non, ut quidam putant, eorumque negligentibus, sed quod defunctum sub Kalendarum diem collegium rescisisset absens non potuerat.* Suet. Calig. 17.

1589. It was apparently at Lyons that Caligula received the new year's gifts referred to by Suetonius. *Filiū vero suū (by Cæsonia, see A.D. 39, no. 1577) purpureatam, nec jam imperatoria modo sed et patriā querens onera collationis in obsequium et pulve diotem recepit. Edicē et streas incante anno se recepturum, stetitque in vestibulo adiam Kalendis Januariis, ad captandus stipes, quas plenis manibus ac riuu omnis generis turba funderat.* Suet. Calig. 12. Caligula was not at Rome on 1st January either of this year or the next. The epitomist of Dion has the following passage concerning the daughter of Cæsonia. *Ἐπειδὴ τε ἡ Κασσωρία θυγάτηρ μετὰ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας τῶν γάμων ἔτεκε, τοῦτο τε αὐτὸ ταυρονίως προσποιεῖτο, συμφωνήμενος ὅτι ἐν τοιαύταις ἡμέραις καὶ πατὴρ καὶ ἀνὴρ ἐγγερόντι, καὶ Δροσόδωρον αὐτὴν ὀνομάσας, ἔς τε τὸ Καπριώλειον ἀνήγαγε, καὶ ἐς τὰ τοῦ Διὸς γόνατα ὡς καὶ πατέρα αὐτῶν ὄψαν ἀνέθηκε, καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τὴν ἐκείνου παροργισμένην.* Dion, lix. 28 (Taichnitz). And in Suetonius. *Quon (Cæconian) cæconia uxorū nouem dignatus est, uno etque eodemque profectus et natiuitum se eius et putrem infantis ex eā nate. Infantem autem Juliam Drusillam appellatam per omnium deorum templū circumferens, Minervæ gremio imposuit, alendamque et instituendam commouit.* Suet. Calig. 23; and see Jos. Ant. xix. 1, 2. The taking of the child to the

Capitol. etc., must have been on Caligula's return from Gaul on 31 August, A.D. 40, for he was not at Rome after the birth of Drusilla until that time.

1590. Caligula being in Gaul on new year's day, the senators at Rome make their accustomed offerings at the foot of his empty throne in the Capitol. *Ἐπατέοντος αὐτοῦ τὸ τρίτον (A.D. 10) . . . ἐς τὸ Καπριώλειον ἀθροοὶ εἰ ἀπολειτοὶ ἀνταΐατες . . . τὸν τοῦ Γαίου εἶδον τὸν ἐν τῇ νυφί κείμενον προσκύνουσαν, καὶ ἐπὶ καὶ ἀργύρου, κατὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ Διὸς γόνατος ἔθως ἰσχύσαν, ὡς καὶ αὐτῶν ἑκείνῳ αὐτοὶ καταθέσαν, καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ τῷ ἔξῃς ἔπει ὁμοίως ἐγένετο.* Dion, lix. 24.

1591. Caligula remains consul for twelve days only. *Μέχρι οὗ ἡ Πάσις ἐνδεκάτη ἡμέρη τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπεπὼς ἡγγελάθη.* Dion, lix. 24. During this interval the senate of Rome heard of Agrippa and Antiochus being with Caligula in Gaul. *Ἐπιδέοντο τὸν τε Ἀγρίππαν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν Ἀντίوخον (ἡγε Ἀντίαν) τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ὥσπερ τοὺς τυραννικοῦσιν αὐτοῖς, συνέναι.* Dion, lix. 24. It is unlikely that Antiochus, king of Commagene, should be want, as we know that, although he received the kingdom from Caligula in A.D. 37, he was afterwards disgraced and deposed by him. Dion, lx. 8. For Antiochus, therefore, we should read Antipas; and if so, we may conclude that Herod Antipas had been ordered to attend Caligula into Gaul, to await a further hearing when Agrippa should arrive. Agrippa, on reaching Italy, and finding that Caligula had proceeded to Gaul, would naturally follow him thither. On sailing from Rome for Syria in A.D. 38, he had promised to return when he had settled affairs of state in his kingdom, *τὰ ἅλλα ἐς τὸν οἰκονομῶμεν ἔκταται*, Jos. Ant. xviii. 6, 11; and the departure of Antipas for Italy, no doubt, further stimulated a voyage to Rome.

1592. Herod Antipas is again heard by Caligula in the presence of Agrippa, and is banished to Spain. The banishment may be placed in this year for the following reasons: 1. There is a coin of Herod Antipas struck in the forty-fourth year of his reign, which would not commence until about 1 April, A.D. 40 (see *infra*, no 1610); and 2. the banishment of Antipas is coupled by Josephus with the annexation of his satrapy to the dominions of Agrippa; and this annexation is referred to the fourth year of the reign of Agrippa, which would not commence until 1 April, A.D. 40 (see A.D. 39, no.

1561) The coin of Antipas above referred to may very well have been struck with the stamp of the forty-fourth year, for though the banishment itself may have occurred before 1 April, A D 40, when the forty-fourth year actually commenced, the news of his banishment would not reach Judaea from Gaul until after an interval of some months.

1593. Petronius moves from his winter quarters, and marches his army back from Acre to Antioch. Καὶ παρυλίσβω τὴν σ-ρατιαν ἐκ τῆς Πτολεμαίδος ἐπιστραφείει εἰς Ἰστιάχειαν. Jos. Bell ii 10, 5, Ant. xiii 8, 6.

1594. Petronius writes to Calpurnia that from the delay in making the statue he had been obliged to wait until the harvest was now at hand, and proposed to postpone the erection of the statue until the harvest had been got in. Γίνεσθ' οὖν ἵσταν αἱ γράμαι, ἐπιστελλεῖ Γαίω μὲν μὲν τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατηγοροῦντων, μὴ δολοῦντα εἶπε ἀληθεῖας καὶ κτεῖρας καὶ τὰς ἀντιβολίας αὐτῶν, καὶ τῆς τιμῆς τὴν ἀνάθεσιν βραυτεῖας αἰτιάσθαι τὸ μὲν τε τὴν κατασκευὴν (of the statue) χρόνον μεματηρημένον δεομένην, τὸ δὲ τε καὶ τὸν καιρὸν εἰδοῖτα μεγάλης ἰσορρομίας εἰς ἀντιστοίχους εὐλόγους, αἷς συναιεῖσιν οὐκ ἴσως, ἀλλ' ἡ ἀσφαλεία καὶ αὐτὸν Γάιον ἐν ἡμῶν μὲν γὰρ τὸν τοῦ σίου καρπὸν εἶναι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα σπαρτά. Philo Leg 33. It will be observed that Philo, glancing only incidentally at the occurrences in Judaea, does not, like Josephus, narrate the events *seriatim*, but passes at once from the assemblage of the Jews at Acre (see A D 39, no 1567) to the dispatch of Petronius in the following spring. The second assemblage of the Jews at Tiberias and other interesting matters are found only in Josephus.

Calpurnia at this time had already formed the design of visiting Egypt, for Petronius adds in his dispatch, φιλικῶς δὲ χρῆζειν εἰς ἐπιμελεστέραν τῶν κοινῶν συγκομιδῶν οὐ μοι αὐτῶν σπευρόμενων ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἡ δυνερόφρατος πύρεχει διγυγνικῶ μὲν γὰρ (Calpurnia), ὡς λόγος, πλείεως εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τὴν πρὸς Αἰγύπτω. Philo Leg 33, and see Philo Leg 42, 13. Jos. Ant. xix 1, 12. Suet. Calig. 49.

1595. Calpurnia sends for Ptolemy, son of Juba, to Gaul, and puts him to death (*his case*). Dion, lxx 25. Phil. N. H. v 1. Suet. Calig. 26, 33. And see Sener de Tranquill. 11 (see n c 1, no 968).

1596. Calpurnia marches to the coast of Gaul, opposite Britain, and sails a little way out to

sea, and then returns and orders the army to pick up the shells on the seashore as trophies. Καὶ ἐς τὸν καινὸν ἐλθὼν ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ Βρετανίᾳ στρατεύσας, etc (*his case*). Dion, lxx 25. Suet. Calig. 16, 17.

1597. Calpurnia receives the dispatch of Petronius excusing the non-erection of the statue, and, disguising his anger, writes ostensibly in approbation of his forbearance. Καὶ μικρὸν ὅσον ἐπισχὼν τινὲ τῶν πρὸς ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἐπέβυλε τὰς πρὸς Πετρώνιον ἀπορίσεις, ἐπαινῶν αὐτὸν ὅσα τῷ δουκὶν εἰς τα προμηθεῖα, καὶ τὴν τοῦ μέλλοτος ἀκριβῆς περίσκεψιν, σφόδρα γὰρ τοῦς ἐν ἡγεμονίαις εὐλαβεῖτο, τὰς πρὸς ἰωτεροποιίας ἀφορμὰς ὁσῶν ἔχοιται. Philo Leg 34. But afterwards he bids Petronius lose no time, as the harvest must now have been got in. Εἴτω ἐπὶ ταῖς γράφαις κλέναι μῆδεος οὕτω φροσιτίξιν ἢ τοῦ θάττω ἀναθεῖναι τὸν ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γὰρ ἡγή τα θερά, τῇ εἰπε πῶς ἢν εἰτε ἀληθῆ πρόφασιν, συγκυροῖσθαι δυνάσθαι. Philo Leg 34.

1598. Calpurnia returns to Rome, Dion, lxx 25, on 31 August, his birthday, being four months and part of another month before his assassination on 24 January, A D 41. *Ubi comitatus suo ingressus est uti ague quatuor mensum pœnit.* Suet. Calig. 49.

1599. Agrippa, at Rome, is solicited by the Jews to use his influence with Calpurnia to recall the order for the erection of the statue, which Agrippa does with success. This was after the banishment of Herod Antipas, and the gift of his dominions to Agrippa, for the latter fact is alluded to in Agrippa's appeal to the emperor. Ἰὼν μέγιστον καὶ ευχρηστικὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις κλήρον ἔχαρσά μοι βυσιδεῖν, τάλαί μοι μὴε χώρας (A D 37), οὐθι εἰς ἑτέρας μεζούσας, τὴν Τραχωῖτιν λογομένην καὶ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν συναιψίας (A D 40). Philo Leg 11.

Philo speaks of Agrippa's presence in Rome at this time in the following terms — Μερ' οὐ πολὺ μετοίκα παρῆν Ἰαγρίππαις ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ τὸ εὐθὺς ἀσπασόμενος ἰάμοι, ἵδμε δὲ ἀπλῶς οὐτε ὧν ἐπεστάλλει ὁ Πετρώνιος, οὐτε ὧν ὁ Γάιος ἢ προτερον ἢ υστερον. Philo Leg 35. Philo is here assuming only for the presence of Agrippa in Italy, viz that he had come to pay his respects to Calpurnia, as he was wont, and as he had promised when he sailed for Judaea in A D 38 (see that year no 1534), and Philo must not be understood to say that Agrippa had only just arrived, for

and Agrippa only lately come from Judaea, he could not have pretended ignorance of what had been passing there, but he affected to know nothing about it, as he had left Judaea the preceding year before the arrival of the dispatch from Caligula for the erection of the statue, and, on reaching Italy, had immediately followed Caligula to Gaul, and was not in communication with his countrymen till he returned with Caligula to Rome, in the autumn of A.D. 40. It will be observed, however, that Philo, in strictness, treats Agrippa to be ignorant, not of the whole matter, but only of the three last dispatches which had passed between Petronius and Caligula. Josephus, with more correctness, speaks of Agrippa not as now arriving at Rome, but as happening to be staying there. Ἀγρίππας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἐπύχωντο γὰρ ἐκεῖ διακείμενος, etc. Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 7. The word διακείμενος is very expressive, as Agrippa had been with Caligula, at all events, since the 1st of January of this year.

Caligula, in consequence of Agrippa's appeal, writes to Petronius not to proceed with the statue, if it had not been already erected. Ἡμερωθεὶς οὖν, ὅσα τῷ θεῷ, ἀποκρισέντων χρηστουσι θέλωτες, Ἀγρίππῃ τὸ ἀνωπύτω καὶ μεγίστῳ δωρούμενος, τὸ μηκετι γερῶσαι ἦν ἀνάθεσθαι, καὶ Πομπηίου Περσίου τῷ τῆς Συρίας ἐπιτρόπῳ κελύειν γραφίηνι μὴδὲν ἐπὶ τῷ ἱερῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἶναι ἰσχυρότερον κινεῖν. Philo Leg. 42. καὶ γράφει πρὸς τὸν Πετροῦνιον, ἐλεῖν τε τῆς ἀπορίας τοῦ στοναυματός ἑταίρων, καὶ τοῦ τρόπου, αὐτὸν περὶ αὐτῶν ἀπεσταλόντος, 'Νυνὸν εἰ μὴν φθάνας τὸν ἀνδρῆνα ἰσταμένῳ, ἰσταται,' etc. Jos. Ant. xviii. 2, 8.

Caligula soon after repents of his lenity, and orders a colossal gilt statue of himself to be prepared at Rome, with the view of erecting it himself in the Temple at Jerusalem, on his way to Egypt. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμερόντων ὁ ἰαίος ἡμέλει μετανοῶν ἐπὶ τῇ χάρετι ἡγῆ καὶ τὴν πρόμηνον ζωυρῶν ἐπιθυμίας προστάττει γὰρ ἑταίροις, καὶ ἡμεροῦς εἰδὼς, ὁλοκαυτὸς χαλκοῦ ἐπιχρῶσαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ μηκετι τὸν ἐν Σαῶντι κοῦρον, ἵνα μη τῇ κινήσει διαταράξῃ τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλ', ἡμερόντος καὶ τῆς ἀπορίας ἀππλλαγμένον, καὶ τοὺς ἡσυχίαν ἀγαθῶς ἐν ταῖς ναοῖς ἰσχυρῶς τε καὶ ἰσχυρῶς πολλὰς εἰσάγειν ὁμοσημεῖν. τοῦτο δὲ πράξεν ἐμελλεῖ εἰ περὶ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ἐκ Αἰγύπτου ἀποδομῆν. Philo Leg. 42, 43. [Here the narrative of public affairs by Philo breaks off so that he probably left

Rome soon after, and before Caligula wrote his last dispatch, which appears in Josephus and which ordered the erection of Petronius. See the next number.]

1600. The Alexandrian embassy, who had been waiting patiently for a final audience during the period of Caligula's Gallic expedition, at length have an interview with him in his gardens at Rome, of which interview Philo furnishes a graphic description. The result was, that the embassy was ordered home without any favourable answer. Μεταμετρήμενοι τοὺς θυτὲρ λέγων ἐπιρόντοι, τοῦ τε Μαυρίᾳ καὶ Λυρίῳ (ῥησίων δὲ εἶσαν ἀλλήλων τε καὶ τῆς πόλεως. εἰ οἱ ἐκ τριῶν ἢ τετταρῶν ἡμερῶν ἐξέρχεται, κείθε γὰρ ἐνὶ παραῶσι ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς πωρὶς τοῦ ἔθνους ἐμελλεῖ σκηρῶν ἐστῆσαι δραματοποιῶν) κελύειν etc. Philo Leg. 41.

1601. The interview of the Alexandrian embassy with Caligula was after the return from the Gallic expedition and therefore after 31 August of this year, for the indifference of the Jews at Caligula's safe return was cast in the teeth of the embassy by their adversaries. Ἀπαύτων γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῆς σῆς, θυσιῶς ἀναγοιτῶν εὐχαριστηρίους, οὐκ ὑπέμεναι οὗτοι μόνοι θέου. Philo Leg. 45. The ambassadors answer that they had not offered sacrifices at Rome on the emperor's return (for their sacrifices could only be offered at Jerusalem), but that sacrifices for supplicating success had been offered at Jerusalem during his absence. Καὶ γὰρ ἐθύσαμεν καὶ ἐκτωμῆδας ἐθύσαμεν. καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς Γερμανικῆς ἰατρῆς. Philo Leg. 45.

1602. Caius Cassius is now proconsul of Asia. Γαίον Κάσιον τὸν τότε τῆς Ἀσίας ἀρχοντα ὑποκείμενος, μετετρέμνεται αὐτὸς ἐξέμενον. Καὶ περὶ θεῶς διὰ τοῦτ' ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην προσήχθη τε αὐτῷ (Caligula), εἰ ἐλευγῇ τῇ ἡμέρῃ ἐν ἣ τελειήσιν ἐμελλεῖ, καὶ ἀναβληθῆς ὥς εἰ μετ' ὀλίγον κολασθησόμεναι, ἐσθῶθι Διον., l. 39. Suet. Calig. 57. If C. Cassius was sent for from Asia, and was at Rome on 21 January A.D. 41, the day of the death of Caligula, he must have set sail from Asia the year before (see A.D. 26, no. 1158, A.D. 54, no. 1806).

1603. In the sixth year after the flight of the Jews from the city of Babylon to Seleucia, an insurrection in Babylon again occurs, and many Jews are slain, and a great number of those who escape return to Seleucia. Εἰς μὲν δὲ ταύτην

(Seleucian) καταφείγουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ ἐκὶ πεντε ἔτη ἀπαθείς καὶ ὧν ἦσαν τῷ δὲ ἔκτῳ ἔτει μετὰ τὸ πρῶτον φθορὰ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἐγένετο αὐτῶν, καὶ καὶ αἱ μεταυῆσσαι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἐκ αὐτῇν ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὴν Σελεύκειαν ἐδέχεται διημερίων αὐτῶν συμφορὰ δι' αἰτίας ἣν ἀπηγγέλλονται Jos Ant xiii 9, 8 The first flight was in A D 34 (see that year no 1161) The above passage proves that Babylon was still a city and inhabited by a multitude of Jews To the same effect, see Strabo, xvi 1, Ant x 2, 2, xv 3, 1 This remark is made with reference to 1 Peter, v 13 In the time of Pausanias, the wall and temple of Belus only remained Pausan Alc ad viii 33, 1 But some of the Chaldees probably still lingered there See Pausan Attic i 16

1604 Caligula plans the construction of a port at Rhegium, but does not live to complete it Ἔργον δὲ μέγα ἡ βασιλεὺς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ πεπραγμένον εἶποι ἂν τι ἢ ἐν' ὠφελείᾳ τῶν συνουσιῶν καὶ αἰδῆς ἐκίθησαν. ἱσθόμενοι, πλὴν γε τοῦ περὶ Ῥήγιον καὶ Σικελίαν ἐπισκεπτόμενος ἐκ ὑποδοχῆ τῶν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου συνηγῶν πλοίων Οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐπὶ τέλος γε ᾤκιστο Jos Ant xix 2, 5 This shows that the coin-ships from Egypt were wont to touch at Rhegium as did the Caster and Pollux, the coin-ship in which Paul made his voyage from Malta to Rome in A D 61 Acts, xxviii 13

1605 Alexander Lysimachus, the Alabarch or chief magistrate of the Jews at Alexandria, was probably this year arrested and put in chains for he was left bound at the death of Caligula, on 24 January A D 41 Αἰνὶ δὲ (Claudius) καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρον Λυσίμαχον τὸν Ἀλεξανδρινόν, φίλον ἀρχαίων ἀνδρῶν γεγονότα, καὶ Διοφάναν αὐτοῦ ἐπιτροπέοντα τὴν μητέρα, ὡν γῆ τῇ Παύλῳ ἐδεδέμετο Jos Ant xix 3, 1

1606 Pilate, this year, lays violent hands on himself *His coss Pilatus in multus incidens calamitates propriam se manu interfecit* Cassiodorus

1607. While the Christian communities in Judaea have rest from the attempt of Caligula to erect his statue in the Temple, Petrus makes a circuit through Judaea, Samaria, and Galilee Ἰ γενεὰ δὲ Πέτρον ἀρχόμενοι διὰ πάντων κατελθεῖν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Διδόαν Acts, ix 32

1608. The call of Cornelius, a centurion of the Italian band at Caesarea Ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἦν ἐκ Καισαρείᾳ οἰκῶντι Κορνήλιῳ ἑκατοντάρχῃ ἐκ

σπειρῆς τῆς καλούμεναι Ἰταλικῆς, οἷο Αἰτίς, x 1 Cornelius, from the name, was a Roman, and he was a centurion (ἑκατοντάρχης) of the cohort (σπείρη) called the Italian cohort, as consisting, as supposed to consist, of Italians The legions or regulars, were called in Greek τάγματα, and the auxiliaries, or irregulars, σπείραι Most of the regiments in Syria were filled by levies from the province itself Jos Ant xx 8, 7 Bell ii 13, 7 Mention is made of the Italian cohort in an ancient inscription *Cohors militem Italiconum voluntaria quae est in Syria* Gruter, 434, 1

1609 The birth of Titus, on 30 December of this year *Titus cognovimus patrem, amos ac delitue generis humani mitus et tu Kalendas Januarias insigni anno Canani necē* (A D 41) Suet Tit 1 Titus died on 13 September, A D 81, in the forty-first year of his age *Excessit . . . idibus Septembris post biennium ac menses duos diesque viginti, quam successerunt miti, ultio et quadriagesimo aetatis anno* Suet Tit 11 *Vixit annos quadraginta unum*, Victor, Epit c 10, which corrects the previous statement of the same author *Interit quadriagesimo anno* Vict de Cæs c 10 If Titus was in his forty-first year at his death, he must have been born on 30 December, A D 40, and not A D 41 The words of Suetonius, *insigni anno Canani necē*, must refer not to the birth of Titus but to *Kalendas Januarias*

1610. A coin of Herod Antipas

On the obverse Ἡρώδης τετραρχῆς *Ramus patris* In arab L MΔ On the reverse ΠΑΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΩ ΣΩδ with a laurel coin The letters MΔ denote the forty-fourth year of his reign Eklhel, iii 186, but who questions the genuineness of the coin However, the date itself furnishes no ground for suspicion as the forty-fourth year of Herod may have commenced before his banishment (see *supra*, no 1502)

1610 a Coins of Caligula

C Cæsar Aug Pon M Ti Pot in Cos in + S P Q R P P ob C S, i e obverse *senator C Cæsar Div Aug P Pon Aug S C + Cos Fort Pon M Ti P in P P R C C* (see A D 39, no 1584 a)

In some coins the form is, *C Cæsar Div Aug Pon Aug P M Ti P in P P R* In others, *Cos Fort Pon M Ti P in P P R C C*

In others, *P M Ti Pot in Eklhel, vi 225 C Cæsar Aug Germanicus Pon M Ti Pot in P P + P C S C* Id vi 221

Inscription.

Colus Caesar Divi Augusti Pater Augustus
S. C. Consul Tertio Pontifex Maximus Tri-
bunius Potestas quatuor Votus Patrie Rei-
publice conservator (in S. Mario de Tambi-
 Diocesi Adriani). Muratori, iv. 1062, 1.

Sixth year of the Sabbarie cycle.

Passover, April 15.

Pentecost, June 5.

Tabernacles, October 10.

A.D. 41. U.C. 794. Olymp. 205, 1.

C. CAESAR AUGUSTUS CERESICUS, IV. Qui ab his
 et cum accepit vii. Id. Jan. Q. Petronius Se-
 enatus, II.

C. CAESAR AUGUSTUS CERESICUS.

IX Kal. Jul.

VERMES.

CALIGULA IV. TRIB. POT. IV. COS. IV. POST.
 MAX. PAT. PATR.

CLAUDIUS I. FROM 25 JANUARY. TRIB. POT. I. FROM
 SATURDAY. COS. I. COS. DESIG. II. POST. MAX.
 IMP. I. IMP. II. (The occasion of assuming the
 title of Imp. I. was from a victory in Africa,
 and that of assuming the title of Imp. II. was
 from a victory in Germany. 'Οε καὶ ἀληθὲς
 ὄνομα Αἰδομένητρος ἂν' ἀμφοτέρων σφῶν τὸν
 Κλαύδιον λαβεῖν. Dion, lx. 3.)

Fifth year of the reign of Agrippa I., from
 1 April.

1611. Caligula is consul until the seventh
 day of January. *Quartius* (consulatum gessit)
neque in septimum Idus eandem (viz. Januarias).
 Suet. Calig. 17.

1612. Caligula apparently is not at Rome on
 1 January of this year, for the senate, as on
 1 January, A.D. 40, offer gifts, not to Caligula in
 person, but lay them at the foot of his throne
 in the Capitol. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τῷ ἔττει ἐτα (A.D.
 41) ὁμοίως ἐγένετο. Dion, lxx. 24. He was
 probably at Astura, from which he sailed to
 Antium on his return to Rome, on a short
 time before his death. *Quintus* (Nepos), *re-*
posed memorid (necem). *Cuius principis ab*
Astura Antium venarigatus, ut res est etiam
historicalis plectitur, quidam notissimum
in urben reverens ill. Imperator suis talis
fossus est. Plin. N. H. xxxvii. 1.

1613. Caligula writes to Petronius to make
 away with himself, or to expect death at the
 hands of the executioner. *Γάτοι μὲν ἐν ταύτῃ*

(i.e., the command of the statue) γράφει
 πρὸς τὸν Πετρονίον πρότερον ἢ ἐνταῦθα ταῖς
 αὐτῷ ἐπιστολαῖς ἡμιανέσσει· ἐπὶ ἡρασισὶ
 Ἰουδαίους κατα τὸν ἀσπῆτα ἐπαγγέσθαι . . . καὶ
 ἀποκλῆσαι διὰ τοῦ πύλου τῆς ἡρασισὶ αὐτῷ
 ἀποκλῆσθαι . . . γράφει πρὸς τὸν Πετρονίον . . .
 Κάλειν σε σὺντὴ κίτην γενόμενος, λογισάμενος
 πρὸς τοῦ ποιητοῦ σοι ἑνστασία δογγὶ τῇ ἐμῇ.
 Jos. Ant. xviii. 8, 8. But Josephus is in error
 in ascribing the dispatch to Caligula's anger at
 hearing from Petronius that the Jews were in
 a state of revolt; for, according to Philo, Pe-
 tronius had purposely excluded all mention of
 the assemblages of the Jews. His resolution
 was, ἐπιστάμενος ἵνα μὴ μὲν τῷ Ἰουδαίῳ
 κατηγοροῦνται, μὴ ἐρηνοῦσα ἔτι ἐπ' ἀληθείᾳ τοῖς
 Ἰουδαίῳ καὶ ἀντιπαθείας αὐτῶν, Philo, Leg. 33;
 and to this latter dispatch Caligula sent first an
 answer of approval, and then an order when
 harvest was over to proceed (see A.D. 40, no.
 1597). The dispatch to Petronius to make
 away with himself was at a later date and only
 just before the death of Caligula, as may thus
 be shown. The dispatch was three months upon
 the road, and the news of the death of Caligula,
 which occurred on 24 January, reached Antioch
 twenty-seven days before the arrival of the dis-
 patch. 'Αλλὰ τοῦς μὲν τούτων γυμνασασσόμενος
 συνέβη χειμασθῆναι τρεῖς μῆνας ἐν τῇ θαλάσσει,
 τὸν ἐν τῇ Αἰνῷ θάνατον ἄλλοι καταγγέλλοντες
 ἀπὸ Πάριον· ἐβη γοῶν τις περὶ τούτων λαβεῖν
 Πετρονίον ἐπιστολὰς, καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ ἡμίονοι· ἢ
 τοῖς καθ' ἑαυτοῦ. Jos. Bell. ii. 10, 5. When
 then did the news of Caligula's death reach
 Antioch? In the case of Tiberius's death, which
 was on 16 March, the news reached Syria about
 1 May, an interval of eight weeks, and allowing
 the same time for the transmission of the in-
 telligence of Caligula's death, the news would
 reach Antioch about 21 March. Caligula's
 dispatch to Petronius came to hand twenty-
 seven days later, or about 17 April, and as it
 was three months on the road, it must have
 been sent from Rome about 17 January. This
 agrees with the statement of Josephus that the
 dispatch was only a little before the death of
 Caligula. Καὶ ταλαστὴ μὲν αὖ μετὰ πολλὴν χρόνον
 ἢ γράφει τῷ Πετρονίῳ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ ἀνα-
 κειμένην ἐπιστολήν. Ant. xviii. 8, 9.

1614. Caligula is assassinated by Cherea
 during the celebration of games in honour of
 Augustus, θεωρῶν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ἐπιτελουμένῳ
 . . . ἄγονται δ' ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ πρώτου μετασχημα-

von τῇ ῥοχῇ τοῦ ἔτους Καίσαρος ἐπ' αὐτόν, Jos. Ant. xix. 3, 11; according to Suetonius at 1 P.M., or according to Josephus at 3 P.M., on 24 January, nono Kalendas Februarias, hodie quasi septuaginta . . . evadentibus amicis egressus est, etc., Suet. Calig. 58; περὶ τὴν ἐννάτην ἔσσαν, Ant. xix. 1, 14; in the twenty-ninth year of his age and the fourth year of his reign. Nescit annis undetriginta, imperavit triennio et decem mensibus diebusque octo. Suet. Calig. 59. Interfectus in Palatin est anno octatis eius vicesimo nono, imperii tertio, mense decimo, dieque octavo. Eutropius, vii. 12. Κάτω μὲν ἐν ταῦτα, ἐν ἑσσεῖ τριῶν καὶ μηνῶν ἐν τῷ ἡμισυῶν τε ὅτῳ καὶ εἰκοσι πρόβῳ, τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦς ὥς οὐκ ἦν θεός ἐμαθεν. Dion. lxx. 30. But Dion dated the commencement of the reign from 26 March, A.D. 37 (see A.D. 37, no. 1501). In Josephus the reign is stated at three years and eight months. Κάτω δὲ ἡγεμονεύσας ἐτη τριῶν καὶ μηνῶν ὀκτώ, Bell. ii. 11, 1; Κάτω μὲν δὲ τέταρτον ἐνιαυτὸν ἡγεμονεύσας Ῥωμαίων ἀποθανὼν τριακῶν μηνῶν οὕτω τελευτῇ, Ant. xix. 2, 5; and in Cassiodorus at three years and ten months, regnavit annis tribus et mensibus decem, Cassiod. sub eoss. Galieno et Plantiano; and in Clemens Alexand. at three years, ten months, and eight days, Strom. i. xxi. 406.

1615. Claudius succeeds not on the day of, but on the day next after the death of Caligula. *Receptus intra totam inter accubitus militum pervenit . . . verum postero die . . . armatus pro concione jurare in nomina sua passus est . . . Imperio stabilito nihil antiquius duxit, quam id triduum, quo de mutando Republicae statu haesitatum est, memoria eximere.* Suet. Claud. 10, 11. But a little after Suetonius calls the day of Caligula's death the day of Claudius's accession. *Dicae Iocari vocis (Caligulae) quatuor ordinum principatus sui reitit inter festos referri.* Suet. Claud. 11. Claudius, at this time, was in his fiftieth year. *Quinquagesimo anno imperium cepit.* Suet. Claud. 10. Ἦγε δὲ πενηκστόν ἔτος τῆς ἡλικίας. Dion. lx. 2. Πεντηκοντούτης ἐπ' τὸ ἄρχεον παρήλθεν. Philost. V. A. v. 27. His birthday was on 1 August, B.C. 10. Τῇ τοῦ Αὐγουστου μηνίᾳ ἐν ἡ' ἐγγύτηντο. Dion. lx. 5. Claudius natus est Julio Antonio Fabio Africano eoss. Kalendis Augustis Lugduni. Suet. Claud. 2.

1616. The birth of his son Britannicus was on the twentieth day after his accession, and therefore on 13 February, A.D. 41. *Britannicum vicesimo imperii die inque secundo,* con-

sulatu natum sibi, parvulus etiam imae et militibus . . . et plebi . . . assidue commendabat. Suet. Claud. 27. It has been thought that there is here a mistake as to the consulship, for that the second consulship of Claudius was A.D. 42, and not A.D. 41; and Fynes Clinton suggests an easy transposition of the words, viz. *Britannicum vicesimo imperii die natum sibi, inque secundo consulatu parvulus etiam tam et militibus . . . et plebi . . . assidue commendabat.* See Fasti Romani, A.D. 50. However, Claudius was this year *consul designatus* for the second time; and he so describes himself in the edict issued this year to the Alexandrians given below; and if he was declared *consul designatus* immediately after his accession, the statement of Suetonius would be sufficiently correct. If Britannicus was born on 13 February, A.D. 41, he was three years and two months younger than Nero, who was born on 15 December, A.D. 37 (see that year, no. 1527). And accordingly Tacitus describes Nero as little more than seventeen at the end of A.D. 54, *fine anni . . . vir septendecim annos egressus*, Tac. Ann. xiii. 6, and Britannicus at the very beginning of the following year, A.D. 55, as within a few days of completing his fourteenth year. *Claudio Nerone L. Antistio eoss. . . propinquo die quo quatuordecimum aetatis annus (Britannicus) ceptabat.* Tac. Ann. xiii. 11, 15. In the passage, therefore, *biennio maiorem aetate Domitium filio (Claudius) anteposuit*, Tac. Ann. xii. 25, for *biennio* should be read *trienio*. Dion relates the birth of Britannicus under A.D. 42, but he is merely referring to it for another purpose, and does not assign the date of it to that year. Dion, lx. 12.

1617. Claudius on the thirtieth day after his accession enters the secura. *Οὐ μόντοι καὶ παρανύκτα, ἀλλ' ὁδὲ καὶ τριακστήν ἡμέραν ἐκ τῇν βιαλὴν ἐπῆλθε.* Dion, lx. 3.

1618. Claudius abolishes the laws of Ἀσέβεια, or *Impietas*, i.e. the pains and penalties for not offering divine honours to the emperor. *Τὸ τὸ ἔγκλημα τῆς Ἀσέβειας ὁμοίως αἰς ἐν γράμμασι μόντοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι ἔπαινε.* Dion, lx. 3. Καὶ προσσηγόρευσε μᾶλλον προσκυνεῖν τὰ αὐτὸν, μᾶλλον θυσίαν αἱ μεγάλα ποιεῖν. Dion, lx. 3. This act of toleration was highly favourable to the growth of Christianity, which so wonderfully spread itself in this reign (see A.D. 15, no. 1165).

1619. Antipater, who, he claims to be, met at Rome, had taken an active part in securing the accession to Claudius, is rewarded for his services by the grant of Judaea and Samaria, with Abilene, or the tetrarchy of Lysanias, and the parts about Libanus. Προσθήκην δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς ἑσπερίας Παλῆστίνης, ὅς ἐστι πάντος αὐτοῦ, Ἰουδαίαν καὶ Σαμαρείαν. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὡς ἀνελόμενα τῇ οἰκιστικῇ τοῦ γένους ἀπελῶν. Ἀβιλῶν δὲ τῆς Αυσονίας, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῇ Λιβάνῳ ἔστι, ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν προσήλθον. Jos. Ant. xix. 5, 1. Καὶ τὰ Ἀγριαὶα εἰσὶν ἐκείνη ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκαστὴ πύσις, προσθήκῃ ἰσθμῶν καὶ τῆς ἐν Λιβάνῳ τοῦ ὀπίσθεν Ἠρώδης Τραπεζοῦντος καὶ Αἰμαίνης, καὶ τῆς περὶ τῆς Παλῆστίνης τῆς Αυσονίας καλουμένης. Bell. ii. 11. 5. Τῷ γὰρ Ἀγρίππῃ τῷ βασιλευσίν, συμπράξαντι οἱ τὴν ἀρχὴν (ἔρχετο γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει ὧν) τὴν τε ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τῇ ἐκείνῃ ἐκαστῇ. Dion. lx. 8.

1620. The passage of 1 from the Wars shows that the tetrarchy of Lysanias, or Abilene, had never belonged to Herod, and was not included either in the grant made to him in B.C. 20 or in the grant to Herod Philip in B.C. 4 (see also A.D. 36, no. 1788). This is consistent with the statement of Luke, iii. 1, that in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, A.D. 28, Lysanias was tetrarch. In fact, it is here called the tetrarchy of Lysanias from this Lysanias the tetrarch, who was now dead, and not from Lysanias his ancestor, who was king of Chalcis, and had been put to death seventy-six years before, in B.C. 36 (see that year, no. 537).

1621. Claudius at the same time makes Herod, the brother of Agrippa, king of Chelcis. Διοκλῆς αὖτε Ἰουδαίας ἀπὸ τοῦ (Agrippae) καὶ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Ἠρώδῃ· ὃ δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ γυμνήθῃς ἦν βασιλεὺς οὐκ ὀλίγον· βασιλεύει τῇ Χαλκίδι. Jos. Bell. ii. 11. 7; Ant. xix. 5, 1. Τῷ τε ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ Ἠρώδῃ τὸ τε σπαργατικὸν ἄλσος καὶ τὸ ἐκαστὴν τῆς (Claudius) ἔθηκε (his coas.). Dion. lx. 8 (see B.C. 36, no. 537; A.D. 18, no. 1720).

1622. Claudius restores Antiochus to the Kingdom of Commagene with Cilicia Aspera, of which Caligula had deprived him. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ τῇ Κομμαγενῇ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν (ὁ γὰρ Γάιος, καίπερ αὐτὸς οἱ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἀφῆκεν). Dion. lx. 8. Ἀντιόχῳ δὲ ἦν εἶχεν βασιλείαν ἀνελόμενος, Κιλικίας πρὸς τὴν καὶ Κομμαγενῇ ἔσθεται. Jos. Ant. xix. 5, 1; xix. 8, 1 (see A.D. 37, no. 1505; A.D. 19, no. 1062;

no. 52, no. 1721). In the reign of Vespasian, Commagene was made a province. Suet. Vesp. 8. Et provinciam 19. Amel. Viet. Epit. 9.

1623. Claudius gives Polemo II. of the kingdom of Pontus, to which he appoints Antiochus, and gives to Polemo II. instead a portion of Cilicia. Polemo II. was left in possession of Pontus, for he ceded it to Rome in A.D. 66 (see no. 1998). Καὶ τὸν Μηρτιάδην τῷ Ἠρώδῃ, ὃν ὁ Γάιος μεταπεφύλακτον ἐπέδεικται, δίδωκε πρὸς ἀνάληψιν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπέπεμψε· ἄλλῳ δὲ τῷ Μηρτιάδῃ, τὸ γένος ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ πάντο ἔχοντι, τὸν Βόστανον ἐχυρίσται, καὶ τῷ Πολέμῳ τὴν χώραν ταύτην αὐτῷ τῇ Κιλικίας ἀπέδεικε. Dion. lx. 8 (see A.D. 38, no. 1552; A.D. 49, no. 1743). It is not said by Dion what part of Cilicia was given to Polemo II.; and Josephus is not more explicit, for he refers to Polemo II. as 'a king of Syria', but without any clue to the locality of his dominions. Καίτοι δὲ ἦν οὗτος βασιλεὺς. Jos. Ant. xx. 7, 3. Cilicia Aspera, which had once belonged to Polemo I., the father of Polemo II. (see no. 20, no. 1504), had been annexed to the kingdom of Commagene in A.D. 57 (see that year, no. 1505), and was now restored to Antiochus (see supra, no. 1622, and A.D. 52, no. 1784). The part given to Polemo II. may have been Cilicia Amaniensis, or the parts about Mount Amanus which had fallen under the Roman jurisdiction by the death of King Philagator in A.D. 17 (see that year, no. 1088). Cilicia Campestris, in which was Tarsus, was never bestowed on any sovereign, but was annexed to Syria, though governed by its own procurator, and in A.D. 56 Gessulianus Capito was procurator (see A.D. 57, no. 1832).

1624. In the reign of Claudius, Sampsigeramus was king of Emesa and Arabissa, Ἐμισσῶν δὲ Σαμψιγέρμου (βασιλεύς). Jos. Ant. xix. 8, 1; but non constat when he was appointed (see no. 20, no. 727; A.D. 43, no. 1662).

1625. The death of Alexander on the death of Caligula, who was now and renew the contest with the Alexandrians, when Claudius issues a decree restoring the Jews to their privileges. Τὴν αὖτε Κλαύδιος Καίσαρ Σελευῆς Ἐπιμόνου ἀποκατέστηκεν· ἀποκατέστη δὲ τὸν αὐτοῦ. Jos. Ant. xix. 5, 2. Claudius also makes another decree in favour of the Jews all over the world. Τὴν αὖτε Κλαύδιος Καίσαρ, Σελευῆς, ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐπέμπεσε. Σαμψιγέρμου

ἔξουσιαι, ὧς αὐτὸς χειροτονήσῃ, τὸ δεύτερον αἰτήσασθαι με βασιλείων Ἀγρίππου καὶ Ἡρώδου τῶν φιλότων μὴ, ὅπως συγχωρήσῃται ταῖς αὐτῷ δικαιῇ καὶ τοῖς ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίᾳ Ἰουδαίους φυλάσσεσθαι, καθὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ἡδίστα συνελθούσας, εἰς Ant xix 5, 3. The two decrees differ in form, and appear to have been issued at different times. The one giving general toleration was the later of the two, and was promulgated towards the close of A. D. 41, when Claudius was consul designatus, or consul elect for the ensuing year, A. D. 42. ὧς αὐτὸς χειροτονήσῃ τὸ δεύτερον. From the allusion in the decrees to Agrippa and Herod they were apparently still at Rome, and Josephus confirms this as to Agrippa by saying that immediately after the decrees he sailed for Judaea. Τοῦτοι μὲν δὲ τοῖς διατάγμασιν ἐβήλωσεν (Claudius) ἡ περὶ Ἰουδαίων ἔχει γινώμη. αὐτικὰ δὲ Ἀγρίππην ἐπέστειλεν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐν τῇ αἰτίᾳ λαμπροτέρᾳ, ἐξέτεμψε Ant xix 6, 1.

1626. The sisters of Caligula, viz. Agrippina and Julia, who had been banished in A. D. 39 (see no 1576), are now restored. Dion, lx 4.

1627. Seneca is banished this year (Ovaleria Μεσσαλίη) τὴν Ἰουλίαν τὴν ἀδελφίδην αὐτοῦ ἐβώρσεν, ἐγγλήματι αὐτῇ ἄλλω τε καὶ μετὰ ταῖς παρασκευαίαις, ἐφ' ἧ καὶ ὁ Seneca δ' Ἰωνίος ἐφύγε (his cogn.) Dion, lx 8. He was banished to Corsica. Senec. Consol. ad Helviam, c. 8. Schol. Juvenal, v 109. Auctori Octaviae 382, cited Fasti Rom. A. D. 41. Seneca's banishment continued for eight years. See A. D. 49, no 1729.

1628. Izates, King of Adiabene, about this time, sends hostages to Claudius and Artabanus. (Ὁ δὲ Ἰζατρί, ὡς παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν, ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἀδριανήν, καὶ θεουσμένοιους τοὺς ἀδελφούς, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συγγενεῖς δεδαιμένους, ἐδωχεραίνει τῇ γενόμῃ καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀνελθεῖν ἢ φυλάττειν δεδαιμένους ἀσπίδες ἡγυμνίαις, τὸ δὲ μνησκαλοῦντας ἔχειν συν ἀπὸρ μὴ δεδαιμένους σφαλερὸν εἶναι νομίζων, τοὺς μὲν ἀμπεύουσιν μετὰ τελευτῇ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐξέτεμψε Κλαυδίῳ Καισαρί, τοῖς δὲ πρὸς Ἀρτάβατον τὸν Πάρθον ἐφ' ὧσιν αὐτοὺς προήσταν ἀπὸστειλεν Jos Ant xx 2, 3. The only concurrent years of Claudius and Artabanus were A. D. 41 and A. D. 42. The narrative leads one to suppose that the hostages were sent when Izates first came to the throne, but which could not be, for he died in A. D. 60 (see A. D. 62, no 1936), and reigned

twenty-four years, Ant xx 4, 8, so that, assuming these to be current years, he must have begun to reign in A. D. 37, at which time Claudius was not emperor. Josephus may possibly have written Claudius by mistake for Caligula.

1629. Queen Helena, the mother of Izates, and a Jewish priestess, repairs to the Holy City to take up her abode there. This was after Izates was firmly seated on the throne and he began to reign in A. D. 37 (see that year, no 1525). Ἐλὲν δὲ ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως (Izates) μητέρα οὐσα τα μὲν κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν εἰρηνομένη, τὸν δὲ νόον αὐτῇ μιμνήσκον καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι ζήλων καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δὲ τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ πρῆσται, ἐπιθυμῶν εἶς τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τὴν πόλιν ἀφικόμενῃ, τοὺς πᾶσι ἀνθρώπους περιβητόν τοῦ θεοῦ προσκυνῆσαι, καὶ χαριστηρίους θυσίας προσενεγκεῖν. Γίνεται δὲ αὐτῇ ἡ ἀφίξις τῶν συμφερόντων τοῖς Ἱερουσαλὴμ αἰσῶν γὰρ αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον πεζότοτος, etc Jos Ant xx 2, 5. As Helena made this pilgrimage to Jerusalem when her son felt himself secure, we should refer it to the time when Izates, as a measure of safety, sent his relations out of the kingdom under pretext of their being required as hostages. It was certainly before the death of Artabanus, which occurred in A. D. 42, for Josephus first relates the visit of Helena to the Holy City, and then records the demise of Artabanus, per' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον Ἀρτάβατος τελευτῶν, Ant xx 3, 4, and then assigns as the reason why Izates would not join Vindex in his plans against the Romans that Izates was afraid on account of his mother, who had gone to Jerusalem, and who was, therefore, in the power of the Roman governors of Syria. Ἐτι δὲ τετομοῦς τὴν μητέρα προσκυνούσαι τὸ ἱερὸν, ὡς προείπον, ἀνηνότερος ἦν Ant xx 3, 1.

The statement of Josephus that the arrival of Helen was most opportune, as a famine pressed about that time, κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον, must not, therefore, be taken too strictly. The death was not at its height in Judaea until A. D. 44 (see that year, no 1681), but it may have begun some time earlier, and, indeed, was severely felt in Italy in A. D. 42, and, as appears from the coins of Claudius, had shown itself at least as early as A. D. 41 (see A. D. 42, no 1639).

1630. Artabanus, who had been obliged to fly from his kingdom by the sedition of Cin-

nanus, takes refuge with Izates, and by his influence is restored to his kingdom. Ant. xx. 3, 1. This was not long before the death of Artabanus in A.D. 42. *Ματ' οὐ πολλὸν δι' χρόνον Ἀρτάβανος τελευτῆ.* Ant. xx. 3, 4.

1631. The Greeks and Syrians of Seleucia, in Mesopotamia, rise against the Jews and slay upwards of 50,000. Those that escaped took refuge in Ctesiphon. This was certainly after the revolt of Seleucia from Artabanus in A.D. 36 (see no. 1486), for the contumacy of Seleucia is alluded to as the reason why, on coming from Seleucia, they were suspected. *Τούτοις δι' ἦν εἰς Κτησιφῶντα ἀποχώρησαι . . . ἀσύνετα δι' ἦν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἵερὴν πεποιμέναι, τμηθεὶς τοῦ βασιλέως Σελευκίου μὴ πεφροτισμένω.* Ant. xviii. 9, 9. The *βασιλεὺς* in this passage is Artabanus, in whose lifetime, therefore, the flight to Ctesiphon occurred, and Artabanus died in A.D. 42.

1632. The Gospel about this time is preached to the Gentiles at Antioch, and many converts are made there. *Ἐλάλουν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας.* Acts, xi. 20. If we have rightly placed the call of Cornelius, the first Gentile convert, in A.D. 40 (see no. 1608), the publication of the Gospel to the Gentiles of Antioch would follow soon after.

1632 a. Coins of Caligula.

C. Caesar Aug. Pon. M. Tr. Pot. iii. Cos. vii.
C. Caesar Divi Aug. Ppon. Aug. S. C. + Cos.
Quod. Pon. M. Tr. P. iii. P. P. R. C. C.
(see A.D. 38, no. 1584 a.).

Coin struck after his death.

C. Caesar Aug. Germ. P. M. Tr. Pot. + Ti.
Claud. Caesar Aug. P. M. Tr. Pot. Imp. vi.
Eckhel, vi. 223.

Coins of Claudius.

Ti. Claud. Caesar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. + Imp.
Recept. with the Praetorian camp.

Or,

+ *Prator. Recept.* with a legionary soldier and eagle.

These coins refer to the reception of Claudius into the Praetorian camp. *Sen. Nat. Calig. x.*
Ti. Claud. Caesar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. + Sacerdos Divi Augusti.

Ti. Claud. Caesar Aug. Germ. P. M. Tr. P. + Constantio Augusti.

Ti. Claudius Caesar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. Imp.
(and sometimes with the addition of *P. P.*) + *Constantio Augusti S. C.*

Ti. Claud. Caesar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. + Pater Augusti.

Ti. Claudius Caesar Aug. holding a balance with the letters *P. N. R.* (i.e. *Pundus nummi Romanus* or *Restant*) + *Cos. Lic. R. Pon. M. Tr. P. Imp. S. C.*

Ti. Claud. Caesar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. + Victoria Augusti.

Ti. Claudius Caesar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. Imp.
P. P. + Syria Augusta S. C. Eckhel, vi. 235.
Imp. ii. Tr. P. Cos. Desig. ii. Id. vi. 248.

Coins of Alexandria.

Ti. Κλαυδ. Καϊς. Σεβ. Γερμαν. Αυτοκρ. Λ. Α.
(i. e. in the first year of Claudius) + *Μεγαλινα Κων. Σεβ.* Id. iv. 52.

Αντωνια Σεβαστη + Ti. Κλαυδ. Καϊς. Σεβ. Γερμαν. Αυτ. Λ. Α. Id. iv. 53.

Inscription.

Ti. Claudius Drusi P. Caesar Aug. Germanicus Pontif. Max. Trib. Pot. Cos. Desig. ii. Imp. ii. Recept. (Benedicti in agro Nemausensi). *Maratori, i. 445; id. iv. 200, 5.*

1633. There are coins of Agrippa struck after he was king of Judaea, but without date, and therefore perhaps in his first year.

Βασίλεως μεγας Αγραππας Φιλοκαλαρ. Cupit regis diadematium + Καστορια η προς τω Σεβαστω λαμνη. Mulier stans cum gubernaculo et cornu copie.

Cupit Claudii + επι βασιλει. Αγραπ. Τιβεριανω, infra lauream. Eckhel, i. 402.

1634. Coins of Herod of Chalcis.

Βασίλεως Ηρώδης. Cupit diadematium + Κλαυδω Κασαρου, infra cornuam.

Or another,

Κλαυδω Κασαρου.

From the latter coin one is led to suspect that on the former should have been the letters *Κλαυδω Κασαρου*, A., i. e. in the first year of the reign. Id. iii. 402.

The Sabbath year.

Passover, April 4.

Pentecost, May 25.

Tabernacles, September 29.

A.D. 42. U.C. 795. Olymp. 205, 2.

THE CLAUD. CAESAR AUGUSTUS, II. Qui abdic. et cum exopt. prid. Kal. Mart. C. Vibius Crispus.
CÆCINA LARGUS.

CLAUDIUS II. FROM 25 JAN. TRIB. POT. II. FROM SAME DAY. COS. II. COS. DESIG. III. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. III. (Suetonius speaks of Claudius in respect of his third consulship as *in locum demortui successus*, Suet. Claud. xiv.; but the death referred to was probably that of a consul *designatus*, and not an actual consul.)

Sixth year of the reign of Agrippa I., from 1 April.

1635. Claudius is consul for two months. *Senectutem navissimam, binastres ceteros (consulatus gessit).* Suet. Claud. 14. Ὑπάρχει δὲ ὁ Κλαύδιος μετὰ Φιλίου Ἀργύρου, καὶ ἐκείνῳ μὲν δι' ἔτους ἄρχει ἐπὶ πέντε, αὐτὸς δὲ δύο μηνὶ καὶ τότε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχει. Dion, lx. 10.

1636. The pretors vary in number from fourteen to eighteen. Ἀνωμάλιος δὲ ἐπὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀπεδείκνυντο· καὶ γὰρ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα, καὶ ὀκτωκαίδεκα, διὰ μισοῦ τε (ὥς που καὶ συνέπειαι), ἐγένοντο. Dion, lx. 10 (see A.D. 14, no. 1057).

1637. The prefects of the senate or people, provinces are ordered to leave Rome for their respective governments before 1 April. Τοῖς τε κληρωτοῖς ἀρχοντας πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἀπριλλίου νομηνίας, ἀκούσπερ ἐπὶ πολλῷ ἐν τῷ ἔσσει ἐνεχούσων, ἀπορρίσθαι. Dion, lx. 11 (see A.D. 15, no. 1069; A.D. 43, no. 1655).

1638. Mauritania is divided into two provinces, called Tengesensis and Casariensis. Ὁ Κλαύδιος ἐσχί τοὺς Μαύρους τοὺς δημόσιος ἐνειμνεν, ἵς τε τὰ περὶ Τέγγιν καὶ ἵς τὰ περὶ Καισαρίαιαν (ἀπ' ὧν περ καὶ ὀνομάζοντα), καὶ ἐξὸν ἀρχοντας ἵππευσι προσέταξε (his *co.*). Dion, lx. 9.

1639. A famine prevails in Italy, and to guard against the recurrence of it Claudius constructs a port at Ostia to receive the cornships. Λιμὴν δὲ ἰσχυροῦ γεγμένον . . . πρόνοιαν ἐποίησεν, etc. (his *co.*). Dion, lx. 11. *Portum Ostiæ construxit cœcunducto de cistis silistraticæ brachio, et ad introitum profundo jam solo mole obiectâ, quam quo etabilius fundaret, navem ante demerit quâ magnus obeliscus ex Ægypto fuerat advectus, congestisque pilis superpositus altissimam turrim in cœmpitum*

Alexandrinæ Phari, ut ad nocturnos ignes cursus navigia dirigerent. Suet. Claud. 20.

This famine, now at its height, appears to have begun in the first year of Claudius, A.D. 41, and to have continued up to and through the third year of Claudius, A.D. 43, for the coins of Claudius with the stamp of a bushel (*modius*), and therefore commemorating the care of Claudius in supplying provisions, run through these three years. Eckhel, vi. 238, 239, 240. Aurelius Victor also refers the famine in the time of Claudius to the forced collection of taxes by Caligula to form the bridge at Baia in A.D. 39. *Adhuc annonæ egestas composita, quam Caligula inducerat, dum, adactis totâ urbe navigiis, periculum navis theotris curibusque damno publico efficere contendit.* Vict. Cæs. c. 4. See Anger, 42, note (r). The commencement of a port by Caligula just before his death at Rhegium may also, as a port for the corn-ships from Egypt, have been connected with the famine which was seen to be approaching (see A.D. 40, no. 1604).

1640. The futile conspiracy of Anninus Viminianus and Furius Camillus Scribonianus, the prefect of Dalmatia. Τῆς Δαλματίας ἕρχομαι (his *co.*). Dion, lx. 15. *Dalmatiæ Legotus.* Suet. Claud. 13.

1641. Anlus Plantinus in this year is sent to Britain to restore Vericus, or Bericus, who had been ejected by Canabellinus, or Cymbeline, whose capital at this time was Camlodunum, or Colchester; and Caractacus and Togodumnus, the two sons of Cymbeline, who was then dead, are defeated. Βίρυκος γὰρ τις, ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ τῆς ῥήσου κατὰ στάσον ἔπεισε τὸν Κλαυδίον ἰσχυρὰν ἐς αὐτὸν πέμψαι . . . Ὁ οὖν Πλάτωνος . . . (ἦσαν δὲ οὐκ αὐτόνομοι, ἀλλ' ἄλλους βασιλεῦσι προστεταγμένοι) πρῶτον μὲν Καταράδακον, ἔπειτα Τογοδόμνον, Κνωβηλλάνου παῖδας, ἐνέγκει, αὐτοὺς γὰρ ἰεθόηκει . . . ὥστε καὶ τῶς ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς, καίπερ οὐκ ὑπατευώς, λαβεῖν. Dion, lx. 19, 20. This is related by Dion under the following year (A.D. 43), in order that the campaigns of Plantinus and Claudius might be taken together. The history of Tacitus for this period has been lost, but he evidently placed the first campaign of Plantinus in this year, for he states A.D. 50 to be the ninth year of the war. *Ipsæ (Caractacus) . . . virtutis ac victoribus traditus est mox post annum ipsam bellum in Britannia captum.* Tac. Ann. xii. 36 (see A.D. 50, no. 1744).

1642. Agrippa in the course of the year arrives at Jerusalem, and dedicates in the Temple the golden chain with which he had been crowned by Caligula, and, to ingratiate himself with the people, shaves the heads of some Nazarenes i.e. pays the expenses of completing their vows. 'Ὁ δὲ (Ἀγρίππᾳ) μετὰ τήνους (after the decrees of Claudius in favour of the Jews, see A D 41, no. 1625) ὑπεστρέψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα δὲ ἑλθὼν, χάριστηρίους ἐξέκλινωσε θύσαι, ἀλλ' ἐν τῶν κατὰ νόμον ἀπολιτῶν· διὸ καὶ Ναζαρηνοὶν ἐκρίσθαι διεστῆε μάλα σκληρῶς (which illustrates the advice of the elders of Jerusalem to St Paul, Acts, xxi 28), τὴν τε χρυσὴν αλυσὴν τὴν δοθείσαν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ἐν τῷ ἀνέστηναι περιβόλῳ ὑπὲρ τοῦ γυμνασίου Jos Ant xix 6, 1. Agrippa from this time usually resided at Jerusalem. 'Ἡδεῖα γοὺν αὐτῷ διατα καὶ συνέχῃ ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἦν, Ant xix 7, 3, but he was occasionally at Caesarea, Ant xix 7, 4; and Beirut, xix 7, 5, and Tiberias, Ant xix 8, 1.

1643 Agrippa deposes Theophilus of the pontificate, and appoints Simon, son of Boethus Ἀγρίππας Θεόφιλον μὲν τὸν Ἀΐδιου τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης μετεστήσας, τῷ δὲ Βοηθοῦ Σίμωνι (τοῦ τῷ Κανθηρῷ ἐπιλήσει ἦν) τὴν ἐκείνῃ προσέειπε τέρμῃ Jos Ant xix 6, 2 (see A D 37, no 1506 and *infra*, no 1646).

1644. Agrippa releases the house-tax to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and appoints his friend Silas high-priest, Ant xix 6, 3, but afterwards removes Silas, Ant xix 7, 1, and appoints Helcias Jos Ant xix 8, 3.

1645 Some youths of Doris set up the statue of Claudius in the synagogue, and Agrippa complains of it to Petronius, who is still prefect of Syria. This was after the decrees of Claudius in favour of the Jews (see A D 41, no. 1626); for they are alluded to by the mandate of Petronius Πούτλιος Πετρώσιος προσβιβνῆς Τυχερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δωριῶν εὖτε πρώτους λέγει τοῦ γὰρ ἐμοῦ επικράτος μεμνησκέσθαι γελοῖον ἐστὶ μετὰ τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος διάταγμα τοῦ ἐπιτρέψαντος Ἰουδαίους τοῖς ἰδίῳις ἔθεσι χρῆσθαι Jos Ant xix 6, 3.

1646 Agrippa removes Simon from the high-priesthood, and offers it to Jonathan, and, on his declining it, confers it on Matthias, the brother of Jonathan Ἀγρίππας δὲ ο βασιλεὺς ἀφείλετο μὲν τὴν Ἱερουσάλην τῷ Κανθη-

ρῶν Σίμωνι ἰδὼν Ἰωνάθαν μὲν ἔασι, γνῶναι δὲ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Ματθίαν τὴν Ἱερουσάλην εἶδωκε Jos Ant xix 6, 4 (see *supra* no 1643, and A D 43 no 1663).

1647. Shortly after the appointment of Mat-thias, Petronius is superseded as prefect of Syria by Vibius Celsus. Καὶ μετ' οὗ τοῦ Πιτρώσιου μὲν Μάρκου, ἐκείσετο καὶ εἰσέτε Σωφίαν Jos Ant xix 6 4 (see A D 39, no 1554 A D 44, no 1679). That Petronius was prefect at the end of A D 41 or before the last quarter of A D 42, appears from a coin of Antioch with the year 90 of the Antiochian era. See Eckhel, iii 280.

1648. Death of Artabanus, king of Parthia (see A D 16, no 1077, *infra*, no 1649), not long after his restoration to the throne by Lucius Mers' οὗ τολὺν δὲ χρόνον (after his restoration) Ἀρτάρης τελευτᾷ, τὴν ἡσιδαίαν τῷ πατρὶ Οὐαρδάνη κατὰ λῆψιν Jos Ant xx 3, 4. He paid homage to Caligula, and was therefore living in A D 37, and according to Josephus, he sent ambassadors to Claudius, and if so, he was living in A D 41 (see that year, no 1628) but at the close of A D 42 Seleucia was taken, after seven years' resistance, by Vardanes, then king of Parthia (see *post*, no 1652). The exact date of Artabanus's death does not appear but it was about this time. For the coins of Artabanus, see Eckhel iii 538.

He left at least six sons, viz 1 Artabanus, who was murdered by his *brother* Gotarzes, 2 Gotarzes, who was expelled by his *brother* Vardanes, 3 Vardanes, who was succeeded by his *brother* Vologases, 4 Vologases, 5 Pacorus, who was appointed by his *brother* Vologases to Media and, 6 Tridates, who was appointed by his *brother* Vologases to Armenia. *Inter Gotarzes pleiaque uxor qui necem filius Artabano conjugique ac filio ejus praepraesentat Tac Ann xi 8* Αὐτὸν μὲν (Vardanem) ἀναιρούσαι, τὴν ἀρχὴν δὲ τῷ ἀδελφῷ Γοτάρτῃ παρατίθεισαν καὶ τοῦτον δὲ μετ' οὗ τολὺν χρόνον τελευτήσαντα εἰσελάχει· οὐλογάσας δὲ ἀδελφός οὗ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοπατρίσι ἀδελφοῖς ἐνίσταται ἐπιστῆσαι, Πακῶν μὲν τῷ προσδυνάμῳ τὴν Μηδίαν, Τηριδάτῃ δὲ τῷ νεωτέρῳ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν Jos Ant xx 3, 4. But Vologases, according to Tacitus was the son of Vonones Tac Ann xi 14.

1649. Gotarzes, after the murder of his brother Artabanus, succeeds to the throne, but Gotarzes is himself ejected by Vardanes, who reduces all the kingdom, except Seleucia, to

which he lays siege Tac Ann xi 8 (see ante, no 1648, and *infra*, no 1652) For the coins of Götartzes, see Eckhel iii 534

1650. Götartzes collects an army of Dinar and Hyrcani, and renews the war Tac Ann xi 8

1651 Mithridates, the partisan of the Romans and the brother of Phrastrates, king of the Iberi, taking advantage of these troubles in Parthia, marches at the head of an Iberian army into Armenia, and defeats Demetrius, the Parthian general Tac Ann xi 9 (see A D. 35, no 1471, A D 43 no 1664)

1652. Götartzes and Vudanes come to terms, and the former returns to Hyrcania, and the latter resumes the siege of Seleucia, and takes it after the maintenance of a revolt for seven years Seleucia was certainly in revolt in the first half of A D 36, and therefore the surrender must have been toward the close of A D 42 or at the latest before midsummer, A D 43 *Pontionique Vudanes visus retinendo regno, at Götartzes ne quid cumulationis existeret penitus in Hyrcaniam obit regressoque Vudam deditur Seleucia, septimo post defectionem anno non sine dedecore Parthorum quos una civitas tandem obsiderat Tac Ann xi 49* (see A D 36, no 1186, A D 16, no 1702)

1653 The Apostles, at Jerusalem, hearing of the success of the Gospel at Antioch, send down Barnabas, who confirms the churches by the way, and then takes up his sojourn at Antioch, where a great impulse is given to the Church in consequence Acts, xi 22 (see A D 41, no 1632, A D 43, no 1665)

1653 a Coins of Claudius

Ti Claudius Caesar Aug holding a balance with the letters *P N R* (i e *Pondus nummi Romani* or *Restatus*) or a bushel + *Cos u Pont M Ti P Imp P P S C*
Eckhel vi 230

Coin of Antioch.

Imp Ti Claudius Aug Gei + Βασι Περροισι Αντιοχεια, q i e in the ninetieth year of the Era of Antioch or between 1 Nov A D 41, and 1 Nov A D 42 Id iii 280

Coin of Alexandria

Τι Κλαυδι Καισα Σεβα Γερμανι Αυτοκρα Γ Β (i e in the second year of Claudius) + *Μεσαλιει Καισα Σεβασ* Id iv 52
Αντωνια Σεβαστη + Τι Κλαυδι Καισα Σεβα Γερμανι
Aur I B Id iv 57

Inscriptions

In Ho(horem) Ti Claudii Drusi F Ca
Pont Mar Trib Pot u Cos De (Auguste Taurinorum) Muratori, i 225, 5
Ii Claudius Drusi F Caesar Aug German
Pont Mar Trib Potestatis Cos Design u
(legatus) Imp u Refectit (Montpelu in G illud) Gaute, 188, 2
Ti Claudius Drusi F Caesar Aug Germanicus
Pont Mar Trib Pot u Cos Design u
Imp u P P dedit (Ravennae) Muratori, i 225, 6, Gruter 166, 4

First year of the Sabbatic cycle

Passover, March 24

Pentecost, May 14

Tabernacles, September 18

A.D 43. U C 796. Olymp 205, 3.

TIB CLAUDI CAESAR, III Qui vob et eum excepit
pnd Kal Maii P Valerius Asiaticus
L VITELLIVS, II
ex Kal Jul
Q CERTILVS KVRTE
VIRIANVS LEXAS

CLAUDIUS FROM 25 JANUARY TIBIUS PONTIUS FROM SAME DAY COS IIII PONT MAX PATR IMP III IV V (That Claudius multiplied the titles of Imperator from the victories in Britain appears from Dion. Αυτοκρατωρ πολλὰς ἐτωνόμασθη παρὰ τὰ πατρία Dion, Ix 21)

Seventh year of the reign of Agrippa I from 1 April

1654 Claudius is consul for two months only *Consulatus super praestitum quatuor mensis, ex quibus dies primos* (A D 42, A D 43) *junctum, sequentes per intervallum quatuor quatuorque annis* (A D 47, A D 51), *semestrem novissimum, bi-mestres ceteros* Suet Claud 14 Claudius and Vitellius had been nominated consuls for six months and therefore Suetonius is speaking of the time during which he held the office before his resignation (see *infra*, no 1659)

1655. The prefects of the provinces lingering in Rome, Claudius issues a peremptory order that they leave Rome by the middle of April *Προς δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐξορμωμένοι, προέπε, τὴν μεσσην τὴν Ἀπρίλλου, ἀπαρμεν* Dion, Iv

17 (*his eos*), (see A D 42, no 1637, A D 45, no 1689)

1656. The Lycians having put some Romans to death, are deprived of their liberty (see B C 42, no 420), and Lycia is annexed to the province of Pamphylia (see A D 57, no 1852) *Ιούς τε Λυκίους στασιάζουσιν, ὥστε καὶ Ῥωμαίους τινὰ ἀποκτείνειν, ἐδουλώσασθαι τε, καὶ ἐς τὴν τῆς Παμφυλίας ὁμίον ἐπαγρυφῆν* (*his eos*) Dion, ix 17 (see Plin N II xii 5, viii 27, Suet Claud 25)

1657. The freedom of Rome is commonly sold by Messalina and the freedmen of Claudius for the mearest trifle. Πολλοὶ τε αὐτὴν (πολιτεῖαν) παρὰ σέ ἐλείπον αὐτοῦ ἡτούντο, καὶ παρὰ τῆς Μεσσηλίνης τῶν τε καισαυρέων ωῶντο (*his eos*) Dion, ix 17

1658. Calpurnius Justus, the prefect of the praetorium, is put to death by Messalina to prevent his betraying her amours "Ἄσπερ καὶ τότε καὶ Κατῶνιον Ἰούστοι, τοῦ τε ξορυφορικοῦ ἄρχοντος, καὶ δηλώσαι τι αὐτῇ ἐβελήσαντο (Messalina), προδιέφθερε (*his eos*) Dion ix 16 (see A D 38, no 1590, A D 44, no 1684)

1659. Claudius, about midsummer, delegates the imperial power to Vitellius (who had been named as his colleague in the consulship for the first six months of the year) and passes himself into Britain, by the route of Ostia and Marsetille, and Gesoriacum (Boulogne) 'Ὁ Κλαύδιος τὰ μὲν οἶκοι τῷ Οὐιτελλίῳ τῷ συνάρχοντι τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐνιχυρίσας (καὶ γὰρ ἐξ ἴσου αὐτὸν ἐκινῆτο ἐξάμηνον ἔλιν ὑπαγεῖν) ἐποίησεν αὐτὸς δὲ ἐξοστρατεῖσθαι καὶ καταπλεύσας ἐς τὴν Ὀστίαν, ἐκείθεν ἐς Μεσσηλίαν παρεκμισθῆ, κἀνταῦθεν, τί μὲν περὶ, τα δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν ποταμῶν τορευόμενος, πρὸς τε τὸν ὠκεῖον ἀφίκετο, etc. Dion, ix 21 *Ituc* (Britain) *quint ab O-livii*

parviretis *his* *raque demeritis est prope Legationem, quiaque Stuecharis insulas Quare, a Massiliâ Gesoriacum usque pedestri itinere concessit, inde transiit* Suet Claud 17 As Claudius was absent six months only and returned at the beginning of A D 44 (see no 1667), he must have quitted Rome soon after 1 July, A D 43 Dion, therefore does not mean to say that Claudius delegated the imperial power to Vitellius while still his colleague in the consulship, for Claudius had resigned the consulship in favour of P. Valerius Asiaticus at the end of February (see *supra*, no 1654), and Q. Curtius Rufus and Vipsanius Lænas were consuls from 1 July of this year. The historian,

to be consistent with himself, must be understood to say only, that Claudius committed the supreme power to Vitellius, who had been his colleague in the consulship

1660. Claudius joins the army of Plautius on the south bank of the Thames, where it was awaiting his approach, and then, crossing the river, defeats the enemy, and takes Camulodunum (Colchester), the capital of Cambelin or Cymbeline. Καὶ περαιωθείς ἐς τὴν Βρετανίαν συνειμύετο τοῖς στρατιώταις πρὸς τῷ Ἰαμβόῳ ἀμαίουνσιν αὐτὸν, καὶ παρὰ τῶν σφῶς ἐλείπον τε ἐπιτάξῃ καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις πρὸς τὴν ἐφοδὸν αὐτοῦ συνισταμένους ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόν, μυχρὴν τε ἐίκησε καὶ τοὺς Καμουλόδουνον τοῦ Κυνοβελίνου βασιλεῖον εἶλε Dion, ix 21 Claudius was only sixteen days in Britain. Ἐλατῆμαι μόλις ἐν τῇ Βρετανίᾳ ἡμέρας ἐποίησε Dion, ix 23 *Itul a raptissimis dies parte insula in dedicationem recepit* Suet Claud 17

1661. Agrippa begins to surround Jerusalem with strong walls, but is prevented by the interference of Marsus, the prefect of Syria. Μάρσος ὁ τῆς Συρίας ἡγεμὼν κληυέτω καίσαρι διὰ γρυμμάτων ἐδήλωσε τὸ πραττόμενον, καὶ ἐωπερισμὸν τινα Κλαυδίου ὑπατεύσας, ἐπέστειλεν Ἀγρικκῳ μετὰ σπουδῆς παύσασθαι τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἐκκοιδομήσεως ὃ δὲ ἀντιθεῖν οὐκ ἔκρινεν Jos Ant vii 7, 2, Bell ii 11, 6

1662. Agrippa excites various kings at Tiberias, which excites the suspicions of Marsus, the prefect of Syria, and he orders the kings to return home, at which Agrippa takes offence. 'Ἦν δὲ αὖ (Agrippa) τοῖς ἄλλοις βασιλεῦσι περίβλεπτος. 'Ἦλε γοῦν παρ' αὐτὸν κοιμαγνηστὴν μὲν βασιλεὺς Ἀσιόχοις (see A D 41, no 1622, A D 52, no 1784), Ἰερουσαλὴν δὲ Σαρφυγέρματος (see A D 41, no 1624, A D 53, no 1789), καὶ Κορνεῖ τῆς μικρᾶς Ἀρμενίας οὗτος ἐβασίλευσε (see A D 38, no 1533, A D 55, no 1823), καὶ Πολέμων τῇ Ἰσθίου λεγόμενος δυναστεῖαν (see A D 38, no 1533, A D 59, no 1881) Ἠρώδης τε οὗτος ἡδελφεὸς ἦν αὐτοῦ, ἤρχε δὲ τῆς Καλιίδος (see A D 41, no 1621, A D 48, no 1720) Jos Ant vii 8, 1 This quarrel of Agrippa with Marsus was probably not long before the death of Agrippa (see A D 44, no 1678), for immediately after his death, Marsus was superseded in consequence of Agrippa's request which had been made probably on account of this disagreement (see A D 44, no 1679)

1663. Agrippa removes Matthias from the

pontificate, and appoints Elienaeus, son of Cantherus. This was before the completion of the third year of his reign over Judaea. Τὴν ἀρχιερυστήν δὲ Μαρθίαν ἀφελόμενος, ἀντ' αὐτοῦ κατέστησεν ἀρχιερέα Ἑλιαναῖον τὸν τοῦ Κανθοῦ παῖδα. Τρίτον δὲ ἔτος αὐτῷ πεπληρωτο βυσσιλεύοντι τῆς ὅλης Ἰουδαίας, καὶ παρὴν εἰς πόλιν Καισάρειαν. Jos. Ant. xix. 8, 1 and 2 (see A.D. 42, no. 1646; A.D. 46, no. 1693).

1664. Vardanes seeks to recover Armenia from Mithridates, who was favoured by the Romans; but Vibius Marsus threatens him with war, and he desists. This is related by Tacitus next after the surrender of Seleucia, in A.D. 42, and was in the time of V. Marsus, who ceased to be prefect of Syria in A.D. 44. *Reciperare Armeniam auebat* (Vardanes), *πῶ ἢ Vibio Marso Syriae legato bellum minitante cohibitus foret.* Tac. Ann. xi. 10 (see A.D. 42, no. 1651; A.D. 51, no. 1752).

1665. Barnabas, finding a wide field open at Antioch, goes to Tarsus in search of Paul, and brings him back with him to Antioch, where they labour jointly a whole year; and the disciples are now first called Christians at Antioch. Ἐγένετο δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν αὐτὸν ὁλόν συναχθῆναι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ διδάξαι ὅχλον ἱκανόν, χρηματίζου τε πρῶτον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τοὺς μισθῆτας Χριστιανούς. Acts, xi. 26. This was therefore a year before the journey of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem, just before the Passover A.D. 44 (see that year, no. 1669).

Agabus, a prophet of the Church of Jerusalem, arrives at Antioch, and forewarns the brethren of the approaching famine. Ἐσήμανε (Agabus) ἐπὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος λιμὸν μέγαν μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην, ὅσους καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου Καισάρου, Acts, xi. 28. Josephus also places the great famine in the time of Claudius, and defines the period by saying that it occurred in the times of Fadus and Tiberius Alexander. Jos. Ant. xx. 5, 2. Fadus was procurator in A.D. 41, and Tiberius Alexander in A.D. 46. Josephus, therefore, is speaking of the time when the famine was at its greatest height (see A.D. 42, no. 1639).

1666. Coins of Claudius.

Ti. Claud. Caesar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. iii. (and sometimes with Imp. v.) + *Paci Augustæ.*

Ti. Claudius Caesar Aug. with a bushel + Pont. M. Tr. P. Imp. P. P. Cos. iii. S. C.

Eckhel, vi. 240.

Coins of Alexandria.

ΑΥΤΑΚΡ. Λ. Ρ. (i. e. in the third year of Claudius) with head of Britannicus and his sisters Antonia and Octavia.

ΔΙΚΑΙΟΝΟΥ Λ. Ρ.

Eckhel, iv. 51.

Ti. Κλαυδ. Καὶ. Σεβ. Γερμαν. ΑΥΤΟΚΡ. Λ. Ρ. + Μεσαλίκου Καὶ. Σεβ. Id. iv. 52.

Inscriptions.

(*Claudius Drusus P. Caesar Augustus . . .* (Germanico . . .) (Trib. Potest. iii. Cos. iii. Imp. iii. P. P. *Nomine filii et suo testamento fieri fasces adjecit pecunia faciendum curavit* (Falerone in agro Firmiano).

Muratori, i. 225, 0.

Claudius Cos. Aug. Germanicus Tr. Pot. iii. Cos. iii. Pont. Max. P. P. L. Ænilius Gal. et L. Æmilius P. cur. (Montori in Hispaniâ). Id. i. 226, 6.

Proserpine Bussiana L. Bussius L. F. Vel. Anatonna Bussia Prima Victorina D. K. Feb. Ti. Claudio Cos. iii. L. Vitellio ii. Cos. (Tibure). Id. i. 304, 1.

Pro Salute Ti. Claudi Caesaris Aug. Pontif. Max. Tr. Pot. iii. Cos. iii. Drig. iii. Proceras Aug. L. Ee voto suscepto Viat. et Scrib. Libr. et A. Larcus Igdus Ded. (Rome). Id. i. 364, 2.

Ti. Claudius Drusi F. Caesar Aug. Germanic. Pont. Max. Trib. Potest. iii. Imp. iii. P. P. Cos. ii. (lege iii.) Drig. iii. Aud. M. P. xxii. (In vico inter Divionem et Lingonas). Id. i. 444, 0.

Ti. Claudius Drusi F. Caesar August. Germanicus Pont. Max. Tr. Pot. iii. Imp. iii. Cos. iii. P. P. vii. (Solaise). Id. i. 5.

T. Claudius Caesar Aug. Germanicus Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. iii. Cos. iii. Imp. iii. P. P. D. D. Gruter, 188, 4.

Ti. Claudius Aug. Germanic. Pont. Max. Imp. iii. Trib. Pot. iii. Brac. Aug. xv. (In agro Bracarense). Muratori, iv. 2006, 6.

Ti. Claudius Caesar Aug. Germanicus Pontifex Max. Imp. v. Cos. iii. Trib. Potest. iii. P. P. Brac. xlii. (In Lusitaniâ). Id. iv. 2006, 7.

Claudius Caesar Aug. Germanicus Pont. Max. Imp. v. Cos. iii. Trib. Pot. iii. P. P. Brac. Aug. xxv. (In agro Bracarense). Id. iv. 2007, 1.

Ti. Claudius Drusi F. Caesar Germanicus Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. iii. Imp. iii. Cos. ii. (lege iii.) Re . . . (Viennæ prope Lugdunum). Gruter, 188, 8.

A coin of Herod of Chalcis.

Βασίλεως Ἡρώδης (Φαλο Κλα)εύδης. *Cuprd didendnatum + Κλαυδω Κασσαι Σεβαστω* Ε. Γ. *infra coronam*, i. e. in the third year of his reign. Eckhel, iii. 492.

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 12.

Pentecost, June 2.

Tabernacles, October 7.

A.D. 44. U.C. 797. Olymp. 205, 4.

C. QUINCTIUS CRISPINUS, II.
M. STATILIUS TACITUS.

CLAUDIUS IV. FROM 25 JANUARY. TRIB. POT. IV.
FROM SAME DAY. COS. III. PONT. MAX. PAT.
PATR. IMP. V., VI., VII.

Eighth year of the reign of Agrippa I. from
1 April.

1667. Claudius returns from Britain to Rome after six months' absence, out of which he passed sixteen days only in Britain. *Γαίωv δὲ Κρίσπουv τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Τίτωv Σεπτιδίουv ἀπαυτίωvται, ἡλθέ τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὁ Κλαύδιος, ἔξ μηνος ἀποκηρύσσας, ἀφ' ὧν ἐκατέκτα μόνος ἐν τῇ Βρετανίᾳ ἡμέρας ἐποίησε.* Dion, lx. 28. *Intra paucissimos dies parte insule in dedicationem recepti, serto quam profectus erat mense Romano rediit.* Suet. Claud. 17. As the return of Claudius is the first event mentioned by Dion under this consulship, it must have been very early in the year.

1668. Unbounded honours at Rome, triumphal arches, banquets, shows, and sacrifices are decreed to Claudius for his safe return from Britain, and he assumes the name of Britannicus. Dion, lx. 23. Suet. Claud. 17. *His cass. Claudius de Britannia triumphavit et Orcadas insulas Romano imperio adiecit.* Cassiodorus.

1669. Barnabas and Paul, shortly before the Passover (April 1), take up to Jerusalem the collection of the Antiochian church for the relief of the poor brethren of Judæa (see A.D. 43, no. 1667). Acts, xi. 30.

1670. At this time Agrippa, who was usually resident at Jerusalem, and a religious bigot, conceives the design of exterminating the Christian heresy, and commences a persecution against the sect. *Kar' ἐκείνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν (the journey of Barnabas and Paul) ἐπέβαλεν*

Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς χεῖρας ἐκιδῶσαι ταῦτα τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Acts, xii. 1.

1671. Agrippa beheads James the brother of John, and at the Passover arrests Peter, but reserves the execution until after the feast. *Βουλόμενος μετὰ τὸ πάσχα ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὸν (Peter) τῷ λαῷ.* Acts, xii. 4. But Peter, on the night preceding the intended execution, is miraculously delivered from prison, and repairs to the house of Mary the sister of Barnabas and mother of Mark, where the disciples (including probably Barnabas and Paul) are assembled. Acts, xii. 6-12.

1672. It was during this visit of Paul to Jerusalem that he experienced the rapture referred to in the words *οἷα ἀνθρώπων ἐν Χριστῷ πρό ἐν ἡμετέροις σάφρων*. . . *ἀρπαγέντα τὸν τοιοῦτον*, etc. 2 Cor. xii. 2. This was written in the autumn of A.D. 57, and the Passover of A.D. 44 would be in the fourteenth year current before. That *πρὸ ἐτῶν δεκαεσσάφρων* means the fourteenth year current may be assumed as clear. Thus Josephus in the Wars relates an anecdote as occurring four years before the war, *πρὸ τεσσαύρων ἐτῶν τοῦ πολέμου*, Bell. vi. 5, 3; by which he means the fourth year *current* before the war (see A.D. 62, no. 1931). It should be remarked that as Paul calls himself *ἄνθρωπον ἐν Χριστῷ*, the revelation must have been, not at his conversion, but after he had become a member of the Christian community.

1673. Paul and Barnabas having fulfilled their mission return to Antioch, and take Mark with them. Acts, xii. 25.

1674. Intelligence having reached Judæa of the triumphant return of Claudius from Britain, banquets and shows corresponding to those at Rome are commenced at Cæsarea, the Roman capital of Judæa, and Agrippa, of whom Claudius was the great patron, presides at the games. *Τρίτον δὲ ἔτος αὐτοῦ (Agrippæ) βασιλεύοντι τῆς ἄλης Ἰουδαίας πεπλήρωτο (on 1 April, A.D. 44), καὶ παρῆν ἐς πόλιν Καισαρίαν . . . συνετέλει ἐξ ἐνταῦθα θεωρίας εἰς τὴν Καισαρίαν τιμῆν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας ἐκείνῃ τελευτῇ ἐπιστράμενος, καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν ἡθροίστα τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἐν τέλει, καὶ προδεδηκότων εἰς ἄξιαν πλήθος.* Ant. vix. 8, 2. *Καὶ κατελθὼν (Agrippa) ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας εἰς τὴν Καισαρίαν ἐμετρήθη.* Acts, xii. 19. The festival which Agrippa attended at Cæsarea was certainly that for the return of Claudius

from Britain. The news would reach Judaea in March or April, and the rejoicings would immediately follow; and this would be a little after the Passover, as Luke states, and would be also, as Josephus writes, just after the completion of Agrippa's third year, who had been appointed about 1 April, A.D. 41. The expression, *ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας ἐορῇ* is also just the language that would be used to express Claudius's safe return from Britain. Thus, on Caligula's safe return from Gaul, Philo puts these words into the mouth of one of the courtiers, ἀπάντων γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῆς οἷας θυσίας ἀναγόντων εὐχαριστήριον, οὐκ ὑπέμεναν οὐτοὶ μῖνοι (the Jews) θύειν, Philo Leg. 45; which passage implies also that on the emperor's return rejoicings were expected not only from the Romans, but also from the provincials. Some think that the festival at Cæsarea was to celebrate the birthday of Claudius on 1 August, but this would place the festival too late in the year. Besides the birthday of Claudius was not usually observed even at Rome. Ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῇ Αὐγούστου νομῆνι ἐν ᾗ ἐγενένητο ἡγωνίζοντο μὲν ἴπποι, οὐ δὲ ἐκείνων δὲ ὅλην ὥτε ὁ τοῦ Ἀρεως γαῖς ἐν ταύτῃ καθάρωτο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐτῆσιος ἀγῶσιν ἐτετέμνητο. . . . Τοῖς τε στρατηγοῖς τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοὺς ἀπλομαχικοὺς ἀπηγόρευσε μὴ ποιεῖν . . . ἀλλὰ μῆτις ὥς καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐαυτοῦ σωτηρίας γαγνονμένων σφῶν ἢ γράφεσθαι ἢ καὶ λέγεσθαι ἐκέλευσε. Dion, *Is.* 5; and see *L.* 12. The expression of Josephus, *ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας*, indicates not a regularly recurring anniversary, as a birthday, but some extraordinary occasion, as the return from a distant and dangerous expedition.

1675. The dearth is now beginning to be felt in Syria, for while Agrippa is at Cæsarea the Tyrians and Sidonians (who were supplied with corn from Judaea: see 1 Kings, v. 11; Ezek. xxvii. 17; Ant. xiv. 10, 6) send an embassy to Cæsarea on the subject of the exports. Ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἡρώδης θυμομαχῶν Τυρίους καὶ Σιδωνίους ἠποθυμαίνον ἐξ παρήσαν πρὸς αὐτὸν . . . ᾗτόντο εἰρήνης, εἰ δὲ τὸ τρέφειν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας. Acts, xii. 20.

1676. On a set day during the festival, Agrippa gives an audience to the Tyrians and Sidonians in the theatre, when he is smitten by the hand of God. Ταυτῇ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ Ἡρώδης ἐντυσάμενος ἐσθῆτι βασιλικῇ καὶ καθίσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, ἐλημηγέρει πρὸς αὐτοὺς. Acts, xii.

21. The fact that the audience was given in the theatre appears only from Josephus; but this incidentally confirms the account of Luke, who represents Agrippa as seated ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, and every theatre contained a βῆμα.

1677. The day on which the audience was given to the Tyrians and Sidonians, and when Agrippa was struck, was the second day of the festival, and in the morning, before the games began. Δευτέρα δὲ τῶν θεωρῶν ἡμέρας σταλὴν ἐντυσάμενος ἐξ ἀρχῶν πεποιημένην πᾶσαν . . . περιήλθεν εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας. . . . Εὐθὺς δὲ οἱ κόλακας . . . ἄλλος ἄλλωθεν φωνίς ἀνελθόν, θεὸν προσαγορεύοντες. Jos. Ant. xix. 8, 2.

1678. Agrippa died five days after he was struck, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and having reigned seven years, viz. four under Caligula, and three under Claudius. Σενεχῶς δὲ ἐφ' ἡμέρας πέντε τῇ τῆς γυσιπρὸς ἀλγύματι διεργασθείς, τὸν βίον κατέτρεμνεν, ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἄγων πεντηκστὸν ἔτος καὶ τέταρτον, τῆς βασιλείας δὲ ἐβίωσεν (A.D. 37-44). Τέταρτος μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Γαίου Καίσαρος ἐβασίλευσεν ἡμιστίαιος (A.D. 37-40)—τῆς Φιλίππου μὲν τετραρχίας ἐπὶ τ. κερίας ἄρξας (A.D. 37-40) τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ (A.D. 40) καὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου προσειληφώς—τρεῖς δὲ ἐπιλαβὼν ἐπὶ τῆς Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος αυτοκρατορίας (A.D. 41-44), ἐν οἷς τῶν τε προερχομένων ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προσέλαβε, Συμαρείαν τε καὶ Καππαδοκίαν. Jos. Ant. xix. 8, 2. He had reigned, as nearly as possible, seven years, viz. from April, A.D. 37, to April, A.D. 44; and, to speak exactly, three years and ten months under Caligula, and three years and two months under Claudius. In the Wars (the less accurate work), Josephus, rejecting in each case the old months, mentions only the number of complete years. Ἄλλ' ἐφ' ὅθι πρὶν ὑφῆσαι τὸ ἔργον (the walls of Jerusalem) τελευτήσαν ἐν Καισαρείᾳ, βεβασίλευκός μιν (viz. over Judaea) ἔτη τρία (A.D. 41-44), πρότερον δὲ τῶν τετραρχῶν τρεῖς ἔτη καὶ ἑσάτην ἀληγομένης (A.D. 37-41). Bell. ii. 11, 6. As Josephus, in the Antiquities, reckons the reign of Agrippa at seven years, it is clear that he does not compute it, as he did that of Herod, from 1 January or 1 Nisan next preceding the accession; otherwise, as Agrippa was appointed king in April A.D. 37 (see no. 1503), and died in April A.D. 44, which was after the commencement of the Roman year on 1 January, and the Jewish year on 1 Nisan, he would be said to

have reigned eight years. Tacitus, confounding Agrippa with Herod of Chalcis, places the death of Agrippa about A.D. 48; for, under the year A.D. 49, he writes, *Iturique et Iudæi de Iudæa regibus Sabatno atque Agrippâ, provincie Egypti aditii* (cos. C. Pompeio, Q. Verrucio). Tac. Ann. xii. 23. Herod of Chalcis did die in A.D. 48; but Agrippa had died long before, and, as we have seen, in the second quarter of A.D. 44.

Agrippa leaves four children—viz. Agrippa the younger, now at Rome, aged seventeen; Bernice, wife of Herod of Chalcis, aged sixteen; Mariamne, aged ten; and Drusilla, aged six. Νέμει δὲ αὐτοῦ καταλίδεσθαι υἱὸς μὲν Ἀγρίππας, ἄγων ἔτος ἑπτακαίδεκατος, τρεῖς δὲ θυγατέρες. ὧν ἡ μὲν Ἥρώδης τοῦ πατρὸς ἀδελφῶ γεγάμητο Περσίην, τὸ ἑκατάδεκατον ἔτος γεγονοῖα· παρθένου δὲ ἦσαν αἱ δύο, Μοιάμμη τε καὶ Δρούσιλλα, δεκαετὴς μὲν ἡ ἑτέρα, ἑξαετής δὲ Δρούσιλλα. Jos. Ant. xix. 9, 1.

1679. In the latter half of the year, Claudius, hearing of the death of Agrippa, sends Cuspius Fadus to be governor of Judæa (see A.D. 46, no. 1701), and C. Cassius Longinus to be prefect of Syria in the place of Vibius Marsus (see A.D. 42, no. 1647; A.D. 50, no. 1746).

Ἐπαρχον οὖν τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τῆς ἀπάσης βασιλείας ἀπέστειλε Κοῦσιον Φάδον, τῷ κατοικοῦμέντῃ (Agrippæ) διδόνε τιμὴν τὴ μὴ Μάρσῳ ἐπαγαγεῖν εἰς βασιλείαν αὐτῷ ἐάφομεν. Jos. Ant. xix. 9, 2. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀγρίππας . . . πέμψει Μάρσῳ διάδοχον Κλαύδιος Κούσαρ Κάσιον Δογγίνον, μὴν τοῦ βασιλείως τοῦτο χαρίζομένους, πολλὰ δὲ γραμμάτων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀνωθείς μηκέτι Μάρσῳ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν πραγμάτων προϊστῆσθαι. Ant. xx. 1, 1.

1680. Fadus, on arriving in Judæa, finds the Jews of Perea at war with the Philadelphians, and executes some of the leaders of the movement. Φάδος δὲ, ὡς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐφίκετο, καταλαμβάνει στρασιδαστάς τινες εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων κατοικοῦντις Ἰουδαίᾳ πρὸς Φιλαδέλφους. Jos. Ant. xx. 1, 1. This was before the embassy to Rome the answer to which was dated 28 June, A.D. 45 (see that year, no. 1691).

Fadus proceeds to clear the country of bandits, the besetting plague. Ἐκυβόρη τε ληστρονίων ἀπασιν τὸν τεύθεν Ἰουδαία φροσιτί· καὶ προνοία Φάδου. Ant. xx. 1, 1.

1681. The great famine in the time of Claudius is now at its height in Judæa, and

continues throughout the procuratorships of Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander. Ἐπὶ τοῖσι τοῖσι (Fadus and Alexander) καὶ τὴν μέγαν λιμὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν συνέβη γενέσθαι. Jos. Ant. xx. 5, 2. In another passage, Josephus connects the famine with the high-priesthood of Ishmael. Οὐ μὴν ἄλλὰ καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου μὲν ἐμπροσθεν, Κλαυδίου Ῥωμαίων ἀρχαίτος, Ἰσμαήλου δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀρχιερέως, καὶ λιμοῦ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν καταλαβόντος, ὥς τεσσάρων ὀρεγκῶν πωλεῖσθαι τὸν ἀσφαῖον· αὐτὸς δὲ ἑαυτοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιτήρησιν τῶν Ἀζύμων εἰς κόρον ἐξέσχετο . . . οὐδὲν ἐτόλμησε τῶν ἱερῶν κρινόν· ἐν φαγεῖν. Ant. iii. 15, 3. There was no high-priest by the name of Ishmael during the reign of Claudius, and the historian has evidently mistaken Ishmael for Elionæus, who was the high-priest from A.D. 43 to A.D. 45. The same Hebrew word *El* entering into both names may have given rise to the error. Orosius places the famine in the fourth year of Claudius, which began 25 January, A.D. 44. *Eodem anno imperii ejus (quarto Cland.) fames gravissima per Syriam facta est.* Oros. vii. 6. It was in this famine that queen Helena was of so much service by her charitable contributions. Her son also Izates, king of Adiabene, sent alms to the Jews. No wonder, therefore, that the Christians of the Church of Antioch sent relief to the poor Christians of the Church of Jerusalem.

1682. Achaia and Macedonia, which had been transferred from the people to the emperor, are now restored by Claudius to the people, and are henceforth governed by proconsuls. Ἰὴν τε Ἀχαίαν καὶ τὴν Μικεσίαν, αἰετοῖς ἀρχοντας εἶς ὑπὲρ ὅ Τυρρῆας ἦν· ἰδομένης ἀπὸ ἑωκὸν ὁ Κλαυδῖος τότε τῷ κληρῷ (his cons.). Dion. lx. 24. *Provincias Achaia et Macedonia, quas Tiberius ad curam suam transtulerat, senatui reddidit.* Suet. Claud. 25 (see A.D. 15, no. 1066).

1683. The Rhodians are deprived of their liberty for having crucified some Romans. Τῶν τε Ῥοδίων τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀφείλετο, ὅτι Ῥωμαίους τινὲς ἀνεκολόπισαν. Dion. lx. 24 (see A.D. 42, no. 420; A.D. 51, no. 1749).

1684. Rufius Polion is prefect of the Praetorium in this consulship. Ῥουφρίῳ δὲ δὲ ἡ Παλίων τῷ ἐπάρχῃ εἰκόνα καὶ εἶραν ἐν τῷ βουλευτικῷ (Κλαυδῖος ἔνεμε). Dion. lx. 25 (see A.D. 13, no. 1858; A.D. 47, no. 1712).

1685 Olympic games are celebrated for the first time at Antioch in Syria on 1 October of this year, and continue for thirty days. The festival was established as (in classic phrase) a quinquennial feast, i. e. to be celebrated on the 1st October of every fourth year. 'Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ Κλαυδίου οἱ Ἀντιοχείαι, κτήτορες καὶ πῦλῖται, ἀναφορὰν ἐπέμψαν, δέοντες ὥστε παρυσχεθῆναι αὐτοῖς ἔκπο θείας, αὐτοῦ κειλεύσεως ἀγορασθῆναι τὰ Ὀλυμπία ἀπὸ τῶν Πίσειν τῆς Ἑλλάδος χώρας, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐτησίων προσόδων τῶν ἐαθείων χρημάτων παρὰ Σωσιγίου τινός, συγλητικῶς, συμπολίτου αὐτῶν καὶ παρόντος αὐτοῦ ἀγοράσαι τὰ Ὀλύμπια ὁ αὐτὸς Κλαύδιος βασιλεὺς, ἔτους χημνητίζοντος κατὰ τοῦς Ἀντιοχείας Σύρους 53 (92) — τὰ δὲ τῆς προσόδου εἰσὸς εἰς τὸ ἐπιτελεῖσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς συμπολίταις κατὰ πενταετῆ χρόνον πολύτροπον θεῶν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας λ' μηνὶ Ἰπερβερεταίῳ, τῷ καὶ Ὀκτωβρίῳ, σπηρικῶν θυμολικῶν, καὶ τριγυκῶν, καὶ ὀλλητῶν ἡγῶναι καὶ ἐπικῶν καὶ μοιμύχων ἐπὶ Μαλατ, κ 320. The first year of Antioch began in autumn b. c. 49, and the ninety-second year would begin in A.D. 43, and Hyperborea was the last month of the Syrian year, and therefore the Olympia would be celebrated in October, A.D. 44 (see *Fasti Romani*, A.D. 44).

1686. Apollonius Tyansenis is in Parthia two months after the commencement of the third year of Vardanes and therefore about September, A.D. 44, πρὶν δὲ δὴ τοῦτο τὸ ἔτος τῇ ἀνακτιθείσῃ ἀρχῇ, Ἰρίτων, ἔφη, ἀπτομεθα, δύο ἢ δὴ πον μήνες, *Philost.* V A 1 28 (see A.D. 42, no 1649) and he was a year and eight months in Parthia (say till May, A.D. 46), δ' χρόνος τῆς περὶ Βασιλίας (Vardanem) ἀποδημίας εἰς αὐτοῦ ἔσται καὶ μὴν ὅλως, V A 1 22, and see 1. 40. He then visited India and stayed there four months (say till 1 September, A.D. 46), μὴν τεττάρων ἐκεί τ' ἀπρὶν, V A 1 50, and then returned by sea and up the river to Babylon, when Vardanes was still king, but who was slain late in A.D. 46 (see A.D. 46, no 1702). Καταπλεύσαιτες δὲ ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Ευφράτου φασὶν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀναπλεύσαι περὶ τὸν Οὐριλινην V A 1 55.

1687 It was probably in this year (A.D. 44) that Gotarzes, repentant of having overthrown the kingdom to Vardanes (see A.D. 42, no 1652), renewed the war, but Vardanes defeated him and pursued him as far as the river Sindus.

*Atque interim Gotarzes penitentia concessi regni contrahit copias et leve contra eum ad annum Erienden in cuius transgressu multum certato, perierat Vardanes prosperisque prae-
luis victor nationes subegit ad flumen Sindum quod Dalmis Ariosque disteminit.* *The Ann.* xi 10 (see A.D. 42, no 1652, A.D. 46, no 1702).

1687 a Coins of Claudius

Τὴ Κλαυδίου Κλαυδίου Ρ. Μ. Τ. Ρ. Μ. +
Ἰνρεψι. *Recept. or Pacis Augustae*
Eckhel, vi 240

Coins of Alexandria

Τὴ Κλαυδίου Κλαυδίου Ρ. Μ. Τ. Ρ. Μ. +
(i. e. in the fourth year of Claudius) +
Βασίλειος Κλαυδίου, Σεβαστοῦ. Id vi 52

Inscriptions

Ἰνρεψι τὴ Ρ. Μ. Τ. Ρ. Μ. Id vi 248
C Julius Aug. Iulius Iulius Iulius Iulius, Praetor
candidatus per annos quos inter mortalis fuit
ante eum diem qui fuit 11 Idus Mai. Viri-
lissimos L. Iulius sacrauit Julia Glaphyra colli-
berta et praestitit officia M. Aemilio Lepulo I.
Statulo Tavo Cos (in Castello Gandulfo)
Muratori, i 304 3, who places this inscrip-
tion in A.D. 10, or A.D. 44. See his note.
T. Claudius Drusus F. Caesar Aug. Germanicus
Poultier. *Matrimus Tribune Potest. in Cos*
in *Imp. vii P. P. I. P. P. I. P. P. I.* (via Salariā)
Muratori, i 445, 3, and Gruter, 176, 4, but
who has *Imp. vii*.

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle

Passover, April 1

Pentecost, May 22

Tabernacles, September 26

1688. According to Anger, the changes of the moon were, on 18 March, at 5 A.M., and on 16 April, at 2 P.M., Anger, 41. and the intermediate full moon for the meridian of Paris was on 2 April at 2½ P.M. (see Table of Eclipses). The Passover, or day of Paschal Sacrifices, which was always the day before the full moon, was therefore on 1 April, ending at sunset of that day.

A.D. 45. U.C. 798. Olymp. 206, 1.

M. VINICIUS, II.
T. STATIUS TAPRUS CORVINUS,
ex iv. Kal. Jul.
M. CLAUDIUS RUFINUS.
POMPEIUS SEVERUS.

CLAUDIUS V. FROM 25 JANUARY. TRIB. POT. V. FROM SAME DAY. COS. III. COS. DESIG. IV. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. VII. VIII. IX. X. (As to the titles of COS. DESIG. IV. and IMP. X., see *infra*, no. 1691. How rapidly Claudius multiplied the title of Imperator, is shown by the fact that, though he was not Imperator at all in the lifetime of Caligula, and reigned only fourteen years and nine months, he was Imperator for the twenty-seventh time at the date of his death. See Eckhel, vi. 248.)

1689. Claudine orders that prefects of provinces shall, on quitting office, not succeed immediately to another province, but shall forthwith return to Rome to answer any accusation against them by the provincials. "Ὅπως τε μὴ διασπρόυντο οἱ τοιοῦτοι (prefects) τοὺς ἐθέλοντας σφοῖς καταθέσθαι, οὐδὲν ἄρχην ἐκ' ἀρχῆς αἰμυχρίμα ἐξῆναι (τοῦτο γὰρ ἐνενομίστο μὲν καὶ πρότερον, ἵνα ἀπερρωσίστων τις αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ λαγχάνῃ) οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῖς παριεμένοις τὰς ἐσχήμεναι, οἷς ποιεῖται, ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ποιεῖσθαι, ὅπως εἰ δὲ τι πλημμελήσῃ, μὴ προσλαμβάνουσιν, οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀρχῶν, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀποδημιῶν, τὸ ἀνέσθουσι, etc. Nott, ix. 25 (see A.D. 43, no. 1655).

1690. Early in the year, Fufus, by the orders of the emperor, commands the pontifical robes and the crown of Agrippa to be laid up in Fort Antonia, and Longinus, prefect of Syria, is present with a strong force at Jerusalem to enforce obedience. "Ὅς δὲ (Fufus) καὶ τότε μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τοὺς πρῶτους τῶν ἱεροσολυμαίων κατὰ τὴν κλέανιν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, παρήγαγεν αὐτοῖς τὸν παλῆρον χειρῶν καὶ τῆ ἱερᾶν στολῆς, ἣν φορεῖν μόνος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἔθος ἔχει, εἰς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν, ἥν ἐστι φρούριον, καταθέσθαι κεκοσμήνῃν ὑπὸ τῇ ὤμῳ τῶν ἱερέων. . . Ἀφίκετο γὰρ καὶ οὗτος (Longinus) εἰς τὴν ἱερουσόλωνα πολλὴν ἐπαγόμενος ἐνόσμη. Jos. Ant. xx. 1, 1.

1691. The Jews are permitted to send an embassy to Rome on the subject, which they do; and Claudius, by the influence of the younger Agrippa, then at Rome, grants that

the pontifical robes and crown of Agrippa should be in the custody of the Jews. The edict furnishes us with the exact date. Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Γερμανικός, Διμαρχικῆς ἑξουσίας τὸ πέμπτον (A.D. 45); "Υἱαὶτος ἀποδείξαντός τὸ τέτυκτον (Consul Designatus IV.), Ἀντοκράτωρ τὸ ἑκάτον, Πατὴρ πατρίδος, Ἱεροσολυμαίων ἀρχισυν ἡμεῶν, εἴρη, ἰουδαίων πατρί ἔθνη, λαοῖν. . . Τέρμησιν πρὸς τίσσασιν καλὰ ἔδωκ' Ἰουδαίῳ ἐκὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ρούφου καὶ Νυμφίου Σιδωνεοῦ. Jos. Ant. xx. 1, 2. The fifth year of the tribunitian power was from 24 January, A.D. 45, to 24 January, A.D. 46. The rescript therefore was dated 14 Kal. July, or 28 June, A.D. 45. That Claudius was also Imperator X. and Consul Designatus IV. in A.D. 45, being the fifth year of the tribunitian power, appears from two inscriptions: T. Claudius Drusi F. Caesar Augustus Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus. Trib. Pot. v. Imp. x. Cos. Desig. iv. *ovens ductus aqua virginis disturbatus per C. Cestriena a fundamentis novus fecit ac restituit.* And again: Claudio Cos. Aug. Germ. Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. v. Imp. x. P. P. Cos. Desig. iv. Optatus Reburri F. Imp. Cos. Aug. Imp. D. S. P. D. *evanque cum Optato et Reburro jussu dedicavit. Senatus censu perpetuo bonis publicis iresca.* Inscriptions ad calcem Suetonii. Claudius in A.D. 46 was Consul Designatus IV., but was not actual Consul IV. until A.D. 47. Rufus and Pompeius Silianus, mentioned in the edict, were not the ordinary consuls, but the *consules suffecti* on 28 June. The date of this rescript of Claudius is one of absolute certainty, and is therefore of great value as a fixed point by which to regulate the chronology both precedent and subsequent.

1692. Herod of Chalcis at the same time obtains from the emperor the charge of the Temple, and of the corban, or Temple treasury, and the appointment of the high-priests. Ἡγεῖται δὲ καὶ Ἡρώδης . . . Κλαύδιον Καῖσαρα τὴν ἑξουσίαν τοῦ ἱεῶ καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων, καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀρχιερέων χειροτονίαν, πάντων τε ἐκτελεῖν' ἐξ ἐκείνου τε πᾶσι τοῖς ἀπογόνοις αὐτοῦ παρμένειν ἡ ἐξουσία μέχρι τῆ τοῦ παλαιοῦ τελευτῆς. Jos. Ant. xx. 1, 3. Josephus, however, is in error in stating that the appointment of the high-priests continued with the *lineal descendants* of Herod till the end of the war, for on the death of Herod of Chalcis the appointment of the high-priests was vested in Agrippa, and the *collateral* should therefore be

substituted for the *liael* relatives of Herod of Chalcis.

1693. Herod exercises his new prerogative of appointing to the pontificate by displacing Ellonarus, called Cantheras, and appointing Joseph, son of Cami. Καὶ ἡ δ' Ἡρώδης μετῃσιν τῆς ἀρχιερεῖας τὸν ἐπωκλημένον Καυθηρὸν, Ἰωσήφῳ τῷ τοῦ Κυμὶ ἀντ' ἐκείνου τὴν ἐκείνου τῆς τῆς παρὰ τὸν ἱερεῖον. Jos. Ant. xx. 1, 3 (see A.D. 43, no. 1663; A.D. 47, no. 1715).

1694. Fadus about this time captures an impostor called Theudas, and puts him to death. Jos. Ant. xx. 5, 1. There is an insurgent by the name of Theudas spoken of by Gamaliel in the Acts of the Apostles, v. 36; but it cannot be this Theudas, for Gamaliel places the time of Theudas before that of Judas of Galilee A.D. 6. Μετὰ τούτων (Theudas) ἀνέστη Ἰούδας ὁ Γαλιλαῖος. Acts, v. 37. Who the Theudas of Gamaliel was, see B.C. 4, no. 903.

1695. Barnabas and Paul make their first circuit, embarking at Seleucia and landing at Salamis, on the eastern coast of Cyprus, the native country of Barnabas. They traverse the island from east to west, and arrive at Paphos, on the western coast. Acts, xiii. 4 (see A.D. 44, no. 1673; A.D. 46, no. 1703).

Sergius Paulus was at this time proconsul of Cyprus. Τῷ Ἀιθιόπῳ Σεργίῳ Παύλῳ. Acts, xiii. 7. The accuracy of Luke in describing Sergius Paulus as *proconsul* (the title given to the governor of one of the senate's or people's provinces) is remarkable. Cyprus had originally, i.e. on the division of the provinces between the emperor and the senate, or people, in A.D. 27, belonged to the emperor, and was governed by an imperial prefect called ὑποστράτηγος, or *propraetor*; but in A.D. 22 an exchange was made, and Cyprus was assigned to the senate (see B.C. 27, no. 666; B.C. 22, no. 712). There is also a coin of Cyprus struck in the time of Claudius, when Cominius Proculus was governor, the successor perhaps of Sergius Paulus, and the same title of Ἀνθύπατος is given. Κοντρωῶν + Εἰσι Κομινίου Προκλου. On another coin in the time of Augustus is the inscription: A. Plantius Procos. Eckhel, iii. 84.

1696. An eclipse of the sun on 1 August, the emperor's birthday. Claudius, in anticipation of it, had issued a proclamation, stating the hour when it would begin and how long

it would continue. This proclamation was laughed at as ridiculously unnecessary; and it shows that the ancients understood astronomy with great exactness. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἥλιος ἐπὶ τοῖς γενεθλίοις αὐτοῦ ἐκλείψει ἔμελλεν . . . προέγραψεν οὐ μόνον ὅτε τε ἐκλείψει καὶ ὅποτε καὶ ἔφ' ὅσπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τίς αἰτίας· δι' ἧς ἀναγνυλὼς γενεσίσθαι τοῦτο ἔμελλεν. Dion, lx. 26. This eclipse accords with modern calculations (see Table of Eclipses); so that the years from that time to this have been truly reckoned, however the fact may be accounted for.

1697. Antipater is archon at Athens. Ἀρχοντας Ἀθήνησιν Ἀντικατὰρ, ὑπατεύοντων ἐν Ρώμῃ Μάρκου Βενεδίου καὶ Τίτου Στρατίδου Ταύρου. Phlegon, Mir. Müller's Frag. Græc. Hist. iii. 618.

1698. A coin of Herod of Chalcis.

Βασίλειος Ἡρώδης [Φιλῶδ] πύλως. Κυρὰ διαδεδωμένη + Κλαυδῷ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῷ. ET. B. ἰστὴν κοροῖαν, l. c. in the fifth year of his reign. Eckhel, iii. 402.

1698 a. Coin of Antioch.

Imp. Tī. Claudius Aug. Ger. + Εἰσι Κομινίου Αἰτωχίων ET. Δγ., l. c. ninety-four, and therefore struck between 1 Nov. A.D. 43, and 1 Nov. A.D. 43. Cassius Longinus at this time was prefect of Syria.

Id. iii. 280.

Coin of Alexandria.

Τι. Κλαυδῖ, Καίσαρ. Σεβαστῷ. Αὐτοκρ. I. B. (l. c. in the fifth year of Claudius) + Μεσασινα Καίσαρ. Σεβαστῷ. Id. iv. 52.

Inscription.

Ti. Claudius Drusi F. Caesar Aug. Germ. Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. v. Imp. vi. (lege vii.) (Nov. Des. iii. Gruter, 188, 5.

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 21.

Pentecost, May 11.

Tabernacles, September 15.

A.D. 46. V.C. 799. Olymp. 206, 2.

VALERIUS ASIATICUS, H.
M. JUNIUS SEPTIMIUS
ex Kal. Jul.
P. SULLIVS RUFUS
P. OSTORIUS SCAPULA.

CLAUDIVS VI. FROM 25 JAN. TRIB. POT. VI. FROM
SAME DAT. COS. III. COS. DESIG. IV. PONT.
MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. X. XI.

1699. Awinus Gallus conspires against Claudius, and is banished. Dion, lx. 27.

1700. Claudius is the only person in Rome left in ignorance of the intrigues of his wife Messalina. (Κλαύδιος) μόνος οὐκ ᾔπιστοτο τὰ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ δρώμενα. Dion, lx. 28.

1701. Fadus is succeeded by Tiberius Alexander as procurator of Judæa. Ἦλθε δὲ Φάβιος Τιβέριος Ἀλεξάνδρος ἐπὶ τοῦτο, Ἀλεξάνδρον παῖς τοῦ καὶ Ἀλαρχήσαντος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ. Jos. Ant. xx. 3, 2. T. Alexander was a Jewish renegade. Τοῖς γὰρ παρτοῖς οὐκ ἐτίμεινεν οὗτος ἔθνη. Ib. As Alexander preceded Cumianus, who was himself appointed in the eighth year of Claudius, A.D. 48, and as Fadus had certainly been appointed in A.D. 44, the change of procurators, if we assign an equal duration of office, viz. two years, to Fadus and Alexander, would occur about this time (see A.D. 44, no. 1679; A.D. 48, no. 1719).

1702. Vardanes, king of Parthia, is slain by his subjects, and Gotarzes is called in and becomes king. Tac. Ann. xi. 10 (see A.D. 42, no. 1649; A.D. 50, no. 1745). Vardanes, according to Philostratus, had reigned four years and upwards, for when Apollonius was with him Vardanes had reigned two years and two months: Philost. V. A. i. 28; and Apollonius remained twenty months in Parthia, V. A. i. 22; i. 40; and then travelled to India, where he remained four months, V. A. iii. 50; and then returned by sea up the Euphrates, when Vardanes was still living. V. A. i. 58 (see the passages cited under A.D. 44, no. 1686).

1703. Barnabas and Paul sail from Paphos to Perga in Pamphylia, and thence to Antioch in Pisidia, and thence to Iconium, the capital of Lycaonia. Acts, xiii. 13, 14, 51.

Pamphylia, including part of Pisidia, was at this time a Roman province, and governed by a Roman proprætor appointed by the emperor (see B.C. 51, no. 191). But the greater part of Pisidia, including Antioch, was comprised within the imperial province of Galatia, which was governed by a proprætor (see B.C. 25, no. 675).

Lycaonia was part of the dominions of Antiochus, king of Commagene (see A.D. 41, no. 1622).

Paul and Barnabas are obliged to fly from Iconium, and proceed to Lystra; where, from the current legend of Jupiter and Mercury having in disguise visited Lycaon, from whom the country was named (see Ovid's Metamorph. i. 163), Paul and Barnabas are taken for Jupiter and Mercury, and can scarcely restrain the people from worshipping them as gods. Acts, xiv. 61.

1704. The Jews of Antioch and Iconium hear of the successes of the Apostles, and come to Lystra and excite the populace against them, when they withdraw to Derbe of Lycaonia. Acts, xiv. 20. Paul and Barnabas must have spent some time at Lystra, or the report of their successes would not have been carried to Antioch and Iconium, nor would the Jews of the latter places have concerted the plan of following up the Apostles to Derbe.

1705. Paul and Barnabas at Derbe make many disciples, μαθητεύσαντες ἄνους, Acts, xiv. 21; and evangelise the neighbouring country. Δέροντες καὶ τὴν περὶχωρὸν, ἐκεῖ ἦσαν ἐπαγγελιζόμενοι. Acts, xiv. 6, 7. Derbe was in Isaurica, but Isaurica itself was part of Lycaonia. Τῆς δὲ Ἀντακίας ἐπὶ καὶ ἡ Ἰσαυρικῇ. Strabo, xii. 6.

1706. Barnabas and Paul turn back from Derbe and revisit in order Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch in Pisidia, and then preach in Perga, and, embarking at Attalia, return to Antioch. Acts, xiv. 21-26.

1707. According to our Tables, Paul and Barnabas spent the year A.D. 45 in Cyprus, and the year A.D. 46 in Pamphylia and Lycaonia. But the length of time passed in this circuit cannot be exactly ascertained. It was certainly commenced after the Passover A.D. 44, when Paul and Barnabas were at Jerusalem, and it was concluded before A.D. 48 (see that year, no. 1722).

1707 a. Coins of Claudius.

Ti. Claud. Caesar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. vi. Imp. xi. with head wreathed with laurel + *De Britannis* or *Britanni*, or *Britannia* inscribed on triumphal arch. Or + *P. M. Augur. Cos. iii.* with the emperor in triumphal car. Or + *Imper. Recept.* Or + *Constantie Augusti.* Or + *Paci Augustae.* Or + *S. P. Q. R. P. P. ob C. S. (i. e. ob eices servatos).* Eckhel, vi. 240.

Coin of Alexandria.

Ti. Κλαύδι. Καίσαρ. Σεβαστ. Περσικῶν. Αὐτοκρ. Ι. 5. (i. e. in the sixth year of Claudius) + *Μεσσαλίνα Καίσαρ Σεβαστ.* Id. iv. 52.

Inscriptions.

Ti. Claudius Drusus Fil. Caesar Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Max. Trib. Potest. . . Imp. xi. P. P. Cos. Desig. . . iii. Arcus Duclius Aquae Virginis Disturbatus per C. Caesarem a fundamentis novus fecit ac restituit (Rome).

Murator, i. 144 (see A.D. 45, no. 1691).

Ti. Claudius Drusi F. Caesar Aug. Ger. Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. v. Imp. xi. P. P. Cos. iii. Desig. in Aug. M. P. xxi. (in Gallia). Id. iv. 2007, 2.

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 9.

Pentecost, May 30.

Tabernacles, October 4.

A.D. 47. U.C. 600. Olymp. 206, 3.

TIB. CLAUD. CAESAR AVGVSTVS, iv. *Qui natus est cum excepit ex Kal. Mart. Tiberius Plautius Silvianus Aheniens.* L. VITELLIVS, iii.

CLAUDIVS VII. FROM 25 JANUARY, AND TRIB. POT. VII. FROM SAME DAY. COS. IV. PONT. MAX. PATR. PATR. IMP. XI. XII. XIII. XIV. XV. (see Eckhel, vi. 249).

1708. Claudius is consul for two months only. *Bimestres ceteros (praeter novissimum) consulatus gessit.* Suet. Claud. 14. This consulship was the 860th year u.c., *ἐν ᾗ δὲ τῷ ἔτει ἦν ὅτι Κλαύδιος τὸ τέταρτον καὶ Βιτῆλλιος Λούκιος τὸ τρίτον, δεκάκσιουσὸν τῇ Πρώμῃ ἔτους ὄντος, ὑκάτευσαν*, Dion, ix. 29; and the *Iudi seculares* were celebrated *isdem* *cosa*. *Iudi seculares octingentesimo post Romanum conditum, quarto et sexagesimo, quum Augustus eliderat, spectati sunt.* Tac. Ann. xi. 11. Britannicus, a son of Claudius, and Nero take a part in the

games. *Sedente Claudio, Circensibus ludis cum pueri nobiles equis ludicrum Troje inarent, interque eos Britannicus Imperatore genitus, et L. Domitius adoptione mox in imperium et cognomentum Neronis ulscitus, favor plebis acrior in Domitium loco praesagii acceptus est.* Tac. Ann. xi. 11. *Tener adhuc, necdum maturum pueritiam, Circensibus ludis Trojam constantissime favore libiliterque huius.* Suet. Nero, 7.

1709. Vespasian and Titus are in Britain, and Corbulo in Gaul and Germany (*his* *cosa*). Dion, ix. 30. Tac. Ann. xi. 18.

1710. Triumph of Aulus Plautius for the conquest of Britain. *Ὁ δὲ Πλαύτιος ἀπὸ τοῦ Βρετανικῆς πολέμου, ὡς καὶ καλῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ χειρίσας καὶ καρποθῶσας, καὶ ἐπρεθέη ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλαυδίου καὶ ἐβράμηνεν (his* *cosa*). Dion, ix. 30.

1711. Death of Valerius Asiaticus (*his* *cosa*). Tac. Ann. xi. 1.

1712. Crispinus (*his* *cosa*.) is prefect of the Praetorian guard. *Crispinum Praetorii Praefectum.* Tac. Ann. xi. 1; xvi. 17. He had been appointed by the influence of Messalina. Tac. Ann. xii. 42 (see A.D. 44, no. 1684; A.D. 48, no. 1718).

1713. Advocates at Rome are restricted to a fee of ten sesteria for pleading a cause at Rome. *Cupendis pecuniis posuit modum usque ad decem sestertia, quem egressi repetundarum tenerentur (his* *cosa*). Tac. Ann. xi. 7 (see n.o. 17, no. 751).

1714. Christianity probably begins now to make a sensible impression at Rome, for Claudius complains that the religious observances of their forefathers were neglected through the prevalence of foreign superstitions. *Quod nunc segnius fieri, publicis circa bonas artes socordia, et quia externa superstitiones valescant.* Tac. Ann. xi. 15.

1715. Herod of Chalcis removes Joseph, son of Camudus, from the pontificate, and appoints Ananias, son of Nebedeus. *Ὁ δὲ τῆς Χαλκίδος βασιλεὺς, μετασθῆας τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Ἰωσήφον τὸν τοῦ Καμίδου, τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς τιμῆς Ἀνανίᾳ τῷ τοῦ Νεβεδαίου ἐπέσωκεν.* Jos. Ant. xx. 5, 2. This is mentioned next before the arrival of Cumanus and the death of Herod of Chalcis, in A.D. 48 (see A.D. 45, no. 1693; A.D. 59, no. 1880).

1715 a. Coin of Claudius.

Ti. Claud. Caesar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. vii. Imp. xiii. + *Paci Augustae.* Eckhel, vi. 241.

Inspection.

Tro Salute Th. Claudii Caesaris Aug. Germanici Pontif. Max. Trib. Pot. vii. Cos. iiii. Imp. xxi. P. L. Consaris . . . Liberorumque . . . ex toto suscepto C. Julius Sec. P. Cor. Posthumus Procj. Egypti Th. Claudii Caesaris Aug. Germanici et Auri P. xxi. Gruter, 113, 1.

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 29.

Pentecost, May 19.

Tabernacles, September 23.

A.D. 48. U.C. 801. Olymp. 206, 4.

A. VIBULUS

I. VERGILIUS P. F. FUSCA

ex Kal. Jul.

I. VIBULUS

C. CASSIUS PRISO

forte Cn. Hostilius Geta.

L. Vespilius.

CLAUDII VIII. FROM 25 JANUARY. TRIB. POT. VIII. FROM SAME DAY. COS. IV. POST. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. XV.

1716. A Lustrum by Claudius as censor. *Condiditque Lustrum, quo censu sunt civium lxx. centena Lxxv. milia lxxvi.* Tac. Ann. xi. 25. Suet. Claud. 16. Plin. N. H. vii. 49; x. 2. Fasti Hellen. iii. 467 (see A.D. 14, no. 1051).

1716 a. Silius, while Claudius is at Ostia, marries Messalin, the wife of Claudius! (*his cons.*). Tac. Ann. xi. 26.

1717. Death of Messalina in the autumn. *At Messalina non alius solutor lurn, adulto onetunio, simulacrum vinctumq; per domum volebat, etc. (his cons.).* Tac. Ann. xi. 31. Dion, lx. 31.

Pallas, the brother of Felix, was at this time in the highest favour. *Flugrantissimisque in tempore gratia Pallas (his cons.).* Tac. Ann. xi. 23.

1718. Geta is prefect of the Pretorian guard. *Geta Pretorū Prefecto (his cons.).* Tac. Ann. xi. 31, 32; and see xvi. 17 (see A.D. 47, no. 1712; A.D. 51, no. 1750).

1719. Cumanus arrives in Judæa, as successor to Tiberius Alexander, probably about midsummer, the usual season. *Τιβεριῷ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Κοίμανος ἄφ' αὐτοῦ ἐπέλθοις· καὶ τελευτῶν τὸν βίον Ἠρώδης, etc.* Jos. Ant. xx. 5, 2. Herod the appointment of Cumanus is placed before

the death of Herod, but in the Wars it follows after the death of Herod. *Μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Καλιίδος Ἠρώδης τελευτῶν . . . Μετὰ τὴν Ἠρώδου τελευτὴν, ὅς ἦρθε τῆς Χαλκίδος, καθίστησι Κλαύδιος εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν, υἱὸν Ἀγρίππας, τῆς δὲ ἄλλης ἐπαρχίας διατέχεται τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου Κοίμανος. Bell. ii. 11, 6; ii. 12, 1. The two events, therefore, were nearly contemporaneous. Fadus and Alexander were of a peaceful character. Of (Fadus and Alexander) μηδὲν παρικοινύτες τῶν πατρῶων ἐθῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὸ ἔθος διεβάλασαν. Bell. ii. 11, 6 (see A.D. 46, no. 1701; A.D. 52, no. 1782).*

1720. That Herod of Chalcis (see A.D. 41, no. 1620) died either this year, or at least before 25 January, A.D. 49, is testified by Josephus, for he places it in the eighth year of Claudius (i. e. between 25 January, A.D. 48, and 25 January, A.D. 49). *Καὶ τελευτῶν τὸν βίον Ἠρώδης, ὁ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως Ἀγρίππας ἀδελφός, ὁδὸν τῆς Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος ἀρχῆς ἔει. Jos. Ant. xx. 5, 2. It was probably late in this year, or at the very beginning of the next, for he was succeeded in the kingdom of Chalcis by the younger Agrippa, and the latter was not appointed till after May, A.D. 49 (see that year, no. 1726). Tacitus, under A.D. 49, speaks of the death of a king Agrippa as having lately occurred. *Ituræque et Judææ, defunctis regibus Subicæque Agrippæ, provincie Syria additæ. Tac. Ann. xii. 23. Herod Agrippa had died six years before, and Tacitus must have meant Herod of Chalcis; and if so, we have the testimony of Tacitus that Herod was dead in A.D. 49. He is under a mistake, however, as to the annexation of Chalcis to the province of Syria, unless (which is possible) Chalcis was annexed to Syria for a short interval between the death of Herod and the appointment of Agrippa the younger.**

1721. Paul and Barnabas had sojourned at Antioch no little time after their return from their first circuit (see A.D. 46, no. 1706), when disciples from Judea came down to Antioch and propounded the doctrine that heathen converts must be circumcised. *Διτρίβον δὲ (Paul and Barnabas) ἐξέ (at Antioch) χρόνον οὐκ ὀλίγον σὺν τοῖς μαθηταῖς· καὶ τινες καταβάντες ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπέτακον τοὺς ἀελλοῦς ὅτι· Ἐάν μὴ περιτμήνητε τὸ ἔθει Μωυσέως, οὐ δύνασθε σωθῆναι. Acts, xiv. 28; xv. 1.*

1722. Paul and Barnabas and some others are sent to the Apostles and Elders of Jerusalem to take their opinion upon the question, and they pass thither by land, through Phoenicia and Samaria. *Οἱ μὲν οὖν προπεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διήρχοντο τὴν Φοινικὴν καὶ Σαμάρειαν, ἐξηγοῦμενοι τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν.* Acts xv 3 From the circumstance of their proclaiming by the way the conversion of the Gentiles, this journey, though expressed above to be *χρόνον ὕκε δλιγον* from their return to Antioch, was probably not separated by a very long interval, as otherwise their success amongst the Gentiles would have been sufficiently known. The interval assigned in the Tables is about a year.

1723. A council of the Apostles and Elders is called at Jerusalem, and a resolution is passed that the Gentiles need not be circumcised. Acts, xv 6.

James, the brother of Our Lord, was Bishop of the Church at Jerusalem at this time, and as such, though not one of the twelve Apostles, presided at the council even in the presence of Peter. *Μετὰ δὲ τὸ συγῆσαι αὐτοὺς, ἀπερίβη Ἰάκωβος λεγων διὸ ἐγὼ κρίνω μὴ παρενοχλεῖν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπιστρέφουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Θεόν.* Acts, xv 13, 19 James was one of the sons of Joseph and Mary, and so the half-brother of Our Lord, and was a different person both from James the Greater the brother of John and the cousin of Our Lord (being the son of Salome, the sister of Mary), and from James the Less, the brother of Joseph and son of Mary, the wife of Cleophas, or Alphæus (see A D 29, no 1198).

The ascription of the council to this year is partly conjectural. Paul was certainly at Jerusalem at the Passover A D 11, and he had since made a circuit through Cyprus, Pamphylia, and Lycæonia, and spent no little time at Antioch, and we know that he was at Corinth at the beginning of A D 52, and in the interval from the council at Jerusalem to his arrival at Corinth he had preached through Phrygia, and Galatia, and Macedonia. A due adjustment of the events over this space of time, from A D 41 to A D 52, would seem to place the date of the council in A D 48 (see A D 44, no 1669, A D 52, no 1779).

1724. The decision of the council is communicated by a letter entrusted to the hands of Judas called Barsabbæ, and Sylvanus, or Silas,

who are sent to Antioch for the purpose. *Οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τοῖς κατα τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν ἀδελφοῖς τοῖς ἐξ ἐθνῶν, χαίρειν, εἰς Acts, xv 23.* At this time, therefore, the Gospel had already spread not only through Syria, but also (doubtless by the preaching of Paul before he joined Barnabas) through Cilicia.

1725. After sojourning some time at Antioch, Barnabas and the rest of the brethren (except Silas) return to Jerusalem, but Silas remains at Antioch. *Ποῦ πάντες δὲ χρόνον ἀπελύθησαν μετ' εὐφροσύνης ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους· ἔδοξε δὲ τῷ Σιλᾷ ἐπιμείναι αὐτοῦ.* Acts, xv 38.

1725 a Coin of Antioch

Imp Ti. Claudius Aug. Ger., + *Επι Κασσιου Απτοχέων* Br 5 q, 1 e ninety-six, and therefore struck between 1 Nov A D 47, and 1 Nov A D 48. Eckhel, iii 280.

Coin of Polemo II King of Pontus

Βασίλεως Πολιμωνος + {4, 1 e in the eleventh year of his reign (see A D 38, no 1513). Id n 372.

The Sabbatic year

Passover, April 16

Pentecost, June 6

Tabernacles, October 11

A. D. 49 U C 802. Olymp. 207, 1

C ΡΟΥΡΗΛΙΣ ΛΟΝΓΙΝΟΙΣ ΓΥΛΙΕΣ

Q VERANNIO

ex Kal Mai

L MENIVIS FOLLIO

Q ALIVS MATIVS

CLAUDII IN FROM 25 JAN TRIN POT IN FROM SAME DAY COS IV PONT MAX PAT PATR IMP XVI XVII XVIII (see Eckhel, vi 249).

First year of the reign of Agrippa II from some time in the second quarter.

1726. The news of the death of Herod, king of Chalcis, having reached Rome, Claudius soon after appoints Agrippa the younger king of Chalcis. *Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἡρώδου τελευτήν, ὅς ἦρξε τῆς Χαλκίδος, καθίσταται Κλαύδιος εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ υἱοῦ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν υἱὸν Ἀγρίππας.* Jos Bell ii 12, 1. Τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ (Herodis) Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Ἀγρίππας τῷ τεωρεφιδῶσι. Ant xx 8, 2 (see A D 48, no 1720, A D 53, no 1788). It was not earlier than

19 April, for that day in A.D. 66 is placed in the seventeenth year of Agrippa's reign. Καὶ προσλαμβάνει τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ πάλαιος ἐπ' αὐτῷ μὲν ἔτει τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας, ἐπ' αὐτῷ δὲ τῇ Ἀγρίππᾳ βασιλείας Ἀγρεμίστου μηνός. Bell. ii. 14, 4 (see A.D. 66, no. 2005). And apparently it was not long after 19 April, for when Claudius had completed his twelfth year, which was on 25 January, A.D. 53, Agrippa is said to have then reigned four years. Τῆς δὲ ἀρχῆς ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔτος ἦν πενταδικῶς (Claudius) θεωρεῖται τὸν Ἀγρίππαν τῇ Φιλίππου ἑταροχίᾳ . . . τὴν Χαλκίδα ὅ' αὐτὸν ἀπαρτίζεται ἰσχυροτέραισι αὐτῆς ἐν ῥώσῳ. Ant. xx. 7, 1. In the passage from the Wars, Josephus reckons the reign of Agrippa, not as he had done in the case of Herod the Great by Consular or Jewish years, viz. from every 1 January, or 1 Nisan, but by actual years from the commencement of the reign of Agrippa *de facto* in the second quarter of A.D. 49. The reason of his here computing in this way probably was that the historian, as the contemporary of this Agrippa, knew the exact time when his reign commenced, and could not with propriety, when giving the year of Nero's actual reign, adopt a different mode of calculation as to Agrippa's reign. Had Josephus computed the reign of Agrippa like that of Herod, from 1 January, or 1 Nisan, next preceding his accession to the throne, the 19 April, A.D. 66, which was after the commencement of the new Roman year on 1 January, and the new Jewish year on 1 Nisan, would necessarily have fallen under the eighteenth, and not the seventeenth year of Agrippa.

1727. About the same time the kingdom of Iturea Libani, in consequence of the death of Soemus (the date of which does not appear), is annexed to the province of Syria. *Ituræque et Iudæi defunctis regibus Soemæno atque Agrippæ provincie Syriæ additi* (his cons.). Tac. Ann. xii. 23 (see A.D. 38, no. 1583; as to Agrippa, see A.D. 48, no. 1720).

1728. Claudius in this consulship marries Agrippina. *C. Pompeio Qu. Veranno cons. partem inter Claudium et Agrippinam matrimonium jam fœdâ, jam amore illicito firmabatur*, etc. Tac. Ann. xii. 5. Dion. lx. 31.

1729. Agrippina, to ingratiate herself with the people, procures from Claudius the recall of Seneca, with a pretorship and the tutorage of Nero. *Agrippina . . . veniam exilii pro*

Annæo Seneca, exul prætorum impetrat. Tac. Ann. xii. 8. He had been banished in A.D. 41 (see that year, no. 1627), so that he had continued in exile for eight years. The fourteenth year from the time of his recall synchronised with some part of the eighth year of Nero, which was from 12 October, A.D. 61, to 12 October, A.D. 62. *Quintus decimus annus est, Cæsar, ex quo spei tue admotus sum, octaves ut imperium obtines*. Tac. Ann. xiv. 53. This was said by Seneca in the year A.D. 64; from which it follows that Seneca was recalled between 1 January, A.D. 48, and 12 October, A.D. 49.

1730. In the same consulship a Parthian embassy arrives in Rome to ask that Meherdates, a hostage at Rome, might be sent to be their king. *Per idem tempus legati Parthorum, ad expectandum . . . Meherdatem missi, senatum ingrediuntur*, etc. Tac. Ann. xii. 10.

1731. At this time Cassius Longinus was still prefect of Syria, for to him was committed the charge of aiding Meherdates in gaining the throne of Parthia; and it would seem that he continued in office for the whole year, for he accompanied Meherdates to the Euphrates. *Datum post hæc C. Cassio, qui Syriæ præerat, deducere juvenem ripam ad Euphratis . . . Igitur exercitus quorum de sententiâ petitus rex, positisque castris apud Zeugma inde maribus pervenit, postquam illustres Parthi rexque Arabum Acharas advenerat, mox et* (Cassius) *Meherdatem . . . urgeret capti*. Ann. xii. 11, 12. This Achar was king of Arabia (see A.D. 39, no. 1580; A.D. 52, no. 1783). And Izates at this time was still king of Adiabene. *Permeant Adiabenes, quorum rex Izates*. Tac. Ann. xii. 13 (see A.D. 37, no. 1525).

1732. The campaign of Meherdates proceeds slowly, and he does not reach Armenia till the beginning of winter. *Armeniam petunt id temporis importunum, quia hyems occipiebat*. Tac. Ann. xii. 12. Meherdates is deserted and defeated in battle, and delivered up to treachery to Gotarzes. *Dolo ejus vincitur traditurque victori* (his cons.). Tac. Ann. xii. 14.

1733. Mithridates, who had been ejected from the kingdom of Bosphorus, attempts to recover the throne, but fails, and is arrested in Pontus and delivered up to the Romans, and sent to Rome. Tac. Ann. xii. 15. Plin. N. H. vi. 5 (see A.D. 41, no. 1623). The successor

of Mithridates in the kingdom of Bosphorus was his brother Cotys. Tac. Ann. xii. 15, 18.

Both Bosphorus and Pontus had been subject to Polemo, but seem from this time to have been separated, as Polemo was king of Pontus until A.D. 66 (see no. 1998), when he surrendered it to the Romans.

1734. Cadius Rufus is spoken of by Tacitus as proconsul of Bithynia. *Damnatus et lege repetundarum Cadius Rufus uersantibus Bithyniis*. Tac. Ann. xii. 22. And Junius Cilo is mentioned as procurator of Pontus. *Traditus post hoc Mithridates, vetusque Romam per Junium Cilonem procuratorem Ponti, ferocius quam pro fortunâ disseruisse apud Cæsarem ferebatur*. Tac. Ann. xii. 21. As Dion, in relating an anecdote of this Junius Cilo, speaks of him as holding office in Bithynia, we must take Pontus to mean that part of it which was annexed to Bithynia. See Dion, l. 33. Pontus Polemoniacus did not become a Roman province until A.D. 66 (see that year, no. 1998).

1735. A famine in Greece in the ninth year of the reign of Claudius. Euseb. Chron., Jerome's version. The Armenian version, which gives the dates loosely, assigns it to the eighth year of Claudius.

1736. At a passover, and probably at the passover of this year, great multitudes are trampled and crushed to death at Jerusalem, in a sudden panic at sight of the troops of Cumanus. *Διατέχεται τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου Κούμανος, ἐφ' οὗ θόρυβοι τε ἤρξαντο, καὶ φθορὰ πάλιν Ἰουδαίων ἐγένετο, συνελευθότος γὰρ τοῦ πλίσθους ἐπὶ τὴν ἐορτὴν τῶν Ἀζύμων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς σελήνης ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοῶν ἐρεστώσης, etc.* Jos. Bell. ii. 12, 1. *Τῆς πάσχα προσαγορευόμενης ἐορτῆς ἐστάσαν, καὶ ὅν ἦν ἴσος ἐστὶν ἡγινάζεμα προσφέρουσθαι, etc.* Ant. xx. 5, 3. It was not the passover of A.D. 48, for Cumanus probably did not arrive till after midsummer at least of that year, but it may have been at the passover A.D. 49. It is mentioned by Josephus both in the Wars and the Antiquities as the first transaction under Cumanus. Orosius places the event in the seventh year of Claudius, or A.D. 47, so that he must have supposed Cumanus to have arrived as procurator in A.D. 46. *Anno ejus (Claudii) septimo, sub procuratore Judææ Cumanio in Hierosolymis tanta seditio in diebus Azymorum exorta est, etc.* Oros. vii. 6. (see A.D. 48, no. 1710).

1737. Shortly after this, another disturbance arises from a Roman soldier having burnt in mockery a copy of the Holy Scriptures. Cumanus at this time was at Cæsarea. *Ὁὖτω δὲ καὶ τῶν πρώτων πίστεως ἐπέπαντο, καὶ κακὸν ἄλλο προσέπειπε. Jos. Ant. xx. 5, 4. Μεταλαμβάνει δὲ ταύτην τὴν συμφορὰν ληστρικῶς ἄλλος θόρυβος. Bell. ii. 12, 2.*

1738. Paul with Silas, and Barnabas with Mark, commence separately a second circuit; Paul and Silas going through Syria and Cilicia, and Barnabas and Mark sailing to Cyprus. Some time had elapsed since the mission to Jerusalem in A.D. 48 (see no. 1722), for *ἴδοξε δὲ τῷ Σίλα ἐπιμεῖναι αὐτοῦ* (Antioch). Παῦλος δὲ καὶ Βαρνάβας διέτριβον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, διδάσκοντες καὶ ἐξαγγελλόμενοι μετὰ καὶ ἑτέρων πολλῶν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Κυρίου. Μετὰ δὲ τινὰς ἡμέρας εἶπε Παῦλος πρὸς Βαρνάβαν, etc. Acts, xv. 34. At the same time, the interval since the council at Jerusalem appears not to have been very long, for Paul and Silas, in travelling through Syria and Cilicia, distribute the decree of the council by the way amongst the churches of Syria and Cilicia, to which it had been addressed. *Ὅτε δὲ διεπορεύοντο τῆς πόλεως, παρετίθουν αὐτοῖς φυλάσσειν τὰ δόγματα τὰ κεκαρμένα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῶν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ. Acts, xvi. 4.*

Paul comes to Derbe and Lystra, and at the latter place adopts Timothy as his fellow-labourer in the ministry. *Κατήντησε δὲ (Παῦλος) εἰς Δέρβην καὶ Λύστραν· καὶ ἰδοὺ μαθητὴς τις ἦν ἐκεῖ ὀνόματι Τιμόθεος. Acts, xvi. 1.* From the position of the word ἐκεῖ it would seem that Timothy was of Lystra, and not of Derbe.

1739. Dinophilus is archon at Athens. *Ἀρχοντας Ἀθῆναις Διονυφίλου, ὑπατεύοντων ἐν Ῥώμῃ Κόιντου Οὐβερτίου (lege Οὐβερντίου) καὶ Γναίου Πομπηίου Γάλλου. Philog. Mir. c. 22.*

1739 a. Coins of Claudius.

Cl. Claud. Caesar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. riii. Imp. xvi., or xvii., or xviii. + De Britannia, or Constantia Augusti, or Puci Augustæ, or S. P. Q. R. P. P. ob C. S. (i. e. ob civis servatam). Eckhel, vi. 242.

Inscriptions.

Tib. Claudius Caesar Aug. Germ. Pau. Mar. Tr. P. Pot. riii. Imp. xvi. Cons. vili. P. P. Cæsar. (In civitate Testinâ).

Murator. i. 220, 3.

Ti. Claudius Drusi F. Caesar Aug. Germanicus Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. viii. Imp. xvi. Cos. iii. Censor (Rome). Muratori, i. 226, 4.

Ti. Claudius Drusi F. Caesar Aug. Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. viii. Imp. xvi. Cos. iii. (age iii.). Cos. Design. . . P. P. Vices Veneries (Mediolani). Id. i. 226, 7.

Ti. Claudius Drusi F. Caesar Aug. Germanicus Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. viii. Imp. xvi. Cos. iii. Censor Perpetuus. Auct. Populi Romani Finibus Pomernian Ampliavit Terminosque Jussit. (Rome). Id. i. 114, 4.

Ti. Claudius Drusi F. Caesar Aug. Germanicus Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. viii. Imp. xvi. Cos. iii. Censor P. P. Auctis Populi Romani finibus Pomernian Ampliavit Terminosque Jussit. (Rome). Gruter, 106, 4.

Ti. Claudius Caesar Aug. P. M. Trib. P. viii. Imp. xvi. De Britannia (In Britannia). Id. 238, 5.

First year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 5.

Pentecost, May, 26.

Tabernacles, Sept. 30.

A.D. 50. U.C. 803. Olymp. 207, 2.

C. ANTIQVIVS VETVS.

M. NEPTIVS NERVIVS.

CLAVDIVS X. FROM 25 JANUARY. TRIB. POT. X. FROM SAME DAY. COS. IV. COS. DESIG. V. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. XVIII.

Second year of the reign of Agrippa II. from some time in the second quarter.

1740. The adoption of Nero by Claudius, in this consulship. *C. Antistio M. Nullo cos. adoptio in Domitiana, auctoritate Pallantis, festinatur.* Tac. Ann. xii. 25. Dion, lx. 34. In Suetonius is the following passage: *Tener ad huc, necdum naturâ pueritâ, Circensibus ludis Trojan (Nero) lusit. Undecimo ætatis anno a Claudio adoptatus est.* Suet. Claud. 7. But as Nero was born on 15 December, A.D. 37 (see that year, no. 1527), the adoption was in his thirteenth year. Neither would the words *undecimo ætatis anno* be correct if referred to the preceding sentence describing the *lusus Trojæ*, for that was in his tenth year (see A.D. 47, no. 1708).

1741. Some of the captives taken in the time of Varus are liberated after an interval of forty years and upwards. *Aucta lætitia, quod quondam e clade Variânâ quadragesimâ post annu-*

veritâ eruerant. Tac. Ann. xii. 27 (see A.D. 9, no. 1031).

1742. The Catti, a nation of Upper Germania, send an embassy to Rome. Tac. Ann. xii. 28. See Suet. Claud. 25.

1743. Expulsion of Vannius (whom Drusus had made king of the Suevi), after a reign of thirty years and upwards. *Per idem tempus Vannius, Suevis a Druso Cesare impositus, pellitur regno . . . Num vis innumera, Legii, alique gentes, adventabant famâ ditis regni, quod Vannius xxx. per annos prædationibus et vectigalibus auverat.* Tac. Ann. xii. 29. Vannius had been appointed in A.D. 19. *Dato rege Vannio gentis Quadorum.* Tac. Ann. ii. 63 (see A.D. 19, no. 1108).

1744. Caractacus, the son of Cunobelin, who had maintained himself in Britain for nine years against the Romans, is subdued by P. Ostorius, and is delivered by treachery into their hands and sent with his wife and brothers and children to Rome, where he is made a spectacle. *Vinctus ac victoribus traditus est nono post anno quam bellum in Britannia cepit* (see A.D. 42, no. 1611) (*his cos.*). Tac. Ann. xii. 36. The transactions in Britain are related by Tacitus under this year, as being that in which Ostorius triumphed, but the narrative comprises several years both before and after this. *Hæc quæquam a duobus (Ostorio Didioque) Proprætoribus plures per annos gesti conjungi, ne divisa hæud perinde ad memoriam evi valeret. Ad temporum ordinem redeo.* Tac. Ann. xii. 40.

1745. Probably about this time dies Gotarzes, king of Parthia, and is succeeded by Vonones II., whose reign was brief and inglorious, and who was succeeded by Vologeses. *Dein Gotarzes morbo obiit occitusque in regnum Vonones, Medos tam præsitens. Nulla huic prospera aut adversa, quæ memoraretur. Brevis et inglorius imperio perfunctus est; resque Parthorum in filium ejus Vologesen translatæ.* Tac. Ann. xii. 14. This is related by Tacitus under A.D. 49, but, as usual with Parthian affairs, he does not confine himself to one year (see A.D. 46, no. 1702; A.D. 51, no. 1756). Gotarzes was certainly alive during the campaign of Mehrdates in A.D. 49 (see no. 1732), and Vologeses was certainly king in A.D. 51 (see no. 1756).

1746. Titus Ummidius Quadratus probably arrives in Syria soon after midsummer of this year as the successor of Cassius Longinus,

Cassius as we have seen, was still in office in A D 49 (see no 1731), and Quadratus is spoken of as in office at the Feast of Tabernacles A D 51 (see that year, no 1761), without anything to indicate a recent arrival. Jos Ant xx 6, 2, Bell ii 12 5 (see A D 44 no 1679, A D 55, no 1822).

1747. Paul and Silas are employed during this year in planting churches in Phrygia comprised in Proconsular Asia, and Galatia subject to an imperial *propretor*. *Δι' ὅθεντες τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν* Acta xvi 6. They were in Macedonia in A D 51 (see that year, no 1763).

1747 a Coins of Claudius

Ti Claud Cæsar Aug P M S P X Imp P P, or *Ti Claud Cæsar Aug P M Tr P X P P Imp p m + Paui Augustæ, or S P Q R P P ob C S* (10 ob cives servation) Eckhel, vi 242

Inscriptions

Pro Salute Cæs Aug Germanici Pont Max Trib Potest a Imp p m Cos m Design i Sign Agent P X et pro Salute Neronis Cæsaris T Agrippinæ Aug Sign Arg P V toto muerp Viatos et Scriba Libr et Pref Princeps et Lulius Fehr Dedit Gruter, 113, 3
Imp Divus Claudius Drusi F Cæs Aug Germ Pont Max Trib Pot x Cos m Imp vi (lege tui) *Ben reparavit* (Eauentæ)
Id 153, 9

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle

Passover, March 25

Pentecost, May 15

Tabernacles, September 19

A.D. 51. U.C. 804. Olymp. 207, 3

TIB CLAUD CÆSAR AUGUSTUS, S
SERV CORNELIUS ORPHITUS

ix Kal Jul

C MINICUS FONTANUS

C VERENILUS DIVERSES

ix Kal Nov

TITUS FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS

CLAUDIUS VI FROM 25 JANUARY TRIB POT VI
FROM SAME DAY COS V PONT MAX PAT
PAIR IMP AVIII XIX XX XXI XXII XXIII
XXIV (see Eckhel, vi 249)

Third year of the reign of Agrippa II from some time in the second quarter

1748. Claudius is consul for six months. *Consulatus apri p m tunc* (A D 37) *quintus*

gessit, ex quibus duos primos junctis (A D 42, A D 43) *sequentes per intervallum quarto quemque anno* (A D 47, A D 51) *semestrem novissimum, bimestres ceteros tertium noto etiam principum exemplo, in locum demotus superius* Suet Claud 14

1749. Nero assumes the toga virilis. *Tib Claudio V Sex Cornelio Orfito cos virilis toga Neroni matura, quo copessenda i republica habebis videretur.* Tac Ann xii 41. Nero was now in his fourteenth year (see A D 37, no 1527). Claudius was probably consul for the very purpose of introducing Nero, as Augustus had twice accepted the consulship before for the purpose of introducing his adopted sons Caius and Lucius (see B C 5, no 889, B C 2, no 959).

Nero, now taking a part in public affairs, pleads before Claudius as consul (and therefore in the first half of this year) the case of the Bononiens, and Rhodians, and Iliaes. *Apud eundem* (Claudium) *consulem pro Bononiensibus Latine, pro Rhodis atque Iliensibus Græce verba fecit* Suet Nero, 7. Tacitus places this in A D 53 (see that year, no 1785).

1750. Geta and Crispinus, the joint prefects of the Praetorium, are removed, and Burrus Afranius is, by the influence of Agrippina, appointed as sole prefect in their place. *Nondum tamen summa nolari Agrippina audebat, ni praetoriani cohortium cura exsolverentur* Lucius Geta et Rufus Crispinus, quos Messalinæ memores et liberi suis devinctos credebat. *Igitur, distraxis cohortes ambitu duorum et si ab uno regerentur, intentiorem fore disciplinam, adseverante virore, transfertur regimen cohortium ad Burrum Afranum, egregie militaris fœmæ, quantum tunc eius sponte proficeretur* (his cos.) Tac Ann xii 42 (see A D 48, no 1718, A D 62, no 1919).

1751. A famine at Rome. *Frigum quoque egestas et orla ex eo fames in modicum accipiebatur* (his cos.) Tac Ann xii 43.

1752. Phraasmanes, king of Iberia, and his son Rhadamistus conspire against Mithridates, the brother of Phraasmanes and king of Armenia, and Rhadamistus leads an army thither and besieges Mithridates. *Eodem anno* (A D 51) *bellum inter Armenios Iberisque eorum, Parthus quoque ac Romanis gravissimorum inter se motuum causa fuit, etc* Tac Ann xii 44 (see A D 43, no 1664, infra, no 1754).

1753. Casperius, a Roman centurion in Armenia, carries the intelligence to Ummidus

Quadratus, then prefect of Syria. *Postquam . . . pactus inducias (Casperius) abscedit, ut, nisi Pharasmanem bello absterruisset, T. Ummidius Quadratus, presidem Syriæ, doceret quo in statu Armenia foret* (his *cos.*). Tac. Ann. xii. 45.

1754. Mithridates surrenders himself to Rhadamistus, and is put to death (*his cos.*). Tac. Ann. xii. 46, 47 (see *ante*, no. 1752; *post*, no. 1757).

1755. Quadratus deliberates with his council, and determines not to take up arms, but sends a command to Pharasmanes to withdraw from Armenia, and Helvidius Priscus, with a legion, proceeds to Armenia to act according to circumstances. *At Quadratus cognoscens proclivum Mithridati, et regnum ab interfectoribus obtineri, vocat consilium, docet acti, et, an ulcisceretur, consultat . . . Missi ad Pharasmanem nunti, ut abscederet a finibus Armeniæ, sibiique (Rhadamistum) abstraheret . . . Helvidius Priscus, legatus, cum legione militatur, rebus turbulis pro tempore ut consuleret.* Tac. Ann. xii. 48, 49.

1756. Vologeses, now king of Parthia (see A.D. 50, no. 1745), thinking it an opportunity of gaining Armenia for himself, marches against Rhadamistus and drives him out, when Quadratus, fearing a quarrel with the Parthians, recalls Helvidius Priscus. *Propre monteum Taurum (Helvidius) transgressus, moderatione pluram vi composuerat, cum redire in Syriam jubetur, ne initium belli adversus Parthos existeret. Nam Vologeses (see Ann. xii. 44) casum invadende Armeniæ obvenisse ratus, . . . contrahit copias, fratrenque Tiridaten deducere in regnum parat* (his *cos.*). Tac. Ann. xii. 49, 50.

1757. At the setting in of winter, Vologeses is obliged to retire, when Rhadamistus reoccupies Armenia, but is besieged by the Armenians and escapes by flight. *Deinde atrox hiems, seu parum provisi comestus, et orta ex utroque tabes percellunt Vologesen omittere presentia; rursus Armeniam Rhadamistus invasit . . . atque illi quamvis servitio suti patientiam abstrahunt, armisque regiæ circumveniant; nec aliud Rhadamisto subsidium fuit quam pernicitas eorum, quæ seque et conjugem abstulit* (his *cos.*). Tac. Ann. xii. 50, 51. It appears that Rhadamistus subsequently again recovered possession of Armenia, and retained the kingdom till driven out by the Parthians in A.D. 54. Tac. Ann. xiii. 6 (see *ante*, no. 1754; A.D. 54, no. 1811).

1758. Julius Pelignus is this year procurator of Cappadocia. *Erat Cappadociæ Procurator Julius Pelignus, ignavi animi et deridiculo corporis jarta despicendus.* Tac. Ann. xii. 49 (see A.D. 18, no. 1103).

1759. Some Galileans, in passing through Samaria on their way to a feast at Jerusalem, are slain; and Cumanus, the procurator of Judæa, declining to interfere, the Jews march down in a body from Jerusalem to Samaria, and, joining themselves to Eleazar, the bandit (see A.D. 36, no. 1491), lay waste the country. Cumanus marches his forces against them, and a number of Jews are slain and others made prisoners. *Ἐθὺς ἦν τοῖς Γαλιλαίοις ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς εἰς τὴν ἱερὴν πόλιν παραγινόμενοις ὕδραν ἐκ τῆς Σαμαρίων χώρας, καὶ τότε καθ' ἑδὼν αὐτοῖς κώμη Γινάσις λεγομένης, τῆς ἐν μεθορίᾳ κειμένης Σαμαρείας τε καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου πεδίου, τινὲς συνάψαντες μάχην, πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀναιρούσι . . . Ἀγανακτῆσαντες δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Γαλιλαῖοι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔπειθον ἐφ' ὅπλα χωρῆσαι καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀντέχεσθαι . . . Ἀναλαβόντες δὲ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ βοηθεῖν Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν τοῦ Δευσιῶν παρακλέσαντες (ἡσότης δὲ οὗτος ἦν ἔτη πολλὰ τὴν διατριβὴν ἐν ὄρει πεποιημένος) κώμης τινὸς τῶν Σαμαρίων ἐκπύσαντες διασπάζουσι.* Jos. Ant. xx. 6, 1; Bell. ii. 12, 3.

The words τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀντέχεσθαι are an intimation, not of a sudden outrage only, but, as Josephus afterwards calls it, a rebellion against the Roman authority, ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστάσει, Ant. xx. 6, 2, and justifying the expression of Tacitus, *arsissetque bello provincia*, etc. Tac. Ann. xii. 54 (see A.D. 52, no. 1777). This feast must have been the Feast of Tabernacles A.D. 51, for it was evidently at the great feast next before the Pasover of A.D. 52, when Quadratus proceeded with his army to Jerusalem that the tumult might not be repeated at that feast. Ant. xx. 6, 2; Bell. ii. 12, 6 (see A.D. 52, no. 1776).

1760. The chiefs of the Jewish nation, in sackcloth and ashes, implore the rebels in Samaria to disperse, which they do, and thus a general rebellion against the Roman power is prevented. *Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκλῶθησαν, οἱ ἱεροὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑχρῶνς τόπους πόλιν ἀπήλθον.* Jos. Ant. xx. 6, 1; Bell. ii. 12, 5.

1761. The Samaritans accuse the Jews of the outrage before Quadratus, then at Tyre, who defers the further hearing until he arrived in Samaria. *Καὶ Κουαῆματος ἀκούσας ὑπεπρίθεται*

τὴν κρίσιν, εἰπὼν ἀποφασίσθαι, ἐπειδὴν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν παρουσιζόμενος ἀκριβέστερον ἐπιγνῶν τὴν ἰαλίθειαν καὶ οἱ μὲν ἤρξαντο ἄπρακτοι. *Joe. Ant. xx. 6, 2; Bell. ii. 12, 6.*

1762. Quadratus soon after enters Samaria, where he hears the case, and condemns the Samaritans, and executes those who had been taken in arms. *Mer'* αὐτὸν δὲ χρόνον ὁ Κομμάριος ἦεν εἰς Σαμαρείαν, ἔνθα, διακρίνας, αἰτίους τῆς ταρχῆς ὑπέλαβε γεγνῆναι Σαμαρεῖς· ὥς δὲ καὶ Ἰουδαίων τινὰς νεωτερίσαντας ἔμαρτεν, ἀνεσταύρωσεν οὗς Κοῦμανος ἐλαβεν αἰχμαλώτους. *Joe. Ant. xx. 6, 2. Αἰθῆς δὲ προελθὼν εἰς Καισάρειαν τοὺς ὑπὸ Κομμάριου ζωγρηθέντας ἀνεσταύρωσε πάντας. Bell. ii. 12, 6.*

1763. Paul and Silas, having traversed Phrygia and Galatia, and being prevented by a divine intimation from entering either Asia on the left, or Bithynia on the right, go down to Troas, and cross to Macedonia. *Διελθόντες δὲ τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν, κωλυθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος λαλῆσαι τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ἐλθόντες κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν ἐπελθοῦν κατὰ τὴν Βιθυνίαν περιέσθαι, καὶ οὐκ εἴσαεν αὐτοὺς τὸ Πνεῦμα. Περελθόντες δὲ τὴν Μυσίαν, κατέβησαν εἰς Τρωάδα. Acts, xvi. 6.* Proconsular Asia included Mysia and the Troas, so that Asia, as here used by Luke, has a more limited sense, and means Ionia only.

1764. They sail from Troas, the usual port of those parts, to Samothrace, and thence to Neapolis, whence they journey to Philippi. *'Αναχθέντες οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς Τρωάδος, εὐδιδρομήσαμεν εἰς Σαμοθράκην, τῇ τε ἐπιούσῃ εἰς Νεάπολιν, ἐκεῖθεν τε εἰς Φιλιππῶν. Acts, xvi. 11.*

1765. At Philippi they sojourn for some time, and, though Roman citizens (and Paul by birth), are insulted by a public scourging. *'Ἦμεν δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει διατρίβοντες ἡμέρας τινὰς . . . Τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίησεν (the Pythones) ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας. Acts, xvi. 12, 18.*

1766. They pass through Amphipolis and Apollonia, and stop at Thessalonica, where Paul preaches to the Jews for three Sabbaths, and then addresses himself to the Gentiles. *Διακρίναντες δὲ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν, ἦλθον εἰς τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην, ὅπου ἦν ἡ συναγωγὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων· κατὰ δὲ τὸ εἰωθὸς τῷ Παύλῳ εἰσῆλθε πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ σάββατον τρία διελέγετο αὐτοῖς. Acts, xvii. 1.* Paul remained some time in Thessalonica; for while

he was there, the Philippians sent twice to the relief of his necessities. *Philip. iv. 16.*

1767. The Jews excite a commotion at Thessalonica, and, not finding Paul and Silas, drag Jason, with whom they lodged, before the magistrates, called Politarchs. *Ἐπὶ τοὺς Πολιτάρχας. Acts, xvii. 8.* The title of Politarchs is singularly confirmed by an inscription found at Thessalonica. *Πολιταρχούντων Σωπάτρου τοῦ Κλεοπάτρας καὶ Λουκίου Ποντίου Σεκούρτου Πουβλίου Φλαυίου Σελεύκου Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαύστου Δημητρίου τοῦ Νεκταδῆως Σωίλου τοῦ Παρμενῶνος τοῦ καὶ Μενίσκου Γαίου Ἀγίλλῃου Ποτίωνος Ταμίου τῆς πόλεως Ταύρου τοῦ Ἀρμίας τοῦ καὶ Ῥήγλου Γουμνισιαρχοῦτος Ταύρου τοῦ Ἀρμίας τοῦ καὶ Ῥήγλου. Boeckh, Corp. Inscr. 1967.* It is also observable that several of the names are the same as those that appear in the New Testament, as Sopater, Lucius, Pontius, Secundus, Publius, Demas, Gaius.

1768. Paul and Silas are obliged to leave Thessalonica by night, and go to Berea. *Οἱ δὲ ἀδελφοὶ εὐθέως διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐξέπερσαν τὸν τε Παῦλον καὶ τὸν Σίλαν εἰς Βεροίαν. Acts, xvii. 10.* They remained at Berea for some time, as the inhabitants received them favourably, *Acts, xvii. 11;* and they were only driven out at last by the Thessalonian Jews, who, hearing of their success, came down and raised a tumult in consequence. *Acts, xvii. 13.*

1769. Paul is conducted (perhaps from his partial blindness) to Athens, and waits there for the arrival of Silas and Timothy, who had remained a little longer at Berea. *Acts, xvii. 14.*

1770. While tarrying at Athens for the arrival of Silas and Timothy, Paul preaches in the synagogue to the Jews and proselytes, and in the market-place to the bystanders. *Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐδεχόμενοι αὐτοὺς τοῦ Παύλου . . . διελέγετο μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ τοῖς σεβομένοις, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν πρὸς τοὺς παρατυγχάνοντας. Acts, xvii. 16.*

1771. Timothy arrives at Athens, when Paul, from anxiety to know the welfare of the Thessalonians, dispatches Timothy to Thessalonica, and is left at Athens alone. *Δὲ καὶ, μηκέτι στέγοντες, ἐδουκῆσαμεν καταλειφθῆναι ἐν Ἀθήναις μόνοι, καὶ ἐπέμψαμεν Τιμόθεον τὸν ἀδελφόν ἡμῶν . . . εἰς τὸ σημῆσαι ὑμᾶς etc. 1 Thess. iii. 1.* Paul makes a merit of being left alone at Athens, as, from his imperfect

vision (the thorn in the flesh), he was comparatively helpless.

1772. Paul encounters the Stoics and Epicureans, and is brought before the Areopagus for introducing strange Gods. *Τίς δὲ τῶν Ἑπικουρείων καὶ τῶν Στωϊκῶν φιλοσόφων συνέβαλον αὐτῷ . . . Ἐπιδεικνύμενοι τε αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἄρειον πάγον ἡγαγον.* Acts, xvii. 18, 19.

1772 a. Coins of Claudius.

Ti. Claud. Cesar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. xi. Imp. P. P. Cos. v. + Pacī Auguste, or S. P. Q. R. P. P. ob C. S. (i. e. ob civis servatos).

Eckhel, vi. 243.

Coin of Alexandria.

Αγοι της Σαδση + Εσθρα L. 1A.

Id. iv. 52.

Coin of Judea.

Νηραυ Ελνα, Κουσαρ + Επρ, Κα. L. 1A.

Id. iii. 498.

The letters 1A denote the eleventh year of Claudius.

Inscription.

Ti. Claudius Drusi F. Cesar Augustus Germanicus Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. xi. Imp. xliiii. Cos. v. P. P. Restitut. C. Mincio Fundano et C. Vettennio Severo Cos.

Gruter, 168, 6.

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 13.

Pentecost, June 3.

Tabernacles, October 8.

A.D. 52. U.C. 805. Olymp. 207, 2.

CORNELIUS SULLA FAUSTUS.

L. FALTIUS OTHO TYTANUS.

ex Kal. Jul.

SERVILIUS BAREA SORANUS.

M. LICINIUS CRASPUS MUCIANTUS.

ex Kal. Nov.

L. CORNELIUS SULLA.

T. FLAVIUS SABINUS VESPASIANUS.

CLAUDIUS XII. FROM 25 JAN. TRIB. POT. XII. FROM SAME DAY. COS. V. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. XXIV. XXV. XXVI. XXVII. (see Eckhel, vi. 219).

Fourth year of the reign of Agrippa II. from some time in the second quarter.

1773. At the very beginning of the year, and in consequence of the intelligence that Judaea was in a state of revolt, the Jews are

ordered to depart from Rome (see A.D. 9, no. 1032); and Aquila, a Jewish tent-maker from Pontus, and his wife Priscilla, are amongst the proscribed, and, quitting Italy, arrive soon after at Corinth. *Καὶ εὐθὺς Ἰουδαίων ὁνόματι Ἀκύλαν, Ποντικὸν τῷ γένει, προσφύτως ἐληλυθότα (to Corinth.) ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Ἑλισαλλαν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, οὗ τὸ ἐπιστεγάζειναι Κλαύδιον χωρίζεσθαι πάντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης, προσήλθεν (Paul) αὐτοῖς.* Acts, xviii. 2. As to the time required for enabling Aquila to reach Corinth from Rome, it may be observed that Helius, the minister of Nero, arrived in Greece, and apparently at Corinth, on the seventh day (see A.D. 67, no. 2057). This is mentioned as an extraordinary passage; but no doubt, from the great traffic between Rome and Corinth, vessels were continually passing from one place to the other, and a voyage between the two possessed great facilities.

1774. These precautionary measures of Claudius, on hearing of the outbreak in Judaea, may be alluded to by Tacitus in his account of the opening of the new year. *Fausto Sulla Satrio Othone cos. Furio Scriboniano in exilium agitur quasi finem principis per Claudios scrutaretur. . . De Mathematicis Italia pellentis factum senatus consultum, atrox et irritum.* Tac. Ann. xii. 52. By the Chaldei and Mathematici are not improbably meant the Jews. The ignorance of Tacitus as to the latter people is very remarkable. If the edict against the Mathematici was not that against the Jews, it is extraordinary that it should have been issued at the very same time with the edict against the Jews. The outbreak in Judaea had occurred on 8 October, A.D. 51; and in the winter season, the Syrian mail could not arrive at Rome under ten weeks at the least, and it probably did not reach its destination until the very end of the year A.D. 52. The edict against the Jews would therefore be issued at the same time with that against the Mathematici, at the commencement of the new year. It is also observable that the edict against the Mathematici and that against the Jews are both said to have been of the same nugatory character; and it is well known that the edict against the Jews was soon after recalled or dropped to the ground, while Tacitus describes the edict against the Mathematici as *atrox et irritum*.

Suetonius does not write chronologically, but while he groups his anecdotes together, he generally observes the order of time in the events narrated. This he has done in referring to the expulsion of the Jews. In speaking of the strange inconsistencies in the character of Claudius, as he was driven one way or another at the caprice of his wives or his freedmen, Suetonius contrasts the *ademption* of liberty from the Lycians with the *restoration* of it to the Rhodians, and then the *adoption* of the Trojans with the *expulsion* of the Jews. The passage is as follows—*Lycus ob eastiabilis inter se discordias libe, tatem auclmit* (i d 43, see no 1656) *Rhodus ob pautentium veterum delictorum redidit* (A D 51, see no 1749) *Iuensis, quasi Romanis gentis auctoribus, tributa in perpetuum remittit* (A D 51, see no 1749) . . . *Judaeos, impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit* (A D 52) Suet. Claud. 25 That Suetonius placed the restitution of liberty to the Rhodians and the grant of immunity to the Phans in A D 51, we learn from himself *Deductus in forum suo* (A D 51) *populo congiarium, militi donativum* (Nero) *propositi* *erinde potri* (Claudio) *gratias in senatu egit* *Apud eundem consilem* (i d 51) *pro Bononiensibus Latine, pro Rhodius atque Iuensis Graece verba fecit* *Nec multo post* (viz A D 53, see no 1785) *diuulit uaiorem Octavianam, ediditque pro Claudio salute Circenses et venationem* Suet. Nero, 7 Dion alludes to the edict against the Jews, not in its chronological order, but amongst the anecdotes in sketching the character of Claudius *Ιόνε τε 'Ιουδαίους, πλευσάντας αὐθις ὥστε χαλεπῶς ἂν ἀνευ παραχρῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄχλου σφῶν τῆς πόλεως εἰρῇσθαι, οὐκ ἐξήλασε μὲν, τῷ δὲ δὴ πατρίῳ ἰσχυρῶς βίῳ χρωμένους ἐκέλευσε μὴ συναθροίζεσθαι* Dion, ix 6 From Dion's saying *οὐκ ἐξήλασε μὲν*, we should infer that Dion knew of the edict for the expulsion, and that it was not carried into effect. The truth perhaps is, that many of the Jews left the city, but that, before the greater body of them had gone, the fears about Judaea were found to be groundless, and then the edict was either recalled or became a dead letter. The restrictions alluded to by Dion may have been imposed in lieu of the severer measure, when the panic of Claudius had subsided.

1775. Quadratus, early in the year, proceeds to Lydda, where he holds a court for the trial

of Cumanus and the Jews and Samaritans, in respect of the outbreak in Samaria at the close of the preceding year. Cumanus and his tribune, Celes, are ordered to Rome, and Ananias and his son Annus are sent thither in bonds, and Jonathan, the ex-high-priest, and the chiefs of the Samaritans accompany them. Καὶ ἐκείναι εἰς κώμην τινα παραγόμενος Λύδδαν λεγομένην, πόλεως τὸ μέγεθος οὐκ ἀποδέουσαν, καθίσας ἐπὶ βήματος καὶ ἐκ ἐντεῖνον τῶν Σαμαρείων Συκοῦσας, διδίσκεται παρὰ τινος Σαμαρείου, οὐτὶ 'Ιουδαίων τις πρῶτος, δίσμα Δόρτος, καὶ τινες σὺν αὐτῷ νεωτεριστὰς τέσσαρες τὸν ἀριθμὸν, πείσειν τὸν ὄχλον ἐπὶ τῇ 'Ρωμαίων ἀποστάσει. κηλεύουσιν μὲν ὁ Κοναεράτος ἀνελθὼν προσέταξεν. Ἴους δὲ περὶ 'Ανανίαν τὸν Ἀρχιερέα καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν 'Αναῖον διῆσας εἰς 'Ρώμην ἀπεπέμψε, περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων λόγον ὑφίστασας Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι. Κέλνει δὲ καὶ τοῖς τῶν Σαμαρείων πρῶτος καὶ τοῖς 'Ιουδαίωι, Κουμάνῳ τε ἐπιτρόπῳ καὶ Κέλαι (χιλίαρχος δ' ἦν οὗτος) ἐπ' 'Ιταλίᾳς ἀπέμεινα πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, κριθησόμενοι ἐπ' αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ζητήσεων. Jos Ant ix 6, 2. Τελέθειν τε εἰς Λύδδαν παραγενόμενος πόλει διέκρινε τῶν Σαμαρείων, καὶ μεταστεμφόμενος οὐκ αὐαῖς τῶν 'Ιουδαίων, οὓς ἐπέτυσσε μετασχεῖναι τῆς μάχης, πέλκει διεχρήσασθαι δύο δὲ ἐπέστειλε τῶν διυπατωγῶν, καὶ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς 'Ιωάθην καὶ 'Ανανίαν, τότε τοῦτον ταῖς 'Αναοι, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους 'Ιουδαίων γνωρῶμονς, ἀπεπέμψεν ἐπὶ Καίσαρι, ομοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν Σαμαρείων τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους. περιήγγειλε δὲ καὶ Κουμάνῳ καὶ Κέλαι τῷ χιλιάρχῳ πλεῖν ἐπὶ 'Ρώμῃ δώσοντας Κλαυδίῳ λόγον ὑπὲρ τῶν γεγενημένων. Bell ii 12, 6. Several months had intervened since the outbreak in Samaria at the Feast of Tabernacles A D 51, but the delay is accounted for by the circumstance mentioned by Tacitus, viz that Quadratus did not venture to hold a trial over Cumanus until he had sent a dispatch to Rome, and received the directions of the emperor Cumanus. *conulationem afferbat quia Claudius, causis rebellionis auditus, ius statuendi etiam de Procuratoribus dederat* Tac. Ann. xii 54.

1776. Quadratus, after the trial of Cumanus fearing that the Jews might be led to attempt another outbreak at the Feast of the Passover as they had at the preceding Feast of Tabernacles, proceeds to Jerusalem at the Passover to keep the peace, but finding the people quiet returns to Antioch. Ἀντὶς δὲ (Quadratus) δεῖ-

σαι μὴ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων πάλιν κωτερίσειεν, εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμαίων πόλιν ἄρκεινται· καταλαβόντες δὲ αὐτὴν εἰρηνευομένην, καὶ πύριον ἱερὸν τῷ Θεῷ τελοῦσιν. Πιστεύσαι οὖν μηδένα κωτερισμὸν παρ' αὐτῶν γεινῆσθαι, καταλιπόντες ἱερτάζοντας, ἐπιστρέψαντες εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν. Jos. Ant. xx. 6, 2. Ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἀπὸ Λυδῶν ἀνέλαυνεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ καταλαβὼν τὸ πλῆθος ἄγον τὴν τῶν Ἀζύμων ἑορτὴν ἀδορύτως εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπάνει. Bell. ii. 12, 6.

1777. That the trial of Cumanus before Quadratus in Judea occurred in this year may be proved from Tacitus. In speaking of Pallas under the consulship of Faustus Sulla and Salvius Otho (A.D. 52) he proceeds: *At non frater ejus (Pallantis), cognomento Felix, pari auctoritate apud, jampridem Judaea impetratus, et cuncta malefacta sibi impune ratus tantā potentia sublevo . . . Atque interim Felix intermissis remediis de fidei (Judaeorum) assensu, ut, simul ad dederim Ventiū Cumanū, cui pars Provinciae babbatur; ita divisit ut huic Galilaeorum natio, Felici Samaritae poverent, discordes olon, et tunc contemptu regentium minus coercitis olis. Agitur raptare inter se, immittere latronum globos, componere insidias, et aliquando proleis compredi, spoliosque et praedas ad Provinciam referre. Uique primo letari, mox, gliscente perniele, cum arma militum interjerissent, casi milites; arsesetque bello provincia, ni Quadratus Syriae rector subvenisset. Nec diu ulterius Judaeos, qui in necem militum properant, debilitata quā capite pueras lucent, Cumanus et Felix cunctationem adferebant, quia Claudius, causis rebellantis cognitio, jus statuendi etiam de Procuratoribus dederat. Sed Quadratus Felicem inter judices ostentavit, recepta in tribunal, quo stultis ulcusantibus deterrerentur; damnatusque flagitiorum, qui duo deliquerant, Cumanus; et quies Provinciae redita. Nec multo post agrestium Cilicium nationes quibus Clitarum cognomentum saepe et alius commote, tunc, Trophore duce, montes asperos castris cepere. Tac. Ann. xii. 54, 55. The statement that Felix was *juxta dudum Judaea impositus*, and that he held Samaria while Cumanus was over Galilee, is wholly at variance with Josephus, and a palpable error. That Felix presided at the trial of Cumanus is not improbable, as he may have been sent to Judea with dispatches from Claudius in answer to those of Quadratus at the first outbreak in A.D.*

51; and that, in fact, he was so sent, and ingratiated himself with the Jews on the occasion we should infer from the circumstance that Jonathan, the high-priest, when at Rome, petitioned that Felix might be appointed procurator. Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 5. Tacitus sometimes collects the events of several years under one consulship, but that he meant to place the trial of Cumanus in this year is evident from the words that follow: *nec multo post agrestium Cilicium nationes*, etc.; for the outbreak in Cilicia was unquestionably during the consulship of A.D. 52, though subsequent to the trial of Cumanus. As Tacitus had already recorded the proceedings of Quadratus in A.D. 51 (see no. 1755), he would no doubt, had these proceedings of Quadratus belonged to the same year, have related them at the same time. That the Passover when Quadratus was at Jerusalem was that of A.D. 52 appears also from this. It was the Passover of that year in which Felix was appointed procurator of Judea, *viz* Cumanus deposed on account of the Jewish insurrection. But Felix was appointed in the twelfth year of Claudius, i. e. A.D. 52, as is manifest from the words of Josephus: *Ἡμετεῖς δὲ καὶ Κλαύδιος Φύλας Ἰδάλαντος ἀδελφὸν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προστησόμενον πραγμάτων. Τῆς δὲ ἡμέχης δώδεκατος ἔτος ἦν πεπληρωκός, etc.* Jos. Ant. xx. 7, 1. When Claudius, therefore, appointed Felix, he had not yet completed his twelfth year, and as the twelfth year expired on 25 January, A.D. 53, the appointment of Felix must have been in A.D. 52.

1778. Paul returns from Athens and passes on to Corinth, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα χωρισθεὶς ὁ Παῦλος ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἦλθεν εἰς Κόρινθον, Acts, xviii. 1; where he meets with Aquila and Priscilla his wife, who had newly come from Rome in consequence of Claudius's edict that all Jews should depart from Rome. Acts, xviii. 1 (see ante, no. 1773). The language of Luke does not necessarily imply that Aquila and Priscilla were already at Corinth on Paul's arrival there, but only that they had not been long at Corinth when Paul met with them.

1779. Silas and Timothy arrive together from Macedonia, and Paul, from the communications made by them, is induced to write the first Epistle to the Thessalonians. Ὡς ἐκ καρῆθεν ἀπὸ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἔρχε Σίλας καὶ ὁ Τιμόθεος, etc. Acts, xviii. 5. That the epistle was

written at this time appears from the contents, for Paul had recently been insulted (viz. by public scourging) at Philippi, and had then made his entrance into Thessalonica. *Ἡσαν-
δόντες και ἡρσισθέντες καθως ὄντε ἐν
Φιλιπποῖς ἐπαρρησιασμένοι ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν
λαλήσαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν
πολλῷ ἄγῳ.* 1 Thess. ii. 2. And his suc-
cess at Thessalonica was still a common theme
of conversation. *Αὐτοὶ γὰρ περὶ ἡμῶν ἀπα-
γγέλλουσι ὅτιον εἰσέναι ἔχοντες πρὸς ὑμᾶς.*
1 Thess. i. 9. And Paul had since been in
Athens, *εὐδοκῶσαν καταλεσθῆναι ἐν Ἀθήναις*
μύνοι, 1 Thess. iii. 1; and had preached the
Gospel in Achaia, *ὅστε γενέσθαι ὑμᾶς τῶν*
*πᾶσι τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ τῇ
Ἀχαΐᾳ,* 1 Thess. i. 7; and Timothy and Silas
had returned to Paul at Corinth from Thessa-
lonica. *Ἄρτι δὲ ἐλθόντος Τιμοθέου πρὸς ὑμᾶς
ἀπ' ἡμῶν.* 1 Thess. iii. 6. *Πᾶσις καὶ Σιλάου-
ρος καὶ Τιμόθεος τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεσσαλονικέων.*
1 Thess. i. 1. That this arrival of Timothy
and Silas was when Paul was at Corinth we
learn from Acts, xviii. 5.

1780. The second Epistle to the Thessa-
lonians was also written from Corinth, not long
after the first, and one object of it was to cor-
rect a mistaken impression to which the first
Epistle had given rise. Paul, in speaking of
the last day, had used the words, *ἡμεῖς οἱ
ζῶντες οἱ περιεσπόμενοι εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ
Κυρίου οὐ μὴ φθάσωμεν τοὺς κοιμηθέντας, &c.,*
1 Thess. iv. 15; and from the term *ἡμεῖς* (by
which Paul meant only Christians in general)
the Thessalonians had inferred that Paul him-
self would witness the Day of Judgment, and
that it was therefore nigh at hand. Paul then
writes the second Epistle to remove this error.
*Ἐρωτῶμεν δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, ὑπὲρ (as concern-
ing) τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἡμῶν ἐπισημασμένης ἐπ' αὐτὸν, εἰς
τὸ μὴ ταχέως σαλευθῆναι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ νοῦς,
μήτε θροεῖσθαι, μήτε εἰς πνεύματος, μήτε εἰς
λόγου, μήτε δι' ἐπιστολῆς ὡς ἐξ ἡμῶν, ὡς
οἱ ἐνέστηκεν ἡ ἡμέρη τοῦ Χριστοῦ.* 2 Thess.
ii. 1.

1781. Cumanus, Celer, Ananias, Ananus,
and Jonathan reach Rome about midsummer,
when Claudius, by the influence of Agrippa,
king of Chalcis, leans in favour of the Jews
against the Samaritans, and Cumanus is
banished; and Celer is ordered for execution
at Jerusalem. *Jos. Ant. xx. 6, 9; Bell. ii. 12,*

7. As the Samaritans were cast in the trial,
Ananias and Ananus were no doubt set at
liberty, and returned together with Jonathan
to Jerusalem, where we shortly afterwards find
them.

1782. Felix, at the same time, is appointed
procurator of Judea in the place of Cumanus.
This was certainly in the twelfth year of Clau-
dius, and therefore in A.D. 52. *Ἡέρπις ἐξ καὶ
Κλαύδιος Φήλικα Πάλλατος ἀδελφὸν τῶν κατὰ
τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προσησάμηνεν πραιμίστων τῆς
ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπατάτορος ἔτος ἥν πεπληρωκὸς ὡ-
ρεῖται, &c.* *Jos. Ant. xx. 7, 1.* *Μετά ταῦτα
Ἰουδαίως μὲν ἐπίτροπον Φήλικα τὸν Πάλλατος
ἀδελφὸν ἐπέμπευ, τῆς τε Γαλιλαίας, καὶ Σαμα-
ρείας, καὶ Ιερουσᾶ.* *Bell. ii. 12, 8;* and see *Tac.
Ann. xii. 54; Suet. Claud. 28* (see A.D. 48, no.
1719; A.D. 60, no. 1893).

1783. Menoluzus, the brother of Izates, and
other relatives become Jewish proselytes, when
the Adiabenes call in Abias, then king of
Petra (see A.D. 49, no. 1750), against Izates;
but Abias is defeated and kills himself, and
then the Adiabenes call in Vologeses, king of
Parthia. This, therefore, was at least after
A.D. 50, or Vologeses would not have been
king (see A.D. 50, no. 1745). *Καὶ ὁ γράφομαι
(Adiabeni) πρὸς Ἀβίαν τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλεῖα
... Διαρπάσας δὲ (Izates) τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ λεῖαν
πᾶσαν, πολλὴν δὲ ἦν, ἐπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν Ἀδω-
βηγὴν, τὸν Ἀβίαν οὐ καταλαβὼν ζῶντα ...
προκυταλμαζόμενος γὰρ ἐαυτὸν ἀντίλει.* *Ἀπο-
τυχόντες δὲ οἱ τῶν Ἀδωβηγῶν μεριστάνες τῆς
πρώτης ἐπιχειρήσεως ... γράφουσι πάλιν Ὀβολο-
γίσαν, βασιλεὺς δὲ Πάρθων οὗτος ἦν.* *Jos. Ant.
xx. 4, 1, 2.*

1784. The Clites, a people of Cilicia Aspera,
are in revolt, but are subdued by Antiochus,
king of Commagene, who also held Cilicia
Aspera in which the Clites were situated. *Clites
rex ejus ora Antiochus, blundimentis adveniens
plebem, fraude in duce, cum barbarorum corporis
disociasset, Vologore ponicisque primordius in-
terfectis, ceteros clementer composuit (his cos.).*
Tac. Ann. xii. 55. Antiochus had been re-
stored to his kingdom in A.D. 41, and continued
king until A.D. 72. *Jos. Bell. vii. 7, 1* (see A.D.
41, no. 1622).

1784 a. Coins of Alexandria.

*Ἀλεξανδρινή (or Ἀλεξανδρία) Σελαστή + Ευδερμα
L. 18., and therefore struck in the twelfth
year of Claudius. Eckhel, iv. 52.*

Coin of Polema II., king of Pontus.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝΟΣ + ΕΡΩΣ. 12., i. e. in the fifth month year of his reign (see A.D. 48, no. 1533). Eckhel, ii. 372.

Inscription.

Τῷ Κλαυδίῳ Διῶνι Ε. Καίσαρ Ἀυγούστῳ Γερμανικῷ. Πατρί. Μαρίνῳ. Τριβυνικῷ Πάτρίστει. xii. Cui, r. Imperator xxiij. Pater Patrici Aquas Claudius ex fontibus qui vocantur Caridens et Curtius a milliaris ex. xxi. Item Anonem novam a milliaris lxi. suis impensa in urbem parducendas curavit (Rome).

Gruter, 170, 1.

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 2.

Pentecost, May 28.

Tabernacles, September 27.

A.D. 53. U.C. 806. Olymp. 205, 1.

LEIPIA JUNIUS SILANUS TORQUATUS.
Q. HATERIUS ANTONINUS.

CLAUDIUS XIII. FROM 25 JANUARY. TRIB. POT. XIII. FROM SAME DAY. COS. V. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. XXVII.

Fifth year of the reign of Agrippa II. from some time in the second quarter.

1765. Nero, in the sixteenth year of his age, marries Octavia, the daughter of Claudius. *D. Junii Q. Haterii cos. adfectus natus Nero Octavianum Cæsariæ filium in matrimonium accepit.* Tac. Ann. xii. 58. It was in the same year, according to Tacitus, that Nero pleaded for the Ilians and Bononiens, and that the Rhodians recovered their liberty. *Perpetrat (Nero) ut Mlienses omni publico numero solveretur. Bononiæ urbem. Bononiæ a Iliensibus, igni hausta, subventum ecclies exstiterit largitione. Reddidit Rhodios libertas odemphæ arce* (see A.D. 44) *aut firmata, prout bellis externis meruerant, aut domi ceditione deliquerant* (his cons.). Tac. Ann. xii. 58. But according to Suetonius, this was in A.D. 51 (see that year, no. 1749).

1766. Statilius Taurus is accused of magical practices by his legate, Tarquinus Priscus, and commits suicide. *Legatus is Tauri . . . pauca impudicorum criminum, ceterum magicas superstitiones obsecrant* (his cons.). Tac. Ann. xii. 59. Christianity was connected in the vulgar opinion with magic, and Taurus may have been a Christian convert.

1767. Claudius promulgates a decree of the senate by which the authority of the imperial procurators is made of equal force with that of the Emperor. *Eodem anno capitis iussu cor principis 'Parenti omnia rerum iudicanda, a Procuratoribus suis iudiciorum ac rei ipso statuis-sent' ac ne fortuito prodigere videretur, senatus quoque consulto creatum, plenius quam antea et uberius. . . Claudius libertos, quos rei familiari profecerat, sibi que et legibus uolegavit* (his cons.). Tac. Ann. xii. 60. *Utiq. ratu est, que Procuratores suis in iudicando elutuerent, preccario (a senatu) exequi.* Suet. Claud. 12.

1768. Claudius, in his thirteenth year, promotes Agrippa from the kingdom of Chalcis, which he had held for four years (see A.D. 49, no. 1726), to the kingdom of Philip's tetrarchy, viz. Trachonitis, Auranitis, Gaulanitis, Batanea, and Abilene. *Τῷ δὲ ἀρχὴν δωδεκατον ἔτος ἡδὴ πεπληρωκὸς δωδετρίῳ (Claudius) τὸν Ἀγρίππῳ τῇ Φιλίππου τετραρχίᾳ, καὶ Βαταναίᾳ, προσθεὶς αὐτῇ τὴν Τραχωνίτιν σὺν Ἀβδαῖ. Ἀνοστήσα δὲ αὐτῇ τετραρχία. τὴν Χαλκίδα δ' αὐτὸν ἀφαιρέται ἐννοστέουσιν ταύτης ἐπὶ τέσσαρα* (see A.D. 49, no. 1726). Jos. Ant. xx. 7, 1. *Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Χαλκίδος Ἀγρίππῳ ἐπὶ μετέωρα βασιλείαν μετατίθησι, δωδε αὐτῇ τὴν τε Φιλίππου γενετήριον τε. αρχίαν. αὐτῇ δὲ ἦν Βαταναία καὶ Τραχωνίτις καὶ Γαυλανίτις. προσέθηκε δὲ τὴν τε Λυσουρίου βασιλείαν, καὶ τὴν Ὀβάρου γενετήριον ἐπαρχίαν.* Bell. ii. 12, 8; and see Bell. iii. 3, 6. For the tetrarchy of Lyسانias, called Abilene, see B.C. 36, no. 337; A.D. 41, no. 1620.

1769. Drusilla, a sister of Agrippa, marries Azizus, king of Emesa and Arachna (see A.D. 48, no. 1662; A.D. 54, no. 1800), and Mariamne, another sister of Agrippa, marries Archelaus, son of Helcias. These marriages are mentioned in connection with the appointment of Agrippa to the kingdom of Trachonitis. *Δαδὸν δὲ αὐτῇ τὴν δωδεάν παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, Ἀγρίππας ἐκδίδωκε. τῷ δὲ Ἰσχυρίῳ τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ προσέθηκε περιτρέμεσθαι θελήσαντι Δρούσιλλαν τὴν ἀδελφήν. καὶ Μαρριανὴν τὴν ἐκδίδωκε. τῷ Ἀρχαίου βασιλῆ. Jos. Ant. xx. 7, 1 (see A.D. 54, no. 1800).*

1770. Gallo is this year proconsul of Achaia. *Γαλλίωνος δὲ ἀνθοπαρενόντος τῆς Ἀχαΐας, etc. Acta, xviii. 12. Illud mihi in ore erat domini mei Gallionis, qui, cum in Achaia febrem habere coepisset, protinus naui ascendit, clonians non* (his cons.). Tac. Ann. xii. 59. Jos. Ant. xx. 7, 1.

The proconsulship was a consequence of the prætorship, and, by a law of Claudius, one year at least intervened between the prætorship and the proconsulship. Dion, *l*v 25. If Galho, therefore, was proconsul in A.D. 53, he was prætor in A.D. 51. The advancement of Galho was no doubt owing to the court influence of Seneca. The latter had been banished in A.D. 41 (see that year, no 1627), and remained in disgrace until A.D. 49, when he was recalled by the instrumentality of Agrippina and nominated prætor (see A.D. 49, no 1724). Seneca, if prætor elect in A.D. 49, would be full prætor in A.D. 50, and it is highly probable that his influence would procure the nomination of Galho for the following year, A.D. 51. Had Galho been nominated prætor the same year with Seneca, the historian, in coupling the return of Seneca with his prætorship, could scarcely have avoided mentioning the prætorship of Galho at the same time. If Galho then was prætor in A.D. 51, he would be proconsul of Achaia in A.D. 53. As proconsuls were bound to leave Rome for their respective provinces by the middle of April (see A.D. 43, no 1655), Galho, who would travel leisurely, would arrive at Corinth about the beginning of June.

1791. Not long after the arrival of Galho as proconsul of Achaia at Corinth, i.e. at the beginning of July, the Jews indict Paul before his tribunal, but meet with a rebuff. Acts, xviii 12.

1792. Paul, after this attempt of the Jews, still tarrys a while (*viz* a month) at Corinth, and then (at the beginning of August) goes down to Cenchrea, the port of Corinth, and there shaves his head in performance of a vow, and then sets sail with Aquila and Priscilla for Syria to keep the Feast at Jerusalem. 'Ο δε Παῦλος ἔτι προσμένωνας ἡμέρας ἑκατὲς, τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἀποσταδόμενος ἐξέπλει εἰς τὴν Συρίαν, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Πρίσκιλλᾳ καὶ ᾧ Ἰούλῳ, κυράμειος τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐν Κενχρεαῖς, εἶχε γὰρ εὐχὴν. Acts, xviii 1. The vow was probably made at the time of the Jews' assault upon him before Galho, and as the shaving of the head marked the conclusion of the vow, and a vow could not be for a less time than a month, Mishna *Tit Nazi* 1 3, the *ἡμέραι κατὰ* of Luke may be taken to denote that period.

1793. Luke speaks of Paul's sojourn at Corinth as a year and six months. Ἐλθὼν τε εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ μῆνας ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἑξαετίας τοῦ

λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ. Παλλίωρος δὲ ἀνθυπατεύωντος τῆς Ἀχαΐας καταπεσόντων ἐμπομποδόντων οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Παύλῳ. Acts, xviii 11. This period of a year and six months may be reckoned either 1. From Paul's arrival to the coming of Galho, or 2. From Paul's arrival to the attack of the Jews upon him, or 3. From his first arrival to his final departure. If the first hypothesis be adopted, then, as Galho arrived at Corinth the beginning of June A.D. 53, Paul must have departed from Athens to Corinth the beginning of December A.D. 51. On the second hypothesis the case would stand thus. Paul quitted Corinth for Jerusalem about the beginning of August A.D. 53, and thus was *ἡμέρας ἑκατὲς*, Acts, xviii 18 (say a month) after the attack of the Jews upon him, which would consequently be referrible to the beginning of July, and then a year and half before that would carry us to the beginning of January A.D. 52 as the time of Paul's arrival at Corinth. On the third hypothesis, as Paul sailed from Corinth the beginning of August A.D. 53, his arrival at Corinth from Athens must have been the beginning of February A.D. 52. The last hypothesis appears the most probable, and has been adopted in the Tables.

1794. Paul touches on his way at Ephesus, and preaches in the synagogue, when he is pressed to remain at Ephesus, but answers that he must needs go to Jerusalem, but that *Deo volente* he would return. He leaves Aquila and Priscilla at Ephesus, and proceeds by sea to Caesarea, and goes up to Jerusalem to attend the feast, which must have been the Feast of Tabernacles 16 September. Κατήντησε ἕξ εἰς Ἐφέσον κἀμείνονας (Aquila et Priscilla) κατέλιπεν αὐτοὺς ἀλλ' ἀπετάξατο αὐτοὺς λέγων, δεῖ με πάντως τὴν ἑορτὴν τὴν ἐρχομένην ποιῆσαι εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα, πάλιν ἂν ἀνακρίψω πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὸν Θεὸν θέλω εἰπεῖν. Καὶ ἀνέχθη ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐφέσου, καὶ κατελθὼν εἰς Κασάρειαν ἀναβὰς καὶ ἀσπασάμενος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κατέβη εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν. Acts, xviii 19, 21. In A.D. 53 Paul sailed from Philippi at the close of the Passover, and reached Jerusalem before the Pentecost, and consumed forty-four days on his way. As he now sailed from Corinth direct for Jerusalem, he would not require so long an interval, and the space between the beginning of August and 16 September would amply suffice.

1795. The visit to Jerusalem was fourteen

years after his last visit in A.D. 39. "Ἐπειτα οὐ δεκαεσάμην ἔτων πάλιν ἀνέβην εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα μετὰ Βαρνάβαν, συμπορευομένων καὶ Τιμόν, ἀνέβην δὲ κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν. Galat. ii. 1. Διὶ in this passage signifies after fourteen years complete, as in Philo, ἡ ἐξ ἑξ ἡμερῶν ἱερὰ ἐβδόμη. Philo de Septen. s. 6. The circumstance that the visit was from revelation, κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν, explains the passage above cited from the Acts, δεῖ με πάντως τὴν ἑορτὴν τὴν ἐρχομένην ποιῆσθαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. He perhaps took up Barnabas on his way at Cyprus, whither Barnabas on parting from Paul at Antioch, at the commencement of the last circuit in A.D. 49, had proceeded with Mark, Acts, xv. 39; or Barnabas might have joined him by arrangement at Caesarea.

1796. The object of this visit of Paul and Barnabas appears to have been to establish the unity of the Jewish and Gentile Churches, by exhibiting the harmony that subsisted between the Apostles of Jerusalem and Paul and Barnabas as the Apostles of the Gentiles. James, the brother of Our Lord, the bishop of Jerusalem, and Peter and John were present at this visit, and gave to Paul and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship. Καὶ γινόντες τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσαν μοι ἡ ἀκαχοῦ καὶ Κηφᾶ καὶ Ἰωάννης, οἱ δοκούντες στυλοὶ εἶναι, δεξίως ἔδωκαν ἡμοῖ καὶ Βαρνάβῃ κοινωνίας, οἳ ἡμεῖς εἰς τὰ ἔθνη αὐτοὶ ἐξ εἰς τὴν περιτομὴν μόνον τῶν πτωχῶν ἵνα μνημονεύμεν, ὃ καὶ ἐσπούδασα αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. Galat. ii. 9. The latter injunction to make provision for the poor Hebrews was complied with by Paul in his next circuit through Galatia and Greece (see A.D. 51, no. 1816).

1797. Paul passes from Jerusalem to Antioch, where he winters. Κατέβη εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, καὶ ποιήσας χρόνον τινὰ, &c. Acts. xviii. 23. And while he is at Antioch Peter comes down, and Paul rebukes him publicly for dissembling with the Judaizing Christians. "Ὅτε γὰρ ἦλθε Πέτρος εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἀνίστηναι, ὅτι κατεγνωσμένος ἦν. Galat. ii. 11.

1798. Dionysiodorus is archon at Athens. "Ἀρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Διονυσιοδωρον, ὑπατιόντων ἐν Ῥώμῃ Δέκρον Ἰωνίου Σέλανου Τερκονάτου καὶ Κυρίτου Ἀσπερίου (lege Ἀσπεριου) Ἀντωνίου. Phleg. Mir. Müller's Fragm. Græc. Hist. iii. 619. Dionysius the Areopagite had been converted by Paul the year before, Acts,

xvii. 31. Were Dionysiodorus and Dionysius (an abbreviation of Dionysiodorus) the same person?

1798 a. Coin of Alexandria.

ΑΓΡΑΠΕΥΑ Σηλατη + Βαβήρια. l. 17.

Eckhel, iv. 52.

Inscription.

Ti. Claudio Cesari Augusto Pontifici Mac. Trib. Potest. xvi. Imp. xxvii. Cons. r. P. P. Cen. Vestinus Rustici P. xxiv et Rusticus F. D. S. P. D. D. cujus basis cum vetustate corrupta esset in vice ejus Villa Rusticana novam restituit (Cortina in Hispania).
Mura. iii. l. 225, 7.

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 22.

Pentecost, May 12.

Tabernacles, Sept. 16.

A.D. 54. V.C. 807. Olymp. 208, 2.

M. ASINUS MARCELLUS.

M. ASINUS ACHILLES AVIOLA.

ex Kal. Nov.

L. ANNÆUS SEPT. JUNIUS GALICUS.

CLAUDIUS XIV. FROM 25 JAN. TRIB. POT. XIV. FROM SAME DAY. COS. V. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. XXVII.

NERONIS I. FROM 13 OCT. TRIB. POT. I. FROM SAME DAY.

Sixth year of the reign of Agrippa II. from some time in the second quarter.

1799. Death of Lepida, the daughter of Antonia (his cons.). Tac. Ann. xii. 64.

1800. Drusilla, by the artifices of Simon Magus, is induced to elope from Azizus, king of Emesa and Arethusa, and marry Felix. This was not long after Drusilla's marriage to Azizus in A.D. 53 (see that year, no. 1789). Διαλύονται δὲ τῇ Δρουσιλλῇ πρὸς τὸν Ἀζίζου οἱ γάμοι μετ' οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον. Jos. Ant. xx. 7, 2. And it is related by Josephus before the death of Claudius on 13 October of this year. Ant. xx. 8, 1.

1801. Bernice about the same time (semble) marries Polemo II., king of part of Cilicia (see A.D. 41, no. 1622), but soon after deserts him; and her sister Mariamne also abandons her husband Archelaus (see A.D. 53, no. 1789) to marry Demetrius, the Alabarch, or Jewish governor, of Alexandria. Βιολίχη δὲ μετὰ τὴν

Ἡρώδου τελευτῇ (889 A.D. 48), δε αὐτῆς αἰῆρ καὶ οὗτος ἐγγόνει, πολὺν χρόνον ἐπιχειρήσασα . . . πεῖδι Πολέμωνι· Κλαύδιος δὲ ἦν οὗτος βασιλεὺς· περιετρίμενον ἡγεσθαι πρὸς γάμῳ αὐτῇ . . . καὶ ὁ Πολέμων ἐπέσθην . . . Οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ πολὺ συνέμεινεν ὁ γάμος . . . Τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ καιρῷ καὶ Μιθράδμῃ παραιτησαμένη τὸν Ἀρχέλιον συνήκτισε Δημητρίῳ . . . τότε δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀλκυονίδα αὐτὸς εἶχε. Jos. Ant. xx. 7, 3. This is related by Josephus just before the death of Claudius.

1902. Claudius is attacked by illness, and retires to Sinuessa (his *cess.*). Tac. Ann. xii. 66.

Death of Claudius between 12 and 1 P.M. on 13 October, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. *Ante diem tertium Idus Octobris, Asinio Marcello Aelio Asinio cos. . . inter sextam et septimam (horam) . . . annus sexagesimus et quartus est ex quo cum unius luctatur.* Senece. de Mort. Claud. *Tunc medio diei tertium ante Idus Octob. foribus palatii repente diluctis, conitante Burrhus, Nero egreditur ad cohortem, quæ more militum exornata adest.* Tac. Ann. xii. 69. Μετῃλλαξε (Claudius) τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ τοῦ Ὀκτωβρίου, ζήσας ἐξήκοντα καὶ τρία ἔτη, αὐταρχήσας δὲ ἑτῆ δεκα καὶ τρία, καὶ μῆνας ὀκτώ καὶ ἡμέρας εἴκοσι. Dion. lx. 34. *Excessit tertio Idus Octobris, Asinio Marcello, Aelio Asinio cos., quarto et sexagesimo ætatis. imperii quatuordecimo anno.* Suet. Claud. 45. Τελευτῇ δὲ Κλαύδιος Καίσαρ, βασιλεύσας ἑτῆ δεκατορία μῆνας ὀκτὼ πρὸς ἡμέρας εἴκοσι. Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 1. Αὐτὸς δὲ ζωυχίας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔτεσε τρισὶ καὶ εἰκοσι, πρὸς δὲ μηνὶ ἑκτῷ καὶ εἰκοσιν ἡμέραις τελευτῇ. Bell. ii. 12, 8. *Vixit annos iv. et lx., imperavit sex.* Eutropius. vii. 13. *Imperavit annos quatuordecim . . . vixit annos sexaginta quatuor.* Victor Epit. c. 4. *Imperavit annis 13 mensib. 8 dieb.* 23. Cassiodor. sub *cos.* Cœtare et Juliano. *Anno ætatis 64.* Cassiodor. sub *cess.* Silano et Othone. Clemens Alexand. states the reign at thirteen years, eight months, and twenty-eight days. Strom. lib. i. c. xxi. p. 406. The actual reign of Claudius was from 25 January, A.D. 41, to 13 October, A.D. 54, viz. thirteen years, eight months, and nineteen days; and, as he was born on 1 August, B.C. 10 (see that year, no. 803), his age was sixty-three years, two months, and thirteen days.

1803. Nero succeeds in his seventeenth year. *Septendecim annos imperavit d. Claudius*

palati furina est, inter horam sextam septimamque processit ad exorbitores. Suet. Nero, 8. *Principis riedum septimdecim annos egressus.* Tac. Ann. xiii. 6. Ἐπτά δὲ καὶ δεκά ἔτη ἦγεν ὁ· ἦοξεν. Dion. lxi. 3. Nero was born on 15 December, A.D. 37 (see that year, no. 1527).

1804. At the death of Claudius a comet is visible at Rome. *Ὄστω μὲν ὁ Κλαύδιος μετῆλλαξεν· ἐς τοῦτο τε αὐστὴρ ὁ κομήτης ἐπὶ πλείστον ὀφθαίς . . . ἑώραε σημήναι.* Dion. lx. 35. *Præsigna mortis ejus præcipua fuerunt: exortus crinita stella quam cometem vocant, etc.* Suet. Claud. 46.

1805. Both Gallio and Seneca appear to have been at Rome at the death of Claudius. Ἀγριππῖνα δὲ καὶ ὁ Νέρων πενθῆναι προσποιούντο ὅν ἀπεκτόνισαν, ἐς τε τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐνέφαιγον, ὃν ἐκ τοῦ συμποσίου φορέειν ἐξενόησαν· ὅθενπερ Λοβίος Ἰούνιος Γαλλιῶν, ὁ τοῦ Σενέκου ἀδελφός, ἀριεστατὸν τι ἀπεφθέγγετο (συνέθηκε μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὁ Σενέκος σύγγραμμα, Ἐποκολοκύντασιν· αὐτὸ, ὥσπερ ἐνῆ Ἀπαθυσίαισι, ἀνομάσας)· ἐκείνος δὲ ἐν βρυχετάτῃ πολλὰ εἰπὼν ἀπομιμηνομένους, etc. Dion. lx. 35. As the proconsuls left Rome in the middle of April (see A.D. 43, no. 1655), Gallio would reach his province of Achaia the beginning of June A.D. 53. His year of office would therefore expire the beginning of June A.D. 54; and as he was bound to return forthwith to Rome to meet any charge of maladministration which might be brought against him (see A.D. 45, no. 1489), he would be in Rome soon after midsummer A.D. 54. On 1 November A.D. 54 he appears to have been appointed to the honour of the consulship, in reward, perhaps, of his services in the administration of the province (see the consuls for the year, *supra*).

1806. The new reign commences with the assassination of Junius Silanus, proconsul of Asia, by the hands of P. Celer and Helius, the procurators. *Prima novo principatu mors Junii Silani proconsulis Asiæ . . . Mithridate P. Celer, eques Romanus, et Helius libertus, rei familiaris principis in Asia impositi* (his *cess.*). Tac. Ann. xiii. 1. *Disce Augustus . . . vidit genitum quo excessit anno (A.D. 14) M. Silanum, qui cum Asiæ obtineret post consulatum* (A.D. 53), *Neronis principis successione veneno ejus interemptus est.* Plin. N. H. vii. 11. Silanus was therefore about forty at the time of his death. *Μακρόν Ἰούνιον Σελεύον ἀπεκτόει*

(Αγρίππῃ) πέμψου αὐτὸν τοῦ φαρμάκου ᾧ τὸν ἀνὴρα ἐκείνη φημίσει. Dion. lxi. 6 (see A.D. 40, no. 1602; A.D. 57, no. 1832).

1807. Narcissus, the favourite freshman of Claudius, who had made himself obnoxious to Agrippina, is also put to death just afterwards. *Nec minus prope rato Narcissus Claudii libertus, de cuius foris atqueversus Agrippinam retuli, aspectu custodi et necessitate extrinse ad mortem opulit* (his cons.). Tac. Ann. xiii. 1.

1809. Burrhus and Seneca try to check the headlong career of Nero, and unite their influence against Agrippina and Pallas, her paramour. *Itaturque in caedes nisi Agrippina Burrhus et Annuus Seneca obstita essent . . . Ceterum ubique unus erat contra iocundum Burrhus, et quic cunctis malis donduis suis capidibus flagrans, habebat in partibus Postumea* (his cons.). Tac. Ann. xiii. 2.

1809. Pallas is out of favour with the emperor. *Sed neque Neroni infra serros ingenium, et Pallas tristi arrogantiā modum liberti egrossus tredium sui moxerat* (his cons.). Tac. Ann. xiii. 2.

1810. Nero professes to abandon the large judicial powers assumed by Claudius, and, contenting himself with the jurisdiction of the imperial provinces, places Italy and the popular provinces under the jurisdiction of the senate. *Non enim se negotiorum omnium iudicem fore, ut, clausa vnam intra domum accusatoribus et reis, paucorum potentia grassaretur . . . teneret antiqua munia senatus : consulum tribunaliū Italia et publicis provinciis adsisterent : illi patrum auctoritas praeberent : se mandatis exercitibus consulturum* (his cons.). Tac. Ann. xiii. 4.

1811. Towards the end of the year intelligence arrives that Rhadamistus had been driven out of Armenia, and that the Parthians were in possession of it, *fine anni turbidis rumoribus Prorupisse rurem Parthos et rari Armeniam, collatum est, 'pulsio Rhadamisto'* (his cons.). Tac. Ann. xiii. 6 (see A.D. 51, no. 1757; A.D. 61, no. 1886); and the Romans make preparations for war with Parthia. Tac. Ann. xiii. 7.

1812. Agrippa, king of Trachonitis, and Antiochus, king of Commagene, are ordered to levy forces against the Parthians. *Nero . . . iubet duos veteres reges Agrippam et Antiochum expulsi copias, quos Parthorum fines ultro intrarent : simul pontes per amnem Euphratem fangi* (his cons.). Tac. Ann. xiii. 7.

1813. Corbulo is appointed to conduct the war against Parthia. *Domitium Corbulem retinendū Armeniē (Nero) proposuerat* (his cons.). Tac. Ann. xiii. 8.

1814. Josephus at the age of sixteen (see A.D. 38, no. 1511) is engaged at Jerusalem in sifting the merits of the three sects, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes. *Περὶ ἑκατέρω δὲ ἐγὼ γράμματος, ἰουδαίων τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν αἰρεσῶν ἐπερίπλεον λαβὼν. Jos. Vit. 2. He was after this for three years in the desert with a hermit by the name of Bannus. *Ἡσθόμενος τὰν Βαννὸν ὄνομα, κατὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν ἐστῆς αὐτῷ, ἐσθῆτι μὲν ἀπὸ ἐλπίου χρηματίζων, ἀποστήναι δὲ τὴν αὐτομάτως προσημασμένην, ψυχρῇ δὲ ἔσται τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν ὕμνα τοῦ Ναννοῦ, λαμβάνοντος παρὸς αὐτὸν, ἡλίου, ἡγεύμενος αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐστὶν ὅσας παρ' αὐτῷ ἐπισκοπῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν αὐτὴν διδόντων. Vit. 2. The mode of life of Bannus illustrates strongly the life of John the Baptist in the same desert. Bannus may have been a disciple of John.**

1815. Paul at the opening of the year sets out from Antioch on his third circuit, and passes through Galatia and Phrygia. *καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ χροῖα τὰν ἑβραίων ἐπεχέμενος καθ' ἡμῶν τὴν Γαλατίαν χωρὶς καὶ Φρυγίαν, ἐπισκοπῶν πάσας τοὺς πόλεις. Acts, xviii. 23. Paul had arrived at Antioch after the Feast of Tabernacles (16 September) A.D. 53; and the χροῖα τὰν in the above passage would be satisfied by a sojourn of a few months during the remaining part of autumn and the winter.*

1816. While in Galatia Paul gives directions for the collection of alms for the relief of the poor Hebrews in Jerusalem. *Περὶ δὲ τῆς λογίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους, ὧστε διέταξα ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας, ὅσοι καὶ ὅποις ποιεῖσται. 1 Cor. xvi. 1. This was in fulfilment of the promise which he had made the year before to the Apostles at Jerusalem (see A.D. 53, no. 1796). As Paul was on his way to Ephesus, whither on his voyage from Greece he had pledged himself to return, it is likely that he was not long in Galatia or Phrygia. Ephesus was distant from Antioch about thirty days' journey, but as Paul exercised his ministry on the road, we should allow about three months. Paul reached Ephesus about May, for he quitted Ephesus about May A.D. 57, after a sojourn of three years. *Δὲ γονογεῖται μνημονεύοντες ὅτι ἐπιστάται ὅσοι καὶ ἡμέραν οὐκ ἐπαυσαμένην γουθερίαν ἐν ἐκαστον.**

Acts, xx. 31. Assuming the circuit from Antioch to Ephesus to have occupied about three months, Paul must have started from Antioch the beginning of February, i.e. as soon as the depth of winter was past. It was his usual practice to spend the winter with some particular church (see 1 Cor. xvi. 6; Titus, iii. 12). Proconsular Asia, over which the Gospel was now spread from Ephesus, the capital, comprised Mysia, Troas, Lydia, Ionia, Caria and Phrygia.

1817. Paul preaches to the Jews at Ephesus for three months—viz. May, June, and July, A.D. 44; and after that, as they rejected the Gospel, he preaches to the Gentiles daily in the lecture-room of one Tyrannus. Εἰσελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ἐπαγγεῖλιά, ἐτα ἐπὶ μῆνας τρεῖς . . . Ὡς δὲ τινες ἐκκληρονοῦντο . . . ἀποστάς ἅπ' αὐτῶν ἀφώρισε τοὺς μαθητὰς, καθ' ἡμέραν ἐκλεγεμένους ἐν τῇ σχολῇ Τυράννου τινός. Acts, xix. 8 (see A.D. 56, no. 1829).

1817 a. Coins of Judea.

Τι. Κλαύδιος Καίσαρ Σεπτ. Λ. ΙΔ. + Ιουδαία Ἀγροπολις, and therefore struck in the fourteenth year of Claudius.

Νεῖρον Κλαυ. Καίσαρ + Βριτ. Καί. Λ. ΙΔ.

Eckhel, iii. 408

Coins of Nero.

Agripp. Aug. Divi Claud. (sub. uxor) Neronis Cæs. Mater + Neroni Claud. Divi F. Cæs. Aug. Germ. Imp. Tr. P. Ex S. C.

Nero Cæsar Aug. Imp. + Pontif. Max. Tr. P. Ex S. C. Id. vi. 202.

Coin of Alexandria.

Οκταονο Σεβαστῇ Λ. Α. (i. e. in the first year of Nero) + Νερ. Κλαυ. Καίσ. Σεβ. Γερ. Δοτ.

Id. iv. 55.

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 10.

Pentecost, May 31.

Tabernacles, October 5.

A.D. 55. U.C. 808. Olymp. 208, 3.

NERO CLAUDIUS CÆSAR AUGUSTUS.

IL ANTISTILIS VETTS. Quem forte cepit Pompeius.

NERONIS IL FROM 13 OCTOBER, AND TRIB. POT. IL FROM SAME DAY. COS. PONT. MAX. IMP.

Seventh year of the reign of Agrippa II. from some time in the second quarter.

1818. Nero is consul for two months only. Consulatus quatuor gessit, primum bimestrem. Suet. Ner. 14.

1819. Nero becomes enamoured of Acte, a courtesan; and this weakens the influence of Agrippina and Pallas, and throws more power into the hands of Seneca. *Ceterum in fracta paullatim potentia matris, delapso Nerone in amorem libertæ cui vocabulum Acte fuit . . . donec vi amoris subactus exueret obsequium in nutrem, seque Senecæ permitteret.* Tac. Ann. xiii. 12, 13.

Pallas is removed from office. *Et Nero infensus iis, quibus superbio multiebris inimicabatur, demovit Pallantum curâ rerum, quæis a Claudio inpositus velut arbitrum regni agebat.* Tac. Ann. xiii. 14. This must have been very early in the year, for it was before the death of Britannicus. Tac. Ann. xiii. 14, 15 (see infra, no. 1820).

1820. Britannicus is poisoned by Nero just before the completion of his fourteenth year, and therefore a few days only before 13 February, A.D. 55 (see A.D. 41, no. 1616). Nero had taken alarm at Britannicus from an incident which had occurred at the Saturnalia (17 December) at the close of the preceding year. *Turbatus his Nero, et propinquo die quo quartum decimum ætatis annum Britannicus explebat, volvere secum modo matris clementiam, morbo ipsius (Britannici) indolens, levi quodam experimendo imper cognitum, quo tamen favore per late quævisset. Festis Saturno diebus (17 December, A.D. 54) inter alia æquium ludicra, regum læu sortientium, evenerat ea res Neroni, etc. . . . paravitque venenum jubet, ministro Politione Julio prætoris coherctis tribuno, cuius curâ custodiretur damnata veneficii nomine Locusta, multa scelerum fama (his coss.).* Tac. Ann. xiii. 15. Dion, lxi. 7. And see Suet. Ner. 33.

1821. Nero deprives Agrippina of her German guard, and ejects her from her apartments in the palace (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. xiii. 18. Dion, lxi. 7, 8. Suet. Nero, 31.

1822. C. Balbillus is appointed prefect of Egypt (see A.D. 38, no. 1598; A.D. 66, no. 1997), and P. Anteius of Syria (see A.D. 50, no. 1746); but the latter never takes possession of his province. *Ægyptus C. Balbillo permittitur; Syria P. Anteio destinata: sed variis mor artibus elucis, ad postremum in urbe retentus est.* Tac. Ann. xiii. 22.

1823. In this consulship and within the first year of the reign of Nero, and therefore before

13 October, A.D. 55, Azizus, king of Emesa and Archusa (see A.D. 54, no. 1800), is succeeded by his brother Sohemus; and, about the same time, Aristobulus, son of Herod of Chalcis, is appointed to the kingdom of Armenia Minor (see A.D. 38, no. 1533; A.D. 60, no. 1887); and Agrippa receives an accession of territory by the addition of the cities Tiberias and Tarichæa in Galilee, and Julias and Abila in Peræa (see A.D. 53, no. 1788). Τῷ γὰρ πρώτῳ τῆς Νέρωνος ἀρχῆς ἔτει, τελευτήσαντος τοῦ Ἑμίσιου βασιλέως Ἀζίζου. Σόμος ἀδελφὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέχεται· τὴν δὲ τῆς μικρᾶς Ἀρμενίας προστασίαν Ἀριστοβούλου Ἡρώδου τῆς Χαλκίδος βασιλείῳ παῖς ὑπὸ Νέρωνος ἐγχειρίζεται· καὶ τὸν Ἀγρίππιν δὲ δωρεῖται μέρη τινὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὁ Κούσηρ, Τυβεριάδα καὶ Ταριχίνας ὑπακούειν αὐτῷ κελεύσας· δίδωσι καὶ Ἰουδαία πόλιν τῆς Περσίας καὶ κόμας τὰς περὶ αὐτὴν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα. Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 4. Τὴν μὲν οὖν μακρίν Ἀρμενίαν ἐξώσκει μὲν βασιλεύειν Ἀριστοβούλου τῷ Ἡρώδου. Τῇ δὲ Ἀγρίππᾳ βασιλείᾳ τεσσαρες πόλεις προστίθησι· σὺν ταῖς τυτάρχειας Ἀβίλαν μὲν καὶ Ἰουδαία κατὰ τὴν Περσίαν, Τυρκαίνας δὲ καὶ Τυβεριάδα τῆς Γαλιλαίας. Bell. ii. 15, 2. To the dominions of Sohemus Sophene also is now added (see B.C. 65, no. 57). *Et minorem Armeniam Aristobulo, regionemque Sopheneam Sohemus, cum insignibus regis (Nero) nominat.* Tac. Ann. xiii. 7. This is related by Tacitus under the preceding consulship (A.D. 54), but he cautions the reader that he had anticipated these events. *Quæ in alios consules egressa conjungi.* Tac. Ann. xiii. 9; and see Tac. Hist. ii. 81.

1824. Vardanes aims at the throne of Parthia, and Vologeses is obliged to retire from Armenia to counteract his designs. *Exortusque in tempore annulus Vologeso filius Vardanes; et abscessere Armeniâ Parthi, tanquam differrent bellum.* Tac. Ann. xiii. 7.

Agrippa, king of Trachonitis, and Antiochus, king of Commagene, are ordered to hold themselves in readiness to assist in the war against the Parthians. *Copie Orientis ita dirigitur, ut pars auxiliaria cum duobus legionibus apud provinciam Syriam et legatum ejus Quadratum Ummidinum remaneret: par.civium sociorumque numerus Corbuloni esset, cæditis cohortibus aliisque quæ in Cappadocia hiemabant. Socii reges (Agrippa et Antiochus) prout bello conducere parere jussi.* Tac. Ann. xiii. 8.

Corbulo and Quadratus meet at Ægeæ in Cilicia. *Itinere proprio confecto apud Ægeas*

civitatem Ciliciæ obviavit Quadratum (Corbulo) habuit, illic progressum, ne, si ad accipiens copias Syriam intraret, omnium ora in se verteret. Tac. Ann. xiii. 8.

Vologeses is alarmed at the preparations of the Romans (see A.D. 54, no. 1813) and gives hostages. *Et Vologeses, quo bellum ex communito pararet, an ut omulatiois suspectos per nomen obsidum amoveret, tradidit nobilissimos ex familia Arsacidarum.* Tac. Ann. xiii. 9. These events are related by Tacitus under the preceding consulship, but are expressly said to be anticipated by a year. Ann. xiii. 9.

1825. St. Paul writes the Epistle to the Galatians. The date is ascertained as follows: 1. It was written after a collection amongst the Gentiles in favour of the poor Hebrews, for in writing to the Galatians the Apostle thus alludes to it. Καὶ γινόντες τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσάν μοι Ἰάκωβος καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ Ἰωάννης, οἱ δοκούντες στόλοι εἶναι, δεξέας ἔδωκαν ἐμοὶ καὶ Βαρνάβῳ κοινωρίας, ἵνα ἡμεῖς εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν περιτομήν· μόρον τῶν πτωχῶν ἵνα μηνυμένοι· μεν, ὁ καὶ ἐσπούδασα αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. Galat. ii. 9. Now, in the preceding year (see A.D. 54, no. 1816), he had passed through Galatia and Phrygia, and had made a collection in Galatia, as appears from the First Epistle to the Corinthians. Ἡμεῖς δὲ τῆς λογίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους, ὥσπερ εὐτάξατε ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς ποιῆσαι. 1 Cor. xvi. 1. The Epistle to the Galatians was therefore written after this circuit through Galatia and Phrygia. 2. The Epistle to the Galatians was subsequent to the Apostle's second visit to Galatia, for he thus alludes to the former of his two visits. Οἴκατε εἰ ὅτι εἰ ἀπένεικα τῆς παρ- κείας εὐηγγελισμῶν ὑμῖν τὸ πρότερον, καὶ τὸν πειρασμόν μου τὸν ἐν σαρκὶ μου οὐκ ἐξουθενήσατε, οὐδὲ ἐξεπτόσατε, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄγγελον θεοῦ ἐδέξασθί με, ὡς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν. Galat. iv. 13. The first visit of Paul to Galatia was in A.D. 50 (see no. 1747), and the second visit was in A.D. 54 (see no. 1815), and the Epistle to the Galatians was therefore written either in, or subsequently to, the year A.D. 54. 3. The Epistle was written not long after this second visit, for the Apostle repeatedly alludes to his recent presence amongst them, as in the following passages: Ουμιάτω ὅτι οὕτω ταχέως μετὰθεσθε ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς ἐν χάριτι Χριστοῦ εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον. Gal. i. 6. Καλὸν δὲ τὸ ζηλοῦσθαι ἐν καλῇ πάρρῳ, καὶ μὴ μόνον

ἐν τῇ παρατρίαι με πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τέκνι μου, οὐκ πάλιν ὤλινω, ἔχεις οὐ μορφωθῆν Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν. Gal. iv. 18. Ἐτρέχετε καλῶς· τίς ὑμᾶς ἐπέκοψε τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μὴ πείθεσθαι; Gal. v. 7. Indeed, the whole Epistle breathes the spirit of one who had not long before been personally amongst them. Lastly. The very year of the Epistle is indicated in the following passage. Ἡμέρας παρατρεῖσθε, καὶ μῆνας, καὶ καιροὺς, καὶ ἐνιαυτούς. Gal. iv. 10. The Galatians are here represented as in the actual observance of days and months and years, and by the latter can only be meant Sabbatic years. The date of the Epistle then was at a time when Paul, having recently left the Galatians, had heard that they were observing the Sabbatic year; but the first Sabbatic year after his second visit to Galatia was from 1 Nisan, A.D. 55, to 1 Nisan, A.D. 56, and during that interval, therefore, the letter was written, and probably in the latter half of A.D. 55.

1825 a. Coin of Nero.

Nero Claud. Divi E. Cæs. Aug. Germ. Imp. Tr. P. Cos. + Agripp. Aug. Divi Claud. Neronis Cæsar Mater Ex. S. C. Eckhel, vi. 262.

Coin of Polemo II., king of Pontus.

Βασιλεὺς Πωτῆμωνος + ΕΡΩΣ, Π. Ι. Ε. in the eighteenth year of his reign (see A.D. 38, no. 1533). Id. ii. 372.

Coin of Cotys, king of Bosphorus.

ΒΟ. Κ. ΒΟΥΤ. + Head of Agrippina, i. e. in the 352nd year, commencing from U.C. 467 (see A.D. 49, no. 1733). Id. ii. 376.

The Sabbatic year.

Passover, March 30.

Pentecost, May 20.

Tabernacles, September 24.

A.D. 56. U.C. 809. Olymp. 208, 4.

Q. VOLUSIUS SATURNINUS.

P. CORNELIUS SEVERUS.

ex Kal. Jul.

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NEROIS III. FROM 13 OCTOBER. TRIB. POT. III. FROM SAME DAY. COS. DESIG. II. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP.

Eighth year of the reign of Agrippa II. from some time in the second quarter.

1826. Peace prevails during the year, and Nero amuses himself by wandering about the city in disguise and engaging in unceasing

brawls. Q. Volusio P. Scipione coss. otium joris, fæda domi lascivia, quæ Nero itinera urbis et lupanaria et diverticula, veste servili in dissimulationem sui composuit, perversabat. Tac. Ann. xiii. 25. Dion. lxi. 8. Suet. Nero, 26.

Players, from the constant tumults in the theatre, are expelled from Italy (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xiii. 25.

1827. The death of L. Volusius at the age of ninety-three. At L. Volusius egregiâ famâ concessit, cui tres et novaginta anni spatium vivendi, præcipueque opes bonis artibus, inoffensa tot imperatorum malitia fuit (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xiii. 30.

1828. Felix captures Elazar, the archbishop. Jos. Bell. ii. 13, 2; Ant. xx. 8, 5. It was about this time, for Josephus first relates the distribution of provinces amongst some petty princes in the first year of Nero, τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ Νέρωνος ἀρχῆς (from 13 October, A.D. 54, to 13 October, A.D. 55), Ant. xx. 6, 4; and then the capture of Elazar, apparently in A.D. 56. He had held the country in terror for twenty years, ἔτεσιν εἴκοσι τὴν χώραν θυμαμένον, Bell. ii. 13, 2; and as he probably began his career in A.D. 36 (see that year, no. 1491), the termination of it may be placed in A.D. 56.

1829. About August of this year, Paul sends Timothy and Erastus on a mission to Macedonia; for Paul arrived at Ephesus about May A.D. 54, and preached for three months to the Jews, viz. till 1 August, A.D. 54, εἰσελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἐπὶ μῆνας τρεῖς, Acts, xix. 8; and then two years to the Gentiles, i. e. till 1 August, A.D. 56, τοῦτο δὲ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τῇ ἑβδ., Acts, xix. 10; and after all this he sent forth Timothy and Erastus. Ὃς δὲ ἐπληρώθη ταῦτα, ἔθετο ὁ Παῦλος ἐν τῷ πνεύματι, εὐελθὼν Μακεδονίαν καὶ Ἀχαΐαν, πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ . . . ἀποστείλας δὲ εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν δύο τῶν διακονούντων αὐτῷ Τιμόθεον καὶ Ἐραστον, αὐτὸς ἐπέσχε χρόνον εἰς τὴν Λατίαν. Acts, xix. 21 (see A.D. 54, no. 1817).

Paul intended at this time, on quitting Ephesus, to sail to Corinth; and Timothy was directed, on concluding his mission to Macedonia, to proceed to Corinth, and there await the Apostle's arrival. 2 Cor. ii. 15 (see post, no. 1835).

1829 a. Conon is archon at Athens. Ἀρχωντος Ἀθήνησι Κόνωνος, ὑπατευόντων ἐν Πάτρῃ Κοῖνον (Ὁύλουσιου Σατυρίνου καὶ Ποπλίου Κορηίου Σκίπιονος. Phleg. Mir. Muller's Frag. Grace. Hist. iii. 623.

Coins of Nero.

Nero Caesar Aug. Imp. + Pontif. Max. Tr.
Vol. ii. P. P. Ex. S. C. or Tr. P. iii. P. P.
 Eckhel, vi. 283.

Coins of Antioch.

Αντισχεῖων + Βρι Κοναβρατον Br. ΔΡ., i. e. in the
 104th year of the Era of Antioch dating
 from 1 Nov. B.C. 40, and therefore struck
 between 1 Nov. A.D. 65, and 1 Nov. A.D. 50.
 Id. iii. 280.

Αντισχεῖων, with laurel branch and ΔΡ.

Id. iii. 283.

Coins of Alexandria.

Αγοισπινη Σεβαστη L. P. (i. e. in the third year
 of Nero) + *Νερω Κλαυ. Καυσ. Σεβ.* *Περ. Αυτο.*
 Id. iv. 52.

Προμ. (scilicet *Προμνια*) *Νεωv Σεβαστου* L. P.
 Id. iv. 54.

Οκταουσια Σεβαστη L. P. + *Νερω Κλαυ. Καυσ. Σεβ.*
Περ. Αυτ. Id. iv. 55.

Coin of Polemo II., king of Pontus.

Παριδτωc Πολεμωνος + *Ερωc.* ΠΘ., i. e. in the
 ninth-enth year of his reign (see A.D. 38, no.
 1533). Id. ii. 372.

Inscription.

L. Volusio Saturni P. Cornelio Scip. Cos. Aug-
ustales qui Neroni Claudio Cesari August. et
Agrippinae Augustae L. O. M. et Graio volu-
ntulo fecer. xiii. aii. E. Mart. (Napoli).

Inscriptio ad caulem Sætonii.

First year of the Sablatie cycle.

Pasover, March 19.

Pentecost, May 9.

Tabernacles, September 13.

A.D. 57. U.C. 610. Olymp. 209, 1.

NERO CLAUD. CESAR AVG., II.

L. CALPURNIUS PISO.

EX KOL. JUL.

DUCENNUS GENIENS.

POMPEIUS PATLINGS.

NERONIS IV. FROM 13 OCTOB. TRIB. POT. IV.
 FROM SAME DAY. COS. II. PONT. MAX. PAT.
 PATR. IMP.

Ninth year of the reign of Agrippa II. from
 some time in the second quarter.

1830. Nero remains consul for six months.
Consulatus quatuor gessit: primum (A.D. 55)
bimestrem, secundum (A.D. 57) et novissimum
(A.D. 60) semestrem, tertium (A.D. 58) quadri-
mestrem. Suet. Nero, 14.

Prefects and Procurators are prohibited from
 celebrating games at the expense of their sub-
 jects. *Nerone secundum, L. Pisonæ coss. edixit*
Cæsar, 'Ne quis magistratus aut procurator qui
provinciam obtineret spectaculam gladiatorum,
aut ferarum, aut quod aliud ludiorum ederet.'
Nam ante non minus tali largitione quam corri-
piendis pecuniis subjectos adstringebant, itam, quæ
libidine deliquerant, ambitu propugnaret. Tac.
 Ann. xiii. 21.

1831. Pomponia Græcina, the wife of Plau-
 tian, the victorious general from Britain, is
 accused of foreign superstition, by which
 Christianity is probably meant. *Pomponia*
Græcina, insignis femina, Plautio, qui ovens
se de Britannis retulit, nupta, ac superstitionis
externæ reâ, mariti iudicio permixta. Iæque
præco instituto, propinquis coram, de capite
famæque conjugis cognovit, et insentem nuntiavit
(his coss.). Tac. Ann. xiii. 82.

1832. Amongst the latest events under this
 consularship recorded by Tacitus are the accusa-
 tions for maladministration against P. Celer
 from Asia (see A.D. 54, no. 1806; A.D. 58, no.
 1850), Cossutianus Capito from Cilicia (see
 A.D. 15, no. 1871), and Epirus Marcellus from
 Lycia (see A.D. 43, no. 1656). *Idem annus*
plures reos habuit. Quorum P. Celerem, accu-
sante Asid, quia absolvere negligit Cæsar,
traxit, senectâ donec mortem obiret: nam Celer,
interfecto ut memoravi (Tac. Ann. xiii. 1) Sila-
no proconsule, magnitudinæ sceleris cetera fla-
gitia obtegebat. Cossutianum Capitanum Cilices
detulerant, maculosum sædæque et idem jus
audacia in provinciâ ratum quod in urbe
extremat: sed perniciaci accusationis conflictatus
postremo defensionem omisit ac lege reptunda-
rum damnatus est. Pro Epirio Marcello, a quo
Lyciæ res reptebant, eo usque ambitus prævehit,
ut quidam accusatorum ejus exsilio multarentur,
tantum insonti periculum freissent (his coss.).
 Tac. Ann. xiii. 38. Tutor is also spoken of by
 Juvenal as an oppressor, as well as Capito, of
 the province of Cilicia:—

Et Capito et Tutor ruerint, damnavitæ Senatu,
Pirata Cilicium. Juvenal, Lib. iii. Sat. 8, v. 93.

1833. Josephus, when nineteen years old,
 adopts the sect of the Pharisees. *Εἰς τὴν πόλιν*
ὕψιστον, ἐνσταλίσκα ἔ' ἐν τῇ ἰσχυρῇ ὑπάρχοντι
τῇ πολιτείᾳ τῇ Φαρισαίων αἰρέσει κατακόλον-
θῶν. Jos. Vita, 2 (see A.D. 38, no. 1541; A.D.
 54, no. 1814).

1834. At one of the feasts of this year Jonathan, the ex-high-priest, is assassinated by the bandits called from this time *Sicarii*, from the *sica*, or dagger, with which they despatched him. "Ἐπὶ τῷ εἶδος ληστῶν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμοις ἐπεφύετο οἱ λεγόμενοι Σικαριοὶ. πρῶτος μὲν οὖν ἐπ' αὐτῷ Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς ἀποσφύζεται Jos. Bell. ii. 13, 5. 'Ἀνελθάντων τινες αὐτῶν (τῶν ληστῶν) εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὡς προσκυνήσοντες τὸν θεόν, ὑπὸ τὰς ἐσθῆτας ἔχοντες ξιφίαι, καὶ συναναμυχθέντες τῷ Ἰωάννῃ λειπύρυστον αὐτὸν ἀνελκύνοντες δὲ τοῦ φόρου μεμενηκότου, μετὰ πύσης τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδείας ἀνιψάλοισι τε, ἐν ταῖς ἐσθῆτασι τοῖς λησταῖς, εἰς Ant. xx. 8, 5. It has been thought by some that Jonathan was actual high-priest at this time, and thence it is conjectured that, Agrippa being in attendance upon Corbulo in the war against the Parthians, the office of high-priest made vacant by the death of Jonathan was not filled up for some time after, and that this vacancy of the pontificate is alluded to by Paul in his memorable words before the Sanhedrim at the Pentecost A.D. 58, οὐκ ἔδειν, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι ἔστιν Ἀρχιερεὺς, which they translate, 'I wist not, brethren, that there was a high priest' Acts xxiii. 5. Josephus however, reckoning twenty-eight high-priests from the commencement of Herod's reign to the fall of Jerusalem, A.D. 70, evidently does not consider Jonathan as holding the office at this time (see A.D. 67, no 2060), and the more natural meaning of the passage is that of the authorised version, 'I wist not, brethren, that it was the high-priest' (see A.D. 58, no 1862).

The date of the assassination of Jonathan may be thus arrived at. It is expressly stated by Josephus to have occurred at some feast after the elevation of Nero to the throne, Ant. xx. 8, 3, Bell. ii. 13, 1, and as Nero's reign commenced on 13 October, A.D. 54, and there was no feast after 13 October in that year, the event cannot be placed earlier than in A.D. 55. On the other hand the death of Jonathan was plotted by Felix, Ant. xx. 8, 3 and 9, Bell. ii. 14, 1, who resigned in favour of Festus about midsummer A.D. 60 (see that year, no 1893). And it was also before the arrest of Paul in the Temple at the Feast of Pentecost A.D. 58, two years before the retirement of Felix (see that year, no 1860), for in the address of Lysias the *Sicarii* are alluded to, τῶν Σικαριῶν, Acts xxi. 38. and the *Sicarii* were

so called from the *sica*, or poniard, used at the assassination of Jonathan. The death of Jonathan therefore cannot be placed later than the Feast of Pentecost A.D. 58. But it must also have been some considerable time before the arrest of Paul at the Pentecost A.D. 58, or the term *Sicarii* could not have grown into common use. And the same inference may be deduced from the fact that Josephus places the assassination of Jonathan before the appearance of the Egyptian impostor, an event which was also prior to the arrest of Paul, for Lysias mistook Paul for the Egyptian. Οὐκ ἄρα σὺ εἰ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, Acts xxi. 38. If, therefore, the Egyptian set himself up, as we shall see, at the Passover A.D. 58, the assassination of Jonathan must be carried still further back, and, as we should conceive, to the year A.D. 57. This date would agree with the narrative by Josephus of the occurrences between the accession of Nero on 13 October, A.D. 54, and the death of Jonathan, for he records during the interval the distribution of certain provinces in the first year of Nero (13 October, 54 to 13 October, 55), τῷ γὰρ πρώτῳ τῆς Νέρωνος ἀρχῆς, Ant. xx. 8, 4, and then the capture of the archbandit Eleazar in A.D. 56 (see that year, no 1828), and then the assassination of Jonathan, which would thus fall naturally in A.D. 57.

1835. Paul had proposed to sail from Ephesus to Corinth, and thence to pass on to Macedonia, and, after a sojourn there, to return to Corinth, and sail thence for Judea. Ἐβουλόμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς (the Corinthians) ἔλθειν προτερον. καὶ δεῖ ὑμῶν ἐλθεῖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ πάλιν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ ὅτ' ὑμῶν προπεμφθῆναι εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν 2 Cor. ii. 15. But while Paul is at Ephesus, he hears, through the household of Chloe, of the excesses in the Corinthian Church, ἀφ' ὧν γὰρ μοι περὶ ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί μου, ὑπὸ τὴν ἑλπίδα, ὅτι ἰστέες ἐν ὑμῖν εἰσι, 1 Cor. i. 11, and in order to give the Corinthians time for repentance, Paul now alters his plans, and proposes to visit Macedonia first, and then to pass on to Corinth, and there to spend the winter. 1 Cor. xvi. 5. In consequence of this change of plan, Paul forwards a message to Timothy not to proceed from Macedonia to Corinth as before arranged (see A.D. 56, no 1829), but to return to Paul.

1836. About the same time, Paul receives a letter from the Corinthians, asking advice

touching various matters, *περὶ δὲ ὧν ἐγράψαμί μοι*, 1 Cor. vii. 1; and the Apostle writes the First Epistle to the Corinthians, partly to rebuke them, and partly to answer their questions, and dispatch it by the hands of Titus.

The date of the Epistle appears from the contents. Paul was in Asia at the time, ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τῆς Ἀσίας, 1 Cor. xvi. 19; and at Ephesus, *ἐπιμενῶ δὲ ἐν Ἐφέσω*, etc., 1 Cor. xvi. 8; and it was written after his second visit to Galatia, in A.D. 54, when the collection was made there for the poor Hebrews, *περὶ δὲ τῆς λογίας τῆς εἰς τοῦ ἀγίου ὧσπερ ἐπέταξα ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Ἰαλυρίας, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ποίησατε*, 1 Cor. xvi. 1; and after the mission of Timothy and Erastus in the autumn of A.D. 56, εἰς τοῦτο ἔξεμψα ὑμῖν Τιμόθεον, 1 Cor. iv. 17; and after he had made a change in his own plans as to his route on leaving Ephesus, Ἐλεύσομαι δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅταν Μακεδονίαν διέλθω (*Μακεδονίαν γὰρ διέρχεται*), *πρὸς ὑμᾶς δὲ τοχὸν παραμενῶ, ἢ καὶ συναρχαιώσω*. 1 Cor. xvi. 5. The Epistle was written at the time of the Passover, for the Apostle pointedly alludes to the celebration of it as in observance at the time. Ἐκκαθάρατε οὖν τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην ἵνα ᾖτε νέον φέριμα, καθὼς ἐστέ ἀζύμοι· καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐτίθη ἰησοῦς· ὥστε ἰορτάζωμεν μὴ ἐν ζύμῃ παλαιᾷ, μηδὲ ἐν ζύμῃ κακίᾳ καὶ πονηρίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀζύμοις εὐωφρείας καὶ ἀληθείας. 1 Cor. v. 7. And this Passover was, of course, subsequent to the mission of Timothy and Erastus in the autumn of A.D. 56, and was the Passover next before the time fixed for the Apostle's departure. Ἐπιμενῶ δὲ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἕως τῆς Πεντηκοστής. 1 Cor. xvi. 8. The Epistle was therefore written at the Passover of A.D. 57, which this year was on 7 April.

1837. In the month of Artemisius, or May, occurred the Ἐφέσια, or games in honour of Diana of Ephesus. This appears from the following inscription relating to the worship of the goddess Diana, found on one of the stones amongst the ruins of Ephesus:—[Ὁν μόνον ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρῃ πόλει, ἀλλ' καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλάσι παν] γαχοῦ ἀνέστησαν αὐτῆς ἱερὰ τε καὶ ἱερῆν καὶ αὐτῇ τε ἐκέρχονται καὶ βοῶντες ἀνακρίσθαι εἰς τὰς ἐν' αὐτῆς γενομένης ἱναργεῖς ἐπιφαιτίας· καὶ τοῦτο δὲ μέγιστον τοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν σεβασμοῦ ἔστιν τεκμήριον τὸ ἐπώνυμον αὐτῆς εἶναι μῆνι καλοῦμενον παρ' [ἡμῖν] μὲν Ἀρτε-

μισίῳ, παρὶ δὲ Μακεδόσι, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν τοῖς Ἑλλησικαῖς, καὶ ταῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς πόλεσιν Ἀρτεμισίων· ἐν δ' ἡμῖν πανηγύριος καὶ ἱερομνήμις ἐπιτελοῦνται, διευφρόντως δὲ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πόλει τῇ τοσούτῃ τῆς ἰδίας τοῦ τῆς Ἐφέσιας· προσήκει δὲ εἶναι ἡγουμένους ὁ ἄρχος Ἐφεσίων ὄντων τὸν μῆνα τὸν ἐπώνυμον τοῦ θεοῦ ὀνόματος εἶναι ἱερὸν, καὶ ἀνακρίσθαι τῇ θεῇ, ἰδοκίμασεν εἰς τοῦδε τοῦ φηρημαίοντος [εὐαγ]θεῖναι τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ θρησκείαν, εἰς ἐξόχ[θ]ου δ[λ]ον τὸν μῆνα τὸν Ἀρτεμισίῳ εἶναι [ἱερὸν πίσυς τῆς] ἡμέρας, ἀγαθῆν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς μνημόσιν ἐκ[ε]ῖθεν τὰς ἐορτὰς καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀρτεμισίων πανηγύριν, καὶ τὰς ἱερομνήμιας, ἅτε τοῦ μηνός ἡλίου ἀνικιμμένου τῇ θεῇ· οὕτω γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ ἡμεῖνον τῆς [θρησκείας] γινόμε[ν]ης ἡ πόλις ἡμῖν ἐνδοξυτέρα τε καὶ ἐν[α]ν[α]μω[ν] εἰς τὴν [πάν]τα διαμενεῖ χ[ρόνον]. Boeckh, no. 2954.

1838. At the celebration of these Ἐφέσια, or Ephesian games in honour of the goddess, Demetrios and the silversmiths who were interested in maintaining the worship of Diana begin a riot against Paul, who runs a great risk of his life; and he is obliged to take leave of Ephesus soon after. Acts, xix. 23.

The tumult was appeased for the moment by the ἱραγματεῦς, or Town-clerk, Luke, xix. 35; and the accuracy of Luke is borne out by the testimony of coins and inscriptions, from which it appears that the chief magistrate of Ephesus was known by this title. Many of those who held this office are mentioned by name, as Titus Flavius Munatius, Boeckh, no. 2990; Euthycrates, Eckhel, ii. 514; Pactus, ib. 516, 518; Aristion, ib. 519; Antander, ib.; Cusinius, ib.

The Ἱσυχρῆς, who tried to screen Paul, Acts, xix. 34, were the presidents of the games which were then celebrating, and are also frequently referred to by that title both in coins and inscriptions. The office was for the year only. See Eckhel, iv. 207.

Luke speaks of Ephesus as *σεωκρόν* of the great goddess Diana; and this also is true to history, as the title is repeatedly found applied to Ephesus, both in coins and inscriptions. See Eckhel, iv. 292.

In the course of the riot, the Town-clerk tells the people in the theatre that it was assize time, and there were *proconsuls* before whom they might plead. *Ὅτι μὲν οὖν Δημήτριος καὶ οἱ οὖν αὐτῷ τεχνηται πρός τινι λόγον ἔχουσιν,*

αγοραῖοι ἀγοραὶ καὶ ἀνθύπατοι εἶσιν Acts, xix 38. This perhaps may be explained by the circumstance that though usually there was only one procurator of Asia, yet in A.D. 54 Junius Silanus the procurator, was taken off by poison by P. Celus and Helius, the two imperial procurators (see A.D. 54, no 1806) at the instance of Nero on his mother, Agrippina Celus and Helius appear, as the reward of their services, to have assumed the government themselves, and to have continued in office till the present time. At least P. Celus, at the close of this year, and probably on returning to Rome about midsummer, was accused by the people of Asia of maladministration in the province (see *supra*, no 1832).

Paul, as we have seen, had arrived at Ephesus about May A.D. 54, and he first preached three months to the Jews, and then two years to the Gentiles εἰσελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ἐπαγγέλλετο ἐπὶ μῆνας τρεῖς τοῦτο δὲ (the preaching to the Gentiles) ἐγένετο ἑπὶ ἑ-η ἔτος, Acts, xix 7 and 10, and these two years and three months would bring us to August A.D. 56. After this, he stayed some time longer, ὥς δὲ ἐ-ληρώθη ταῦτα αὐτὸς ἐπέσχε χρόνιοι εἰς τὴν Ἰσολίαν, Acts, xix 21, 22, and thus his further sojourn was about eight months for in the whole he stayed at Ephesus for the space of three years, μνημονεύουσιν ὅτι τριετίαν ὡς καὶ ἡμέραν οὐκ ἐπαυσάμεν μεταλατρεῖν νοσθεῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς, Acts, xx 31, and this would bring us to May A.D. 57.

1839. Paul departs from Ephesus for Macedonia. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ παύσασθαι τὸν θορύβον προκαλεσάμενος ὁ Παῦλος τοὺς μαθητάς καὶ ἀπαυσάμενος ἐξῆλθε τριουθύναι εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν Acts, xx 1. He had intended to remain at Ephesus till Pentecost (28 May), but the outbreak of Demetrius somewhat precipitated his departure. However, that he did not quit Ephesus at the instant of the outbreak we should infer from the calm way in which he called the church together and bade them adieu.

Paul arrives at Troas, where he is disappointed at not meeting with Titus on his way back from Corinth, whither Paul had sent him. Ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἰρράδα οὐκ ἔσχηκα ἀεσιν τῇ πνεύματι μου τῷ μὴ ἐβρίμην με τίτον τὸν ἀλλήλον μου 2 Cor ii 12 (see *ante*, no 1836). As Paul was disappointed at not meeting with Titus at Troas, where the latter had been

directed to join him from Corinth, it follows that Paul could not have quitted Ephesus much before the time originally fixed for his departure from Ephesus, viz at Pentecost May 28.

Paul proceeds from Troas to Macedonia, where he is full of trouble at first, but is soon after comforted by the good news brought by Titus from Corinth Ἄλλα ἀποσταξάμενος αὐτοῖς ἐξῆλθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν 2 Cor ii 13. Ἐλθόντων ἡμῶν εἰς Μακεδονίαν οὐδεμίαν ἔσχηκεν ἀέσιν ἢ σαρξ ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν παντί θλιβόμενοι ἔξωθεν μάχαι, ἐσωθεν φόβος ἄλλ' οὐ παρακαλῶν τοὺς ταπεινοὺς παρεμίλειεν ἡμᾶς οὐδὲς ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τίτου 2 Cor iii 5.

1840. Paul in Macedonia, as he had before done in Galatia, fulfils the promise given by him to the Apostles at Jerusalem (see A.D. 53, no 1796), and causes a collection to be made throughout the churches, in aid of the poor Hebrews 2 Cor ix 1. Rom xv 26.

1841. Paul writes the Second Epistle to the Corinthians from Macedonia in the autumn of this year. The Epistle tells its own date. The Apostle alludes to his recent hardship with ease at Ephesus on the riot of Demetrius. Οὐ γὰρ θελομένη ἡμῶν ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί, ὑπὲρ τῆς θλίψεως ἡμῶν τῆς γενομένης ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ὅτι καθ' ἱεροβολὴν ἐξαρτήθημεν ὑπὲρ ἑνῶν, etc 2 Cor i. 8. And he then traces his course through Troas, 2 Cor ii 12, to Macedonia ii 13, vii 5, where he was making a collection for the poor Hebrews, γνωρίζομεν δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὴν χάριν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν δεδομένην ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Μακεδονίας, 2 Cor vii 1, and which was still proceeding at the time of writing the Epistle. Περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς διακονίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἀγίους περισσὸν μοι ἐστὶ τὸ γράφειν ὑμῖν οἶδα γὰρ τὴν προθυμίαν ὑμῶν, ἢν ὑπερῷωμαι Μακεδόσι, ὅτι Ἀχαΐα παρεπέδασται ἀποπέρσαι. 2 Cor ix 1. The Second Epistle, like the First, was sent by the hands of Titus, who was to continue the collection ordered amongst the Corinthians, and prepare them for the arrival of Paul himself. Ἦν τὸ παρακαλεῖσαι ἡμᾶς τίτον, ἵνα αὐτὸς προσήλυτο, οὕτω καὶ ἐπετέλεσθαι εἰς ὑμᾶς καὶ τὴν χάριν αὐτὴν 2 Cor vii 6. Τὴν μὲν παράκλησιν (Titus) εἰδεῖσθε, σπουδαιότερος δὲ ὑπάρχωι, ἀνταρτος ἐξῆλθε πρὸς ὑμᾶς 2 Cor vii 17. Ἐπεμψα δὲ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς (Titus, Luke, and Tiophimus). μῆπως καὶ ἔλθωσι συν ἡμῖν Μακεδόνες, καὶ ἐβρωσά ἡμῖς ἀπαρασκεύστους κατασχευθῶμεν ἡμεῖς ἀναγκαῖον

οὐκ ἠγάθημεν παρακαλεῖσαι τοὺς ἀδελφούς ἵνα
περιέλθωσιν εἰ, ἵνα καὶ ἀποκαταστασώμεν τὴν προ-
κατηγγελημένην ἐκδοξάν ὑμῶν ταύτην. *Επιστολὴν*
ἔδωκεν. 2 Cor. ix. 3-5. Further, the Epistle
was written in anticipation of a *second visit* to
the Corinthians, though the Apostle tells us that
it was his *third attempt* to come, but that he had
been obliged to change his plans (see *supra*,
no. 1835). *Ἐβουλόμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰσελθεῖν πρό-
τερον ἢν δευτέραν χάριν ἔχοντε*. 2 Cor. i.
15. *Ἰδοὺ τρίτον ἐτοίμως ἔχω εἰσελθεῖν πρὸς*
ὑμᾶς. 2 Cor. xii. 14. *Τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχο-
μαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς . . . προέηκα καὶ προλέγω ὡς*
παρόν τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἄνωγν ἰδὼν γράφω
τοῖς προσημαρτυρούσι καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς πίστιν, ὅτι
ἐὰν εἰδῶ εἰς τὸ πᾶν οὐ φείσομαι. 2 Cor. xiii.

1. The Apostle alludes also in the Epistle to
a revelation made to him fourteen years before.
*Ὅτεν ἡ ἡμετέρι ἐν Σμύρνῃ πρὸς ἐμὴν ἐκτεσεσά-
μενον (εἴτε ἐν σάρτι οὐκ οἶδον, εἴτε ἐκτός τοῦ*
σώματος) πῶς αὖτε, ὁ θεὸς οἶδεν) ἠρπαγέντα τὸν
ροσίδιον ἕως τρίτου ὁράτου, etc. 2 Cor. xii. 2.
By *πρὸς ἐμὴν ἐκτεσεσάμενον* is meant the four-
teenth year current before, as *μετὰ τῆς τρίτα*
signifies the third year current after (see A.D.
53, no. 1581). The fourteenth year current
before A.D. 57 would be A.D. 44, and the
Apostle experienced the revelation referred to
when he attended the Passover at Jerusalem in
A.D. 44 (see that year, no. 1669).

1842. Between the date of the Second Epistle
to the Corinthians, which was sent by Titus to
prepare them for the Apostle's arrival, and the
departure of Paul himself from Macedonia for
Corinth, there was evidently an interval of
some time; and it must have been during this
period that Paul preached towards the west,
up to the borders of Illyricum, for the author
of the Acts tells us that Paul visited Macedonia,
and exhausted those parts, *διελθὼν δὲ τὰ μέρη*
ἐκεῖνα, Acts, xx. 2; and Paul himself writes
from Corinth to the Romans shortly afterwards,
ὥστε με ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ κύκλῳ μέχρι
τοῦ Ἰαλυρικῦ πεπελομένην τὴν εὐαγγελίαν
τοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . ἵνα δὲ μηκέτι τόπον ἔχων ἐν
τοῖς κλίμασι τούτοις, etc. Rom. xv. 19, 23.
And there is no occasion but the present, when
Paul had several months to spare, on which he
could have published the Gospel in the direc-
tion of Illyricum.

1843. About the end of November Paul
departs from Macedonia, and arrives at Corinth,
where he passes, as he had promised, the three

winter months. *Ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἐλλάδα, ποιή-
σας τε μήνας πρὸς . . . πεντήκοντα ἡμέρας*,
etc. Acts, xx. 2. The time of Paul's arrival
at Corinth may be thus ascertained. He
stayed three months at Corinth, and then
travelled by land to Philippi, and, as calculated
by Anger, p. 52, this journey, including stop-
pages, would occupy about a month. Thus,
from Paul's arrival at Corinth to his arrival at
Philippi would be an interval of four months.
But Paul reached Philippi at the Passover
A.D. 58, i.e. on 27 March of that year; and
his arrival at Corinth therefore must have been
five months before, or about 27 November,
A.D. 57 (see A.D. 58, no. 1856).

1843 a. Coins of Nero.

Nero Caesar Aug. Imp. + Pontif. Max. Tr. P.
iii. Cos. ii. Ex. S. C., or + *Pontif. Max. Tr.*
P. iii. l. l. Pichuel, vi. 293.

Coins of Antioch.

Antiochen + Epi. Κωνσταντίνου Tr. EP., i.e. in
the 105th year, and therefore struck between
1 Nov. A.D. 56 and 1 Nov. A.D. 57.

Id. iii. 280.

Nero . . . Στ. 3 + 4; α. π. η. η. Στ. 3 + 5 Tr. EP., i.e.
3
105) or in the third year of the reign of
Nero, and the 105th year of the Era of
Antioch dating from 1 Nov. B.C. 40, and
therefore struck between 1 Nov. A.D. 56, and
13 Oct. A.D. 57.

Id. iii. 281.

Coins of Alexandria.

Head of Agrippina L. 2, i.e. in the fourth year
of Nero. Id. iv. 52.
Octaviae Σεβαστῆς L. A. + Νεϋ, Κλον. Καπ. Σεβ.
Tr. iv. Id. iv. 55.

Coin of Polemo II., King of Pontus.

Βασιλεως Πονημονος + Ερονς. K., i.e. in the
twentieth year of his reign (see A.D. 38,
no. 1533). Id. ii. 372.

Coin of Sinope.

An. cii. Neronia + Agrippinae Matris ex Octaviae,
i.e. in the 102nd year, dating from r.c. 700.
Id. ii. 392.

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, April 7.

Pentecost, May 28.

Tabernacles, October 2.

A.D. 58. U.C. 811. Olymp. 209, 2.

NERO CLAUD. CÆSAR AUGUSTUS, III.
VALERIUS MESSALA.

NEPONTIS V. FROM 13 OCTOBER. TRUR. POT. V.
FROM SAME DAY. COS. III. PONT. MAX. PAT.
PATR. IMP. II. III. (see Eckhel, vi. 281).

Tenth year of the reign of Agrippa II. from
some time in the second quarter

1844. Nero is consul for four months only.
Consulatus quatuor gessit: primum (A.D. 55)
bimestrem, secundum (A.D. 57) *et novissimum*
(A.D. 60) *sextastres, tertium* (A.D. 58) *quadri-*
mestrem. Suet. Nero, 14.

1845. At the beginning of the year war is
resumed against Parthia, and is carried on with
vigour by Corbulo. *Ejus anni principio pro-*
latatum inter Parthos Romanosque de obtinenda
Armenia bellum acriter euntur (his cons.). Tac.
Ann. xiii. 31. Agrippa and Antiochus, who
had been ordered to serve against Parthia (see
A.D. 54, 1812), are amongst the auxiliary forces,
for, *Syria transmonte legiones . . . et habiti per*
Galatiam Cappadociamque electus; adfectaque
ex Germania legio cum equitibus alariis et pedi-
tatis cohortibus . . . dispositisque per idoneos
locos cohortibus auxiliariis . . . dieque pacto
prior Corbulo socias cohortes et auxilia regum
(Agrippæ et Antiochi, see Tac. Ann. xiii. 8)
pro coruibus . . . constituit. Tac. Ann. xiii. 35,
36, 38.

1846. Corbulo remains in camp till the ad-
vance of spring. *Legionibus intra castra habitis*
donec ver adalesceret (his cons.). Tac. Ann.
xiii. 36.

1847. Corbulo orders Antiochus, king of
Commagene, to invade the parts of Armenia
next to Commagene. *Simul regem Antiochum*
monet proximas sibi prefecturas petere. Tac.
Ann. xiii. 37.

1848. Vologeses is kept employed by the
revolt of Hyrcania. *Satis comperto Vologesem*
defectione Hyrcania allineri. Tac. Ann. xiii.
37.

1849. Corbulo takes Artaxata, the capital
of Armenia (his cons.). Tac. Ann. xiii. 41.
Dion, lxi. 20 (see A.D. 60, no. 1886).

1850. P. Silius, the advocate, who had
also been proconsul of Asia (cum Silius pro-
vinciam Asiam regeret, Tac. Ann. xiii. 43, and
see A.D. 57, no. 1832; A.D. 63, no. 1975), is
banished after Nero had reigned four years.

Quæ sapientia, quibus philosophorum præceptis
intra quadriennium regie audaciter ter mille
sortertium parasset. Tac. Ann. xiii. 42.
Marius Acilius Aviola, who had been consul
in A.D. 57, was proconsul of Asia at some time
during the reign of Nero, as appears from his
coins. Eckhel, ii. 510.

1851. Sabina Poppæa gains an influence
over Nero (his cons.). Tac. Ann. xiii. 45.
Dion, lxi. 11. She was handsome and accom-
plished, but wholly unprincipled, *hinc mulieri*
cuncta alia fuisse præter honestum animum, Tac.
Ann. xiii. 44; unchaste and cruel, *ob impudici-*
tiam ejus scribiturque, Ann. xvi. 7; but a
Jewish proselyte, *θεοσεβὴς γὰρ ἦν*, Jos. Ant.
xx. 8, 11; and for that reason was often of
great service to the Jews in their petitions
to the emperor. She was first married to
Crispinus, whom she abandoned for Otho,
from whom she transferred herself to Nero.
Tac. Ann. xiii. 15.

1852. Paullinus Pompeius completes the
entrenchments on the Rhine, said to have been
begun by Drusus sixty-three years before,
which would carry them back to B.C. 6. *Ne*
tamen segnem militem altinerent, ille (Pom-
peius) *inchoatum ante tres et sexaginta annos a*
Druso aggerem coerendo Rheno absolvit (his
cons.). Tac. Ann. xiii. 53. But Drusus died
in B.C. 9, and there is therefore some mistake
in the reckoning; or perhaps Tacitus, xiii. 53,
takes up the history of Germany from an
earlier year.

1853. About this time, and perhaps at the
Passover A.D. 58, when great multitudes were
congregated at Jerusalem, an Egyptian impostor
makes his appearance, and leads out 4,000 of
the Sicarii into the desert, and afterwards re-
turns at the head of 30,000 men, whom he
had collected, and deluded into the belief that
he was the Messiah, and would restore the
kingdom to Judah; but he is attacked by
Felix, and his followers are dispersed or slain,
the Egyptian himself escaping. *Οὗς ἀπα-*
ρὸ εἰ δὲ Λιβύστριος ὁ πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν
ἀναστράςας καὶ ἑξαχμῶν εἰς τὴν ἐρημον
τετρασχιλίους ἀνδρῶν τῶν Σικαρίων. Αὐτὸς,
xxi. 38. Μετ' οὗ τὲν ταύτης πληγὴ Ἰουδαίαν
ἐκάλωσεν ὁ Λιβύστριος Φαρισαίου τινος παρὰ-
ρήμενος γὰρ εἰς τὴν χώραν ἀβραμῆος γόνης καὶ
προφήτου πιστῆς ἐπιθῆς ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ τριημιλίαν
μὲν ἀβηρῆζεν τῶν ἡπαρτήρων, περιαγῶν τὲν
αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς ἐρημίας εἰς τὸ Ἰερουσαλὴμ

μερον ὅροι, ἐκείθεν ὅς τε ἦν εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα παρελθεῖν μάλιστα, καὶ κρατήσας τῆς τε Ῥωμαϊκῆς φρουρᾶς καὶ τοῦ ἔθμου, τυραννεῖν, χροόμενος τῶν συνεπισπουσὶ δουρφέροισ' ὀφθαίει ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐρμὴν Φιλιππῆς ὑπαντάσας μετὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιπλεῶν, καὶ πῶς ὁ δῆμος συνεφέρψατο τῆς ἡμέρας, ὥστε, συμβολῆς γενομένης, τὴν μὲν λίγυπτον φυγεῖν μετ' ὀλίγων, διαφθαρήναι δὲ καὶ ζωογρηθῆναι πλείους, τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ λαὸν πλῆθος σκιδάσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνῃ ἐκαστὸν διαλαβάν. Jos. Bell. ii. 13, 5; Ant. xx. 8, 6. As Lysias, at the Pentecost A.D. 58 (see *infra*, no. 1860), took Paul for the Egyptian who had escaped, the *ἐκείνῃ* must have taken place not long before Paul's arrival; and as outbreaks of this kind invariably arose at the public festivals, it may with great reason be referred to the Passover A.D. 58; and this is confirmed by the circumstance that Josephus relates it *after* the assassination of Jonathan, which was probably in A.D. 57 (see that year, no. 1854).

1854. Paul, while at Corinth, writes the Epistle to the Romans. It was written from Corinth, and not from Cenchrea, for Gaius, a Corinthian, 1 Cor. i. 14, was his host, ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Γάιος ὁ ξένος μου, Rom. xvi. 23; and while Paul mentions Cenchrea by name, he refers to Corinth as 'the city,' viz. in which he was sojourning. Συναγαγὲν δὲ ὑμῖν Φιλιππῶν τὴν ἀεικλήν ἡμῶν ὅσαν ἐλάκοντες τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Κεγχρεαίς. Rom. xvi. 1. Ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Ἐραστος ὁ οἰκόμενος τῆς πόλεως, Rom. xvi. 23. The date of the Epistle was after the completion of the collection for the poor Hebrews, not only in Macedonia, but also in Achaia, and indeed when Paul was on the eve of starting with the collection for Jerusalem. Νυνὶ δὲ πορεύομαι εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα, τακτοῦναι τοὺς ἄντας' εὐσεβεῖν τῷ Μακεδόνα καὶ Ἀχαΐαν κοινῶς τινὰ ποιῆσασθαι εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ. Rom. xv. 23.

1855. Paul quits Corinth, after a journey there of three months, ending about 27 February, A.D. 58 (see A.D. 57, no. 1843). He had intended to sail direct for Jerusalem; but in consequence of a plot formed against him by the Jews, he takes instead the circuitous route by Macedonia; and this derangement of his plans made it doubtful whether he should be able to reach Jerusalem by the Pentecost, as he wished to do. He is accompanied by

Luke, while the rest of the company proceed to Troas, to wait there for Paul's arrival by way of Macedonia. Ποίησας τε μῆνας τρεῖς, γενομένης αὐτῷ ἐπεσονλῆς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων μέλ- λοντι ἀναγέσθαι εἰς τὴν Συρίαν, ἐγένετο γνώμη τοῦ ὑποστρέφειν ἐπὶ Μακεδονίας' συνάπτετο δὲ αὐτῷ ἄρχοι τῆς Ἀσίας Σάπυτρος Βεροῦσις, Θεσσαλονικῶν δὲ Ἀριστάρχης καὶ Σικαντῶν, καὶ Ἰόνος Δερβιανός, καὶ Τιμόθεος, Ἰσταντοὶ δὲ Τυχικός καὶ Τροάσιμος. Ὡςτα πρὸς Μόνην τε ἔπρεον ἡμᾶς ἐν Τροαίᾳ. Acts, xx. 3.

1856. Paul and Luke are at Philippi at the Feast of the Passover, Acts, xx. 6. The Passover, or day of Paschal sacrifices, was from sunset on Sunday, 26 March, to sunset on Monday, 3 April. The new moon was, according to Wieseler, Chronolog. Apost. p. 115, at 6 A.M. at Jerusalem on 13 March. The phase, therefore, would be about eighteen hours later, or at midnight on the night of 13-14 March; and the full moon, fourteen days after, would fall on the night of 27 March. From sunset on 27 March to sunset on 28 March would therefore be 15 Nisan, or first day of Unleavened Bread, which was always the day on which was the full moon; and the Passover, or day of Paschal sacrifices, would be from sunset on 26 March to sunset on 27 March, in the afternoon of which latter day the Paschal sacrifices would be slain. As the whole feast lasted eight days, it would end at sunset on 3 April.

1857. When the eight days of the feast are concluded, that is, on 4 April, which was a Tuesday, Paul and Luke depart for Troas, where they arrive in five days, i.e. on Saturday, and remain there seven days complete, i.e. till the following Saturday. Ἦμεῖς δὲ ἐξελπίσασμεν μετὰ τῆς ἡμέρας τῶν Ἀζύμων ἀπὸ Φιλιππῶν, καὶ ἡλθομεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς Τροαίαν ἅχοι ἡμεῶν πεντε, ὅτι ἑπτά ἐμαρ ἡμέρας ἐπτά. Acts, xx. 6.

On the day after (which would be Sunday, and which accordingly is called the first day of the week), Paul preaches, intending to start on his voyage the next day. Ἐν δὲ τῇ μετὰ τῶν σαββάτων, συναγμένων τῶν μαθητῶν τοῦ κλήου Ἀπολλοῦ, ὁ Παῦλος ἐκλέγετο αὐτοῖς, μέλλων ἐξέλθαι ἐν ἑπταῶν, παρτίαν τε τὴν λόγον μέχρι μεσονυκτίου. Acts, xx. 7.

The fact that the thirtieth day (i.e. the day next after the five days and seven days previously mentioned) after the Passover was

a Sunday identifies the voyage with this year, A.D. 58, as the circumstance of a Passover ending on a Monday, so that Paul could start on a Tuesday, did not occur for many years either before or after A.D. 58. It is expressly mentioned that Paul began his journey 'after the days of unleavened bread,' that is, immediately after their termination; but had Luke not told us this, we should have inferred it from the whole account of the voyage, as, unless he had set off the very day after the close of the Passover, he could not have reached Jerusalem by the Pentecost, being the fiftieth day from the third day of the Passover, called the Sheaf-offering, on 16 Nisan.

On Monday, 17 April, Paul sails from Tros to Mitylene. *Ἡμεῖς δὲ προελθόντες εἰς τὸ πλοῖον ἀνέχθημεν εἰς τὴν Τροάδα . . . ὡς δὲ συνέβηεν* (Paul) *ἡμεῖς, ἀναλαβόντες αὐτὸν ἔλθομεν εἰς Μιτυλήνην.* Acts, xx. 13.

On Tuesday, 18 April, to Chios. *Τῇ ἐπιούσῃ καθηγήσαμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Χίου.* Acts, xx. 15.

On Wednesday, 19 April, to Samos. *Τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ εἰς Σάμον.* Acts, xx. 15.

On Thursday, 20 April, to Miletus. *Καὶ μέναντες ἐν Τρωγυλλίᾳ τῇ ἐχρηστῇ ἤλθομεν εἰς Μίλητον.* Acts, xx. 15.

On Sunday, 23 April, Paul preaches to the elders of Ephesus, whom he had summoned to Miletus for the purpose, as he had before preached on a Sunday to the elders of Tros, Acts, xx. 17. The distance between Ephesus and Miletus was about forty-five miles (see Auger, 107); and if Paul sent for them on the Thursday afternoon, they might well arrive by the Sunday.

On Monday, 24 April, Paul embarks, apparently, as he had done at Tros, at the close of his exhortation (see Acts, xx. 38), and sails to Cos. *Ἐλθόμεν εἰς τὴν Κῶν.* Acts, xxi. 1.

On Tuesday, 25 April, to Rhodes. *Τῇ δὲ ἑξῆς εἰς τὴν Ρόδον.* Acts, xxi. 1.

On Wednesday, 26 April, to Patara. *Κατέβηεν εἰς Πάταρα.* Acts, xxi. 1.

On Thursday, 27 April, Paul stretches across to Tyre, which he would reach on Sunday, 30 April. *Κατέχθημεν εἰς Τύρον.* Acts, xxi. 3.

At Tyre he remains a week; and at the end of the seven days, and therefore on Monday, 8 May, to Acre. *Ἐπεμείναμεν αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ . . . ὅτε ἔδ ἐγένετο ἡμῶς ἑξαετρεῖς τὰς ἡμέρας, ἔξελθόντες ἐκ τινερμεθα . . . ἡμεῖς τε*

τὸν πλοῖον διαβόσαντες ἀπὸ Τύρον καθηγήσαμεν εἰς Καισάρειαν. Acts, xxi. 4.

Paul sojourns one day (9 May) at Acre, and the next day (10 May) reaches Cæsarea. *Ἐμείναμεν ἡμέραν μίαν παρ' αὐτοῦ· τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον ἔξελθόντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Παῦλον ἦλθον εἰς Καισάρειαν.* Acts, xxi. 7.

Paul tarries several days at Cæsarea, when Agabus, who had come down from Judæa, warns Paul of the danger of visiting Jerusalem. *Ἐπμείναντων δὲ ἡμῶν ἡμέρας πλείους, κατέλθῃ τις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας προφήτης, ὀνόματι Ἀγαθὸς.* Acts, xxi. 10. It does not appear that Agabus had come from having heard of Paul's arrival, but only that he visited Cæsarea during Paul's sojourn there.

On Monday, 15 May, Paul goes up to Jerusalem, and arrives there on Wednesday, 17 May, just before the Pentecost, which began at sunset of that day. *Μετὰ δὲ τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας ἀποσκευαστήμηνον ἀνεβήταμεν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ.* Acts, xxi. 15.

1858. The next day (18 May) Paul and his company have an audience of James the Just, the brother of Our Lord and Bishop of Jerusalem but not one of the Twelve (see A.D. 29, no. 1198). *Τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ εἰσῆλθὲν ὁ Παῦλος συνήμην πρὸς Ἰάκωβον, πάντες τε παραμένοντα αὐτῷ προσβύτην.* Acts, xxi. 18.

1859. Paul, by the advice of the Elders, and with a view to soften the prejudices of the Jews against him, undertakes to pay the charges of four Nazarites; and the following day (19 May) takes them with him into the Temple, and orders a seven days' purification preparatory to the discharge of the vow. *Τότε ὁ Παῦλος παραλαβὼν τοὺς ἄνδρας τῇ ἐχρηστῇ ἡμέρᾳ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἡγιασθεὶς εἰσῆλθὲν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, etc.* Acts, xxi. 26.

1860. As the days of purification are drawing to a close, and on 22 May, Paul is set upon in the Temple by the Jewish worshippers, but is rescued by Lysias, who commanded the Roman cohort posted on the western cloister of the Temple, and is carried into Fort Antonia. *Ὡς δὲ ἤμελλον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας συνελθεῖσθαι, οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Λαίας Ἰουδαίου, etc.* Acts, xxi. 27.

Lysias, until undecided, takes Paul for the Egyptian insurgent who had lately made a tumult and escaped. *Ὅτε ἦρα σὺ εἶ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ὁ πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν; etc.* Acts, xxi. 38 (see ante, no. 1853).

The answer of Paul, that he was 'a native of Tarsus, the citizen of no mean city,' *οὐκ*

ἀσπίρου πάλαι, Acts, xxi. 39, is fully borne out by the coins of Tarsus with the inscription *Ταρσὺν Μητροπόλεως Α. Μ. Κ., i. e. A. (or first) Μητροπολις Ἰνδουίας*, Eckhel, iii. 74; see 76.

1861. The next day (23 May) Paul is brought by Lysias before the Sanhedrim for examination. *Ἐν δὲ ἐπαύριον (Lysias) βουλόμενος γνῶναι τὸ ἀσφαλές, etc.* Acts, xxiii. 30.

1862. Paul opens his address by saying that he had 'lived in all good conscience before God until that day,' when Ananias commands the bystanders to smite him on the mouth. Paul replies, 'God shall smite thee, thou whitel wall!' when the council rebuke him for reviling God's high-priest, and Paul answers, *Ὅτις ἔσται, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι ἐστὶν Ἀρχιερεὺς*. Acts, xxiii. 5. The true interpretation of this passage has been much disputed.

1. Some render the words, 'I wist not, brethren, that there was a high-priest,' and insist that either Ananias had been removed by Cumana, and no successor appointed, or else that Jonathan had been appointed in the place of Ananias, and had been assassinated by the *Sicarii* before Paul's arrival; and Luke may be thought to intimate the vacancy of the high-priesthood at this time by the following language: *Ἐκέλευσαν (Lysias) εἰθεῖν τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς*, Acts, xxiii. 30; *ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀνανίας* (not *ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς* simply), Acts, xxiii. 2; *οἵτινες* (the conspirators) *προσελθόντες τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις*, Acts, xxiii. 14; *κατέβη ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀνανίας*, Acts, xxiv. 1; whereas two years after, when Ishmael was certainly high-priest, the style is different. *Ἐπιστήσαν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, Acts, xxv. 2.

2. But the more natural, and, as we think, the correct, interpretation is the commonly received one: 'I wist not, brethren, that he was the high-priest.' The bystanders do not say, 'Revilest thou one of the high-priests?' but, 'Revilest thou the high-priest of God?' *τῷ Ἀρχιερατῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ λαλοῦντες*. Acts, xxiii. 4; and these words are so emphatic that they cannot be taken to designate a mere titular high-priest, but must be referred to the actual high-priest. The answer of Paul confirms this, for he apologises at once by admitting his fault: 'Thou shalt not speak evil of the Ruler of the people,' etc.; and no one could be understood by this but the head of the Jewish hierarchy, viz.

the actual high-priest. This explanation assumes that, in point of fact, Ananias, at this time, was high-priest, and had not been deposed from his office since his appointment in A.D. 47; and accordingly Josephus, in enumerating the high-priests from the reign of Herod to the fall of Jerusalem, reckons them at twenty-eight, which would be the exact number on the supposition that Ananias had continued high-priest from A.D. 47 to A.D. 59, and had not been displaced, in favour of Jonathan, in A.D. 52, but would not be the case on any other supposition. It is unlikely also that Jonathan should have accepted the office, as it had been offered to him previously, and he had declined it. Jos. Ant. xix. 6, 4. Besides, if he did assume the pontificate, he was assassinated in A.D. 57, and another successor would probably have been appointed before Paul's arrival at the Pentecost A.D. 58.

But here will occur the objection: if Ananias was high-priest, how could Paul have been ignorant of the fact? It may be at once conceded that Paul knew well enough that Ananias was high-priest, for a man of Paul's intelligence could not have failed to learn what was so notorious to all; besides, Paul had been already many days in Jerusalem, and must have heard the name of the high-priest again and again. Ananias too, if high-priest at all, had been so for the last eleven years. But what is implied by the words 'I wist not that he was the high-priest?' Not, surely, that Paul was ignorant who was invested with the Pontificate, but only who it was that had uttered the insolent ejaculation: 'I wist not, brethren, who he (the speaker) was.' In a conclave of seventy persons (for such was the number of the Sanhedrim), a spectator, who had not been observing Ananias at the moment, might well, on hearing a sudden exclamation of a few rapid words, *Τύπτε αὐτόν τὸ σῶμα*, Acts, xxiii. 2, have mistaken the quarter from which it came. Not only so, but further: Paul was suffering from an impaired eyesight,—the thorn in the flesh' that troubled him through life. He wanted the eyes which the Galatians would fain have given him: 'I hear you record that, if it had been possible, ye would have plucked out your own eyes and have given them to me.' Galat. iv. 15. One of the Sanhedrim had commanded to smite Paul on the mouth, and Paul, unable to distinguish who the speaker

was, retorted upon him as one of his ordinary judges, 'Sitest thou to judge me after the law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law?' Acts, xxiii. 3; but when told that it was the high-priest himself, he at once apologised by pleading ignorance of the speaker's quality. If it be said that Paul must have known that Ananias was the speaker, for that the words of Paul, 'God shall smite thee, thou whitened wall,' could only refer to Ananias personally, as they were prophetic of his violent death by the stiletto of the *Sicarii*, eight years after (see A.D. 66, no. 2010), it may be answered that Paul of himself could know nothing of an event which had not yet happened, and that if he gave utterance to a prediction which was afterwards fulfilled to the letter, he did so from a divine impulse; and the revelation need not have been that the speaker was Ananias, but only that the speaker, whoever he was, should fall by the hand of an assassin.

1863. The next day, 21 May, a conspiracy is formed against the life of Paul; but his nephew (the son of a sister) hears of it, and informs Lysias, who sends Paul by night to Caesarea. Τῇ δὲ ἐκίοσθι νυκτὶ αὐτῷ (Paulo) ὁ Κύριος εἶπε· Θάρσει, Πάυλε. . . Γενομένης δὲ ἡμέρας πύθοντες τινὲς τῶν Ἰουδαίων συστροφὴν ἀνεθεράμισαν ἐπιστάσε· . . εἶπεν (Lysias)· Ἐτοιμάσατε στρατιώτας δικασίους, ὥπως πορευθῶσιν ὡς Κησαρείας καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐξῆορμήκοντα καὶ ἐξελόμενους δικασίους ἀπὸ τριῶν ἑσῶν τῆς νυκτός. . . Τὸν Παῦλον ἤγαγον διὰ τῆς νυκτός εἰς τὴν Ἀντιπατρίδα, τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον εἰσάντες τοὺς ἐκπείς πορεύεσθαι σὺν αὐτῷ, ἐπείστρεψαν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν, οἵτινες εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὴν Κησαρείαν. . . παρέστησαν καὶ τὸν Παῦλον αὐτῷ. Acts, xxiii. 11-31.

1864. Five days after, on 30 May, Ananias and the elders, who had come from Jerusalem to Caesarea, accuse Paul before Felix. Μετὰ δὲ πέντε ἡμέρας κατέβη ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀνανίας, etc. Acts, xxiv. 1. This was twelve days after Paul's arrival at Jerusalem; and from 17 May, when Paul reached the capital and the Pentecost began, to 30 May would be an interval of twelve days complete. Δυναμένον σου γινῶραι ὅτι οὐ πλείους εἰσὶ μοι ἡμέραι ἢ ἑκατὸν, ἃς φ' ἤε ἀνέβην προσκυνήσων ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ. Acts, xxiv. 11. Paul, therefore, had only reached Jerusalem just before the commencement of the feast, for he tells Felix that he had come to worship, and that

Felix might therefore know that only twelve days had elapsed; in other words, that it was twelve days from the Pentecost, a festival the date of which was well known to Felix, and that Paul's first appearance in Jerusalem had been at the Pentecost.

1865. Felix at this time had been many years governor of Judaea. Ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν ὄντα σε κριτὴν τῇ ἑλλεί τοῦτ' ἐπιστάμενος, etc. Acts, xxiv. 10. He had been appointed in A.D. 52 (see that year, no. 1782); and six years was a long tenure of office as compared with the ordinary duration of the procuratorship.

1866. It was also several years at this time since Paul had been in Jerusalem. Δ' ἐτῶν δὲ πλείωνον παρεγίνετο ἐλεημοσύνας ποιῶν εἰς τὸ ἔθνος μου καὶ προσφοράς. Acts, xxiv. 17. He had been last in Jerusalem five years before, viz. in A.D. 53 (see that year, no. 1795).

1867. Paul is kept in bonds, and not long after discourses before Felix and his wife Drusilla. Μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας τινὰς παραγενόμενος ὁ Φίλιππος σὺν Δορκαλλῇ τῇ γυναίκα αὐτοῦ, οὗτ' Ἰουδαίῳ, μετεπέμψατο τὸν Παῦλον, etc. Acts, xxiv. 24. Paul's discourse was on the subject of 'righteousness, chastity, and judgment to come,' Acts, xxiv. 25; and as Felix for the last six years had been guilty of the greatest injustice, and had seduced and was now living with the wife of Azizus, the very Drusilla before whom Paul was pleading (see A.D. 51, no. 1800), no wonder that Felix trembled at the thought of a future judgment.

1867 a. Coins of Nero.

Novo Caesar Aug. Imp. + Paulif. Max. Tr. P.
Γ. Ρ. Γ. Ε. Σ. C.

Nero Claud. Divi Claud. F. with laurelled head
+ *Armenia* with figure of victory.

Eckhel, vi. 203.

Coin of Antioch.

Αντιοχείων + Επι Κωνσταντῶν Ε. Σ. Ρ., i. e. in the 100th year of the Era of Antioch dating from 1 Nov. B.C. 49, and therefore struck between 1 Nov. A.D. 57, and 1 Nov. A.D. 58.
Id. iii. 280.

Coins of Alexandria.

Αγμππινια Σεβαστῆς Ι. Ε. (i. e. in the fifth year)
+ *Nip. Κλαυ. Καυσ. Σεβ. Γερ. Αυτο.*

Id. iv. 52.

Προν. (scilicet Πρωτοῦ) Νεον Σεβαστου Ι. Ε.

Id. iv. 54.

Οκταβια Σεβαστῆς Ι. Ε. + Nip. Κλαυ. Καυσ. Σεβ. Γερ. Αυτο. Id. iv. 55.

Coin of Judaea.

Νεπωσις + ΚΑΙΣΑΡΩΣ Λ. Ε. (i.e. in the fifth year of Nero).
Id. iii. 408.

Inscriptions.

Nero Claudius Nerei Claudii F. Germanici Caesar.
N. II. Caesar. Aug. Princp. Nerei Aug. Al-
nuptos Caesar Aug. Germanicus Pontifex Ma-
x. Tr. Pot. Illi. Imp. Ner. Cos. illi. P. P. Re-
stituit (Vero-Julii).

Murator, i. 115; id. iv. 2007, 5.
Nero Claudius Caesar Aug. Germanicus. Pont.
Max. Trib. Pot. v. Imp. illi. P. P.
(Gruiter, 184, 1.

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 27.

Pentecost, May 17.

Tabernacles, September 21.

A.D. 59. U.C. 812. Olymp. 209, 3.

C. VESPASIANUS AURELIANUS.
L. DOMITIUS CORNELIUS.

NEIRONIS VI. FROM 13 OCTOBER, TRIB. POT. VI.
FROM SAME DAY. COS. III. COS. DESIG. IV.
POST. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. III.

Eleventh year of the reign of Agrippa II.
from some time in the second quarter.

1868. Poppæa is jealous of the power of Agrippina, and the public dislike her, and Nero, though she was his mother, conceals her death. C. Vespasian, Fonteio, Cores, diu multitudine sceleros non ultra Nero distulit, vetustate imperii cœculi audaci, et flagrantior in dies amore Poppææ ... cupientibus cunctis infringi potentiam matris (see Suet. Vesp. 1) et credente multis usque ad exitum ejus duraturum filii odiâ. Tac. Ann. xiv. 1.

1869. Nero retires to Eubulus, the palace in Campania, whither he entices Agrippina, and fails in an attempt against her life on board the royal yacht. Dion, lxi. 12. This was at the Quinquatrus, which began on 19 March. Placuit solertia, tempore etiam jula, quanto Quinquatruum festos dies apud Baïas frequentabat. Tac. Ann. xiv. 4. Decurruntur supplicationes apud omnia pulvinaria, utque Quinquatrus, quibus aperta boschia essent, ludis annuis celebrarentur. Tac. Ann. xiv. 12. Atque ita reconciliatione elandata jucundissimè lileris Baïas (Agrippinam) evocavit ad solennia Quinquatruum simul celebranda. Suet. Nero, 34. There were two festivals called Quinquatrus, the greater on 19 March, see Ovid, Fasti, iii.

509; Vares de Ling. Lat. v. 3; Gellius, N. A. ii. 21; and the lesser on 15 June, see Ovid, Fasti, vi. 651; Varro ubi supra; Conseruius, de Die Nat. c. 12. But that Tacitus refers to the greater Quinquatrus is evident from the death of Agrippina being followed by an eclipse, Tac. Ann. xiv. 12; Dion, lxi. 15; Plin. N. H. ii. 72; for the eclipse was on 30 April (see infra, no. 1871, and Anger, 97).

1870. Nero sends for Burrhus and Seneca from Rome. Nisi quid Burrhus et Seneca reperirent: quos statim acciverat, incertam un et ante gnaros. Tac. Ann. xiv. 7.

1871. Agrippina is assassinated at her villa. Tac. Ann. xiv. 8. Dion, lxi. 13. Suet. Nero, 34.

1872. Nero retires to Naples, Neapolim concessit, litrasque ad senatum misit, Tac. Ann. xiv. 10; and from thence to other places. Διὸ καὶ ἄλλοσις ἦεν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐκταῦθα τὴν αὐτὰν αὐτῷ συνέδωκεν, ἄλλοσις ἐμπλήτωρ μεθίστατο. Dion, lxi. 11.

1873. Nero returns to Rome. Νίρωα δὲ μετὰ τὸν τῆς μητρὸς φόνον εἰσιόρτα ἐς τὴν Ἰώρην ἐμποσίῃ μὲν ἐσπάρτεον. Dion, lxi. 16. Tac. Ann. xiv. 13.

1874. On 30 April, between 1 and 2 in the afternoon in Campania, and between 4 and 5 in the afternoon in Armenia, the sun is eclipsed. Solis defectum, Vipsania et Fonteio esse, qui facere ante paucos annos, factum prius Kalendis Maiæ Campaniæ hodie diei inter septimum et octavum sensit: Corbulo duc in Armeniâ inter horam diei decimam et undecimam prodidit visum. Plin. N. H. ii. 72. This agrees with modern calculations (see the Tables of Eclipses). Jam (on the death of Agrippina) sol repente obscuratus et tactus de orbo quatuordecim urbis regiones. Tac. Ann. xiv. 12. Ὁ μὲντοι ἥλιος σάμπας ἐν μέσας τὰς θοάδας τοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀγρεπτικῇ κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα γενόμεναις ἐξέλειπε. Dion, lxi. 16.

1875. Nero celebrates games to the memory of Agrippina. Dion, lxi. 17.

A race-course is inclosed in the Vatican, where Nero indulges in chariot-driving. Obusque valle Vaticanæ spatium in quo equos regeret, hanc promiscuo spectaculo. Tac. Ann. xiv. 14. The site of this stadium is supposed to be that now occupied by the cathedral of St. Peter's at Rome.

1876. Nero institutes the Juvenalia on the occasion of first shaving his beard, and Burrhus, Seneca, and Gallio are added to be present.

Παρήλθε τε καὶ αὐτὸς οὐ Νέρων ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου
ονομαστί πρὸς τοῦ Γαλλίονος ἐσηχυγθεὶς
καὶ ὁ Βούβρος καὶ ὁ Σεϊκας, καθάπερ τινὲς διδά-
σκαλοι, ἐποβάλλοντές τε παρεστήκεισαν. Dion,
lxi 20 19. *Accesserunt mærens Burrhus*
ac laudans. Tac Ann xiv 15

1877. Nero forms a band of adulators to
attend upon him, called Augustiani, 5,000 in
number. Tac Ann xiv 15. Dion lxi 20

1878. The death of Domitius Afer, the cele-
brated advocate. *Sequitur uxoribus illustrium*
mortes Domitii Aferi et M. Servilii (his cons.)
Tac Ann xiv 19

1879. The contest between the Jews of
Cesarea and the Syrian inhabitants, when Felix
commits an indiscriminate massacre of the
Jews may be placed about this time. Jos Ant.
xx 8 7, Bell ii 13, 7. For the embassy of
the Jews upon the subject was sent the follow-
ing year, when Felix was displaced by Festus.
Ant xx 8, 9 (see A D 60 no 1894)

1880. Agrippa, about the same time with
the outbreak at Cesarea, appoints Ishmael
high-priest. *Κατὰ τοῦτοι τὸν καιρὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς*
Ἀγrippας εἰδὼς τὴν Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν Ἰσμαὶλῳ
Jos Ant xx 8, 8 (see A D 47 no 1715, A D
61, no 1914). It is remarkable that in this in-
stance Josephus does not observe his usual
practice of naming the high priest who was
removed as well as the successor appointed in
his place. This has been made an argument
by some that the office was vacant, and that the
vacancy had been occasioned by the assassina-
tion of Jonathan, who at the time of his death
was not ex-high-priest, but the actual high-
priest. The position, however, that Jonathan
when assassinated in A D 57 was actual high-
priest is at variance with the general narrative
of Josephus, and had Jonathan been high-
priest, it is unlikely that on his death the office
should have remained vacant from A D 57 to
A D 59. It is certainly singular that Josephus
does not name the predecessor of Ishmael, but
it would be still more singular that Josephus
should not have noticed at all the appointment
of Jonathan to the pontificate if such had been
the fact.

1881. According to Aneilius Victor, within
the first five years of Nero, which expired on
15 October, A D 59, Polemo II (see A D 43,
no 1662) resigned the kingdom of Pontus,
which then became a Roman province. *Iste*
(Nero) quinquennio a Pontu ab his rebus Pontum

in jus provinciae, Polemonis Reguli permisso
redegit, a quo Polemoniacus Pontus appellatus
est. Aneili Victor Epit 5. De Caesar 5, and
see Sueton Nero, 18. Eutop vii 14. But
according to Cassiodorus, Polemo II resigned
the kingdom in A D 66 (see A D 66 no 1498),
and if part of Armenia was given to Polemo in
A D 60 (see no 1887), the statement of Cassio-
dorus is the more trustworthy (see A D 38, no
1593).

1881 a Coin of Nero

Nero Caesar Aug Imp + Pontif Max Tr
P M P P L S C Eckhel, i 204

Coins of Antioch

Αντιοχίων + Λ+Κωνσταντίνος Gr ZP (1 e in the
107th year of the Era of Antioch dating from
1 Nov B C 40, and therefore struck between
1 Nov A D 58, and 1 Nov A D 59)
Id iii 280

Νεων Καισαρ Σεβαστος B
II P, or 108 1 e in the
fifth year of Nero, and 108th year of the
Era of Antioch (Opinions vary whether the
Era of Antioch dates from Sept or Oct or
Nov B C 40, and the last hypothesis, which
is advocated by Clinton, is assumed in the
Tables, but if so, how is this coin to be ex-
plained, as no part of the 108th year (1 Nov
59 to 1 Nov 60) would fall within the fifth
year of Nero (18 Oct A D 58 to 13 Oct A D 59).
If the Era commenced from 1 Sept B C 40,
the coin might have been struck between 1
Sept A D 59 and 13 Oct A D 59. But then
this commencement of the Era is contradicted
by another coin which will be found under
A D 63, no 1948 a. How are the coins to be
reconciled?) Id iii 280

Coin of Cotys, king of Bosphorus

Βα Κο ΣΝΙ + Head of Nero, 1 e in the
356th year, commencing from B C 457 (see
A D 49, no 1733) Id ii 376

Coin of Sinepe

An em Nerois + Octaviae, 1 e in the 104th
year, dating from B C 700 Id ii 302

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle
Passover, April 15.

Pentecost, June 5

Tabernacles, October 10

A.D. 60. U.C. 813. Olymp. 209, 4.

NERONIS CAESARIS A.D. 54.
 CONSULS: L. A. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS
 et K. Iul. Iulianus.

NERONIS VII. FROM 13 OCTOB. THUR. PONT. MAX. PAT. PATR. LIP. V. VI. VII. (see Eckhel, p. 282).

Twelfth year of the reign of Agrippa II. from same time in the second quarter.

1892. Nero is consul for the first six months of the year. *Consulatus quatuor gessit, priuam (A.D. 55) himastrem, secundam (A.D. 57) et uictricem (A.D. 60) senestrem, tertiam (A.D. 53) quadrimestrem.* Suet. Nero, 14.

1893. New institutes Quinquennialia at Rome called Neronia, in imitation of the Olympia in Greece. The Quinquennialia occurred every fourth year, and the actual celebration of them began in A.D. 61, when the gymnasium was finished (see A.D. 61, no. 1909). *Neronis quinquennialia, Cornelio Cosso cosa. Quinquennialia ludorum Romae institutum est, ad mem. Ciceri certaminis.* Tac. Ann. xiv. 19. *Ἀγῶνα πεντηετηρίαν κατέστησεν, ὡς ποιεῖν οὐκ ἔχοντες, καὶ ἐν' αὐτῇ καὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον φεστέμωσαν.* Dion. lxi. 21. *Iustitium et quinquennialis certamina primis omnium Romae, more Graeco, triplex, musicum, gymnasticum, equestre, quae appellauit Neronia. Dedicatisque thermis atque gymnasio, senatus quoque et equi oleum prae-buit.* Suet. Nero, 12.

1894. A comet is seen at Rome. *Inter quos et sidus cometes effulsit* (his cons.). Tac. Ann. xiv. 22. It appeared for six months. *Sex enim mensibus hic cometes, quia Neronis Principatu latissimum uisum, spectantibus se probum in dixerunt illi Claudiano* (see Suet. Claud. 46) *circumscriptus.* Seneca, Nat. Quaes. vii. 21.

1895. Nero is attacked by illness. *Scenotrope asceps subleuando uiam Debra adiuuauit* (his cons.). Tac. Ann. xiv. 22.

1896. Corbulo takes Tigranocerta, in Armenia. Tac. Ann. xiv. 23, 24. Dion. lxi. 23. And Tiridates, the Parthian king, is driven out; and Tigranes, who was sent from Rome, is made king of Armenia (his cons.). Tac. Ann. xiv. 26. Dion. lxi. 20 (see A.D. 51, no. 1811; A.D. 62, no. 1956).

1897. Parts of Armenia are given to the neighbour, Arsaces, the Hecatomitae, king of

Media; to Aristobolus, king of Armenia Minor (see A.D. 55, no. 1823); and to Polemo II., king of Pontus (see A.D. 58, no. 1753). *Partes Armeniae, ut cuique finitima, Pharasmani Ponticamque et Aristobolo atque Antiocho parua jecit* (his cons.). Tac. Ann. xiv. 26. The reading of Polemo is doubtful, but that some part of Armenia was given to him is the more likely as Zeno, the brother of Polemo II., had, under the name of Artaxias, been king of Armenia (see A.D. 18, no. 1192). Zeno had died at the end of A.D. 53, or early in A.D. 54 (see A.D. 54, no. 1461).

1898. Galba about this time is appointed to the province of Spain, for he had held it eight years when he proclaimed himself emperor in A.D. 68. Suet. Galb. 9 (see A.D. 68, no. 2064).

1899. Laodicea is thrown down by an earthquake, but soon recovers itself. *Eodem anno ex illustribus Asia nobilibus Laodicea tremore terrore prolapsa, nullo a nobis remedio, proprioque capite reualuit* (his cons.). Tac. Ann. xiv. 27.

1890. The comitia of jurors are at this time under the control of the senate. *Comitia Praetoris, in quibus senatus iudicis, et quod maxime ambitu exercebant, princeps composuit, ut qui supra numerum potestatis legum praefigeret* (his cons.). Tac. Ann. xiv. 28 (see A.D. 52, no. 1571).

1891. Appeals from the Judges to the senate are placed on the same footing with appeals to the emperor. *Anzilque (Nero) Patrum honorem statuendo, ut, qui a privatis iudicibus ad senatum praeuocassent, ejusdem periculi periculum facerent cum illis qui Imperatorem appellare.* Tac. Ann. xiv. 28.

1892. Claudiudus Quadarns, prefect of Syria, dies, and Corbulo is appointed his successor. *Corbula in Syriam abcessit, morte Claudii legati eueniens ac ubi permissum* (his cons.). Tac. Ann. xiv. 26 (see A.D. 50, no. 1746; A.D. 61, no. 1962).

1893. Felix, the procurator of Judaea, is at the same time recalled, and is succeeded by Festus. *Διούκληρος ἐκ πατρὸς τοῦ (Felix) ἐκείνου ἀπεπέμψθη.* Jos. Bell. ii. 11, 1. This was two full years after the first imprisonment of Paul. *Διούκληρος ἐκ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐκείνου ἀπεπέμψθη.* Jos. Bell. ii. 11, 1. As Paul was put in bonds at the end of May, A.D. 58, Festus probably arrived about midsummer (24 June) A.D. 60; and this harmonizes with the tradition by which all prefects of

provinces were obliged to leave Rome by 15 April, and the voyage from Rome to Syria would occupy two or three months. Felix was certainly appointed in A.D. 52, and it is equally clear that *Albius* arrived in the province as successor to Festus in A.D. 62. The portion, therefore, of this interval of ten years not occupied by *Festus* will represent the procuratorship of Felix. It will be seen from the subsequent tables that the events in the time of Festus were comparatively few, and would not require so much as two years. Supposing Festus, therefore, to have died at the close of A.D. 61, he might have entered upon his office in A.D. 60, and as prefects left Rome for their respective provinces on 15 April, we may place the arrival of Festus in Judaea and the departure of Felix about midsummer A.D. 60, so that the procuratorship of Felix lasted altogether eight years, an unusually long period.

1894. Felix, on arriving at Rome, is accused by the Cæsarian Jews of the massacre at Cæsarea, but through the influence of Pallas, his brother, he is acquitted. Παρκιον δὲ Φήστον διαδόχου Φήλου περιφθόντος ὑπὸ Νέρωνος, οἱ πρωτεύοντες τῶν τῇ Κασιόρειαν κατοικοῦντων Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὴν Ρώμην ἀντιβιβάνουσιν Φήλου κατηγοροῦντες αὐτὸν πάντως ὡς ἐκείνους τιμωρίαν τῶν εἰς Ἰουδαίον ἀδικημάτων, εἰ μὴ τούτων αὐτὸν ὁ Νέρων τάδε φησὶ Πάλλαντι παρακλῆσαι· σινηχόρησε, μάλα στα δὴ τότε διατεμῆ, ἔχων ἐκεῖ· οὐκ Jos Ant xx 8, 9. But Josephus is mistaken in saying that Pallas, the brother of Felix, was then in the height of favour at court, for Nero had never liked Pallas (see A.D. 54, no 1809), and in A.D. 55 (see that year, no 1819) had even deprived him of office. It is not unlikely, however, that Pallas retained considerable influence, as he had great wealth, and Nero eventually put him to death to get possession of it. Tac Ann viii 65.

Josephus proceeds to relate that the Syrian Cæsarians, in their cause against the Jews, had on their side Burrhus, the secretary for Greece. ὧν ἐν τῇ Καισαρείᾳ δὲ οἱ πρῶτοι δύο Σύροι Βουβρῶν (παῖδαγωγος δὲ οὗτος ἦν τοῦ Νέρωνος τάδε ἐν τῇ ἐν τῶν Ἀλλήλων ἐπιστολῶν πεπιστευμένος) πείθονται πολλοῖς χρημασιν αἰτήσασθαι παρὰ τοῦ Νέρωνος αὐτοῖς ἐπιστολὴν αἰνεῖν αὐτοῖς τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἰσχυροτέρᾳ καὶ Βουβρῶν τὸν ἀντοκράτορι παρακλῆσαι ἐπὶ-ἔχε γραφῆναι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν Ant xx 8, 9. Some have thought that the

Burrhus here mentioned was Burrhus, the prefect of the Praetorium, but Josephus takes particular care to distinguish the two by describing the one as τῶν στρατευμάτων ἑταίχοι Βουβρῶν, Ant xx 8, 2 and the other as παιδαγωγὸς τοῦ Νέρωνος τάδε ἐν τῶν Ἀλλήλων ἐπιστολῶν πεπιστευμένος Ant xx 8, 9.

1895. Festus, three days after his arrival in Syria, goes up to Jerusalem, when the chief priests and elders ask as a favour that Paul might be sent for from Cæsarea to Jerusalem, with the view of assassinating him by the way, but Festus appoints the further hearing of the prisoner at Cæsarea. Φήστος οὖν ἐπιβας τῇ ἑκαρχίᾳ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀνέβη εἰς Ἰερουσαλὴμ, etc Acts, xxi 1.

1896. Festus stays ten days and upwards at Jerusalem, and then returns to Cæsarea, and the next day gives audience to the Jews, when Paul appeals to Caesar. Διατριβὰς δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡμέραις πλείους ἢ δέκα, κατέβη εἰς Καισαρίαν, τῇ ἐκαρχίᾳ καθίσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος κέλευσε τὸν Παῦλον ἀρχθῆναι etc Acts, xxi 6.

1897. Some days after, Agrippa and his sister Bernice come to Cæsarea, to offer their congratulations to Festus on his appointment to the procuratorship of Judaea, when they are informed by Festus of the case of Paul, and they express a wish to hear him. Ἡμερῶν δὲ διαγενομένων τῶν Ἀγρίππας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ Βερνίκη κατήγγισαν εἰς Καισαρίαν ἀπασσόμενοι τὸν Φήστον, etc Acts, xxv 13.

1898. The next day, Paul pleads before Festus and Agrippa and Bernice, when Agrippa expresses his opinion that Paul 'might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed unto Cæsar.' Ἢ οὖν ἐπαύρασιν κελύσαντος τοῦ Φήστον ἡχοῦ ὁ Παῦλος, etc Acts, xxv 23.

1899. Paul, having appealed to Rome, sets sail from Cæsarea, in a ship of Adramyttium, with Luke and Aristarchus as his companions, for Italy, under the charge of Julius, a centurion, and the next day reaches Sidon. Τῇ αὖτε ἡμέρᾳ καθήχθημεν εἰς Σιδῶνα Acts, xxvii 8. The ship of Adramyttium was no doubt bound for her own port of Adramyttium, but as she would sail along the coast of Proconnesar Asia, μελλόντες πλεῖν τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὁπούς, Acts, xxvii 2, they would, in the course of the voyage, meet with a vessel for Italy at one of the ports of Asia, either at Myra or Patara or Cnidus, or at all events at Ephesus. The date of this voyage may be thus fixed.

The arrival of Festus in Judæa was about Midsummer, or 24 June, A.D. 60 (see *supra*, no. 1893). We have then to allow three days for his sojourn at Cæsarea, Acts, xxv. 1; and then two days for going up from Cæsarea to Jerusalem; and ten days and upwards (say twelve days) for the stay at Jerusalem, Acts, xxv. 6; and then two days for the return to Cæsarea; and one day more for the hearing of Paul, Acts, xxv. 6; and then a good many days (say ten), Acts, xxv. 13; and then several days (say seven), Acts, xxv. 11; and then another day, Acts, xxv. 28; and then an interval (say twenty days) spent in preparations for the voyage and finding a ship—thus making in all fifty-eight days from 24 June, which brings us to 21 August, A.D. 58.

From Sidon the winds are contrary; and, instead of steering direct for Asia (Preconular), they are obliged to sail under the lee, that is, to the east, of Cyprus. *Διὰ τὰ τοὺς ἀνέμους εἶναι ἐναντίου.* Acts, xxvii. 4. This brings them to the coast of Cilicia; and sailing through the sea of Cilicia and Pamphylia, they arrive at Myra in Lycia. *Τό τε πέρατος τὸ κατὰ τὴν Κιλικίαν καὶ Παμφυλίαν διαπλεύσαντες καθήκομεν εἰς Μύρα τῆς Λυκίας.* Acts, xxvii. 5. Here they find a vessel, a corn-ship of Alexandria, bound for Italy; and Julius and his prisoners take a passage by her.

From Myra to Cnidus the voyage is very slow, and occupies a good many days. *Ἐν ἱκαναῖς δὲ ἡμέραις βραχύνουσιντες καὶ μόλις ὤκειμεν κατὰ τὴν Κνίδον.* Acts, xxvii. 7.

At Cnidus the Egean sea opens; and losing the benefit of the land breezes, and encountering the full force of the unfavourable wind from the wider expanse (*μὴ προσεῶντος ἡμῶς τοῦ ἀνέμου*, Acts, xxvii. 7), they cannot hold on their course, but are obliged to steer southward, and to sail under the lee (or to the south) of Crete. *ὑπεπλεύσαμεν τὴν Κρήτην.* Ib.

They now feel their way forward with great difficulty, hugging the shore until they come to Fairhavens, near the city of Lasea. *Μόλις τε περιελγόμενοι αὐτὴν (Crete) ἤλθομεν εἰς τόπον νηὶ καλούμενον Καλοῦς Λαμένας ὃ ἔγγος ἴν πῶδες Λασειά.* Acts, xxvii. 8. From the contrary winds all the way from Sidon to Cnidus, the vessel could not have consumed much less than a month upon the voyage; so that, if she left Sidon on 22 Au-

gust, she would reach Cnidus about 19 September. From Cnidus to Fairhavens may have occupied about a week, which brings us to 26 September.

'Fairhavens' is still so called, viz. *Λαμέναις Καλοῦς*; and at a little distance from Fairhavens is a village still bearing the name of Lasea, or Laysa. See Smith's *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, where will be found a view of Fairhavens.

Having reached Fairhavens with difficulty, they are now windbound altogether; and the time spent at Fairhavens is considerable, for Luke describes it as *ἱκανοῦ χρόνου* (not *ἡμερῶν*) *ἐμγενόμενον.* Acts, xxvii. 9. The great Fast of the Jews was past, and navigation had become unsafe. *Ὅτιος ἤδη ἐπασφαλὸς τοῦ πλοῦς εἶα τὸ κατὰ τὴν νηστείαν ἤδη παρεληλυθέναι.* Ib. The 15 Tisri, or Feast of Tabernacles, was this year on 28 September, when the moon was at the full, for there was an eclipse at that time, at 1 P.M. for the meridian of Paris, or 3^h 12^m P.M. for the meridian of Jerusalem; and the 10 Tisri, or day of the fast, was therefore on 23 September. On the other hand, the navigation of the seas was considered by ancients to close on 11 November. Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, lib. v. c. 9. Plin. N. H. ii. 47. As the Fast was past, and the navigation, though becoming dangerous, had not closed, we should say that the ship lay windbound till about 10 October.

The season being so far advanced, a council is held whether they should winter at Fairhavens, which was ill-adapted for the purpose, *ἀνευθέτον δὲ τοῦ λεγόμενος ἐπάρχοντος πρὸς παριχημασίαν*, Acts, xxvii. 12; or make for Port Phoenix, a little further to the west, where was a much better anchorage. Port Phoenix has been identified beyond question with the haven of Luto, on the south coast of Crete. For the proofs of this, see Smith's *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*.

The advice of Paul was that they should run no unnecessary risk, but winter at Fairhavens. However, the opinion of the majority was the other way and it was resolved to attempt a run to Port Phoenix. They now only wait for an opportunity; and a south wind springing up (say on 18 October), they double Cape Matala, five miles off, which lay between Fairhavens and Port Phoenix; and when steering across the bay for the latter port, which was thirty-

four miles from Cape Matala, they are caught by the typhoon, called Euroclydon, or, according to a probable reading, the Eurapylo, or North-easter, and are carried out to sea. Acts, xxvii. 13.

They are first driven under the lee of a small island called Claudia. *Νησίον δὲ τι ὑποδραμόντες καλούμενον Κλαυδίην.* Acts, xxvii. 16. Claudia is the Claudos of Ptolemy, and is now known as Gozzo, about twenty-three miles to the leeward of Port Laura.

While under the lee of Claudia, they first of all get the boat on board, which was no easy matter, as, from having been dragged at the stern of the vessel for so many miles, it was full of water. *Μόλις λαβύσαντες περικρατείς γενέσθαι τῆς πύργου.* Acts, xxvii. 16.

When they had done this, as the vessel had already sprung a leak, they undergird her, that is, they flap her round the middle with three or four turns of a cable, for the purpose of strengthening her against the strain of the mast. *Ἦν ἄρ' ἄντες βοηθήσαντες ἐχρῆντο ὑποζωννύσας τὸ πλοῖον.* Ib. verse 17.

The direction of the wind was toward the great sandbank of the African Syrtis; and to avoid this, they make all snug by lowering on deck the masts and sails and other gear. *χαλάσαντες τὸ σκεῦος,* ib.; and then setting the storm-sails, or such sails as the gale would allow the vessel to carry, they turn her head off the Syrtis, and so send. *Ὅπως ἐφέρουτο.* Ib.

The next day they lighten the ship, by throwing the cargo overboard. *Τῇ ἐξῆς ἐκβάλλειν ἔπεισάντο.* Ib. verse 18.

On the third day, or 21 October, they throw over the tackle of the ship, *καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀντόχειας τὴν σκευὴν τοῦ πλοίου ἐβρίψαμεν,* Acts, xxvii. 19; and it would appear from this that Paul and Luke assisted in the task personally.

1900. After drifting for fourteen days in Adria, they are wrecked on the island of Malta, at a place 'where two seas meet.' *Ὡς δὲ πεσασκευαὶ ἐκείνῃ νύξ ἐγένετο διαφερομένων ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀδρίᾳ,* etc. Acts, xxvii. 27-44; xxviii. 1.

Adria was the basin of the Mediterranean, between Crete and Sicily. See Jos. Vit. 3; Philost. Vit. ap. v. 11; viii. 15; Pausan. Eliae. v. 25, 1; Arcad. viii. 54, 2; and Weismann on Acts, xxvii. 27.

The place where 'two seas meet' was in the bay of St. Paul, at the north-west corner of it, where the island of Salmonetta forms the northern horn of the bay. Here the sea washes round the island, so that the sea from the north meets the sea coming up from the bay on the south.

As the shipwreck was drifting for fourteen days after she left Fairhavens on 18 October, the wreck would occur on 1 November, a date which is confirmed by the sequel of the voyage; for Paul remained three months in Malta, *μετὰ τὲ τρεῖς μῆνας ἀνήχθημεν,* Acts, xxviii. 11; i. e. he sailed again in the fourth month, as soon as the seas were open, or about 8 February, A.D. 61 (see that year, no. 1316), and he must therefore have arrived at Malta about 1 November, A.D. 60.

1901. The governor of Malta, called the Primate, was at this time one Publius. *Τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς νήσου ὀνόματι Ποπλίῳ.* Acts, xxviii. 7. Two inscriptions have been found at Civita Vecchia, the ancient capital of the island: one with the title *Πρώτος Μελιτάων*, or primate of Malta; and the other running thus: *Πρόεδρος σπευς Ρωμ. Πρωτος Μελιτῶων ἐπὶ πατρῶν ἡρώων καὶ ἀμφεπολις (νεγροτων) Σ(εβαστῆ), ὁ αὐτὸς Σεβαστῆ,* etc. See Smith's Voyage and Shipw. of St. Paul.

1902. Festus, during the early part of his administration, is engaged in putting down the bandits and *Sicarii*. *Ἀφικνούμενος δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν Φήστος συνέλαβε τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὑπὸ τῶν λησῶν κακοῦσάναι,* etc. Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 10.

1903. Festus was *superstitiosus* a religious fanatic. *Πέμπει δὲ Φήστος ὄντα μὲν ἱππικὴν τε καὶ πεζικὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπαρηθίντας ἀπὸ τινος ἀνθρώπου γόντος, σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγελόμενός, καὶ πάλαν κακῶν, εἰ βουλήσθαι ἐπισθαι μέχρι τῆς ἐρημίας αὐτῆς· καὶ αὐτὸν τε ἐκείνον τὸν ἀπαθήσαντα καὶ τοὺς ἀκολούθους τας ἐφέρθειαν αὐτὸν περιφέρτες.* Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 10.

1904. Apollonius Tynnenensis arrives at Athens this year, for it was in the autumn before his attendance at the Olympia at midsummer of A.D. 61. *Τὸν Πειραιῶν ἐπελθεῖς περὶ Μυστηρίων ὄραν ὅτε Ἀθηναῖοι πολυαθροιστάτα Ἕλληνας πράττουσιν, ἀρχὴν ζωτικίας ἀπὸ τῆς νεώς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, προῖον εἰ πολλὰ τῶν φιλοσοφούντων ἐν-ετόγγηκε, Πειραιῶν δὲ καταῶσιν, ὧν αἱ μὲν γυναικοὶ ἱθίμαντο, καὶ γὰρ τὸ μετὰ τῶν εὐέλκων Ἀθηναίων.* Philost. V. Ap. iv. 17.

1904 a. Coins of Nero.

Nero Caesar Aug. Imp. + Pontif. Mac. Tr. P. ri. Cos. in. P. P. Et S. C. Or + Imp. Mar. Tr. P. vii. Cos. in. P. P. Et S. C.

Nero Cas. Aug. Imp. + Cer. Quinq. Rom. Co. S. C., i. e. Certamina Quinquennale Romae Constiduum (see ante, no. 1883).

Eckhel, vi. 264.

Coins of Antioch.

Αντιόχου + Επὶ Κωνσταντῶν ET. AP., i. e. in the 108th year of the Era of Antioch dating from 1 Nov. B.C. 49, and therefore struck between 1 Nov. A.D. 50, and 1 Nov. A.D. 60.

Id. iii. 280.

Νεῦον Κανιστὸν Σαβατορ $\frac{5}{100}$ or $\frac{6}{100}$ that is, in the sixth year of Nero and the 108th year of the Era of Antioch dating from 1 Nov. B.C. 49, and therefore struck between 1 Nov. A.D. 50, and 1 Nov. A.D. 60. Eckhel, iii. 281.

Αντιόχου, with laurelled female head and ET. AP.

Same with turreted female head. Id. iii. 283.

Coin of Polemo II, king of Pontus.

Βασίλειος Πόλεμωνος + Ερως, K.P., i. e. in the twenty-third year of his reign (see A.D. 38, no. 1533).

Id. ii. 372.

Inscriptions.

Neronis Claudio Divi Claudi F. Germanici Caesaris N. T. Caesaris Aug. Pro N. Divi Aug. Atrop. Cesare Aug. Germanico Pont. Mar. Trib. Pot. vii. Imp. iii. Cos. in. Coss. Lentulo Coss. Filiu Cos. Etd. Januar. Sulpicius Camerinus Magister Collegi, Fratrum Arvalium immolavit in Capitolio . . . Cos. Neronis Claudi Caesaris Aug. Germanici Jovi B. maris Junoni vaccanu Minerve vaccanu gentio ipsitis laurum. In collegio adfuerunt Sulpicius Camerinus Magister, L. Piso, L. F. Sextius Africanus, M. Aponius Saturninus, L. Salscio Othone Titiano, P. Memmius Regulus, C. Piso.

Idem Cos. iii. Nunc Januar. Sulpicius Camerinus Magister Collegi, Fratrum Arvalium nomine, vota nuncupavit pro Salute Neronis Claudi Divi Claudi N. Germanici Caesaris et Ti. Caesaris Aug. Pro N. Divi Aug. Ab. N. Caesaris Aug. Germanici Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. vii. Imp. vii. Cos. iii. et Octaviae conjugis, victima immolatis in Capitolio, que superioris anni magistris vocaverant, persolvit, et in proximum annum nuncupavit, praesente M. Aponio Saturnino, Jovi mures ilus, Junoni vaccas il., Minerve vaccas il., Sabai Publica vaccas il. in Templo novo. Divo Aug. B. mures il., Divae Aug. vacas il., Divo Claudio

B. mures il. In collegio msi, Sulpicius Camerinus Magister, A. Vitellius, L. Piso, M. Aponius Saturninus, P. Memmius Regulus, L. Salscio Otho Titiano.

Idem Cos. iii. Ihus Januar. Adlocutus Sulpicio Camerino Magistro L. Salscio Othone Titiano, C. Vipsanio Aproniano . . .

Gruter, 118

Neroni Claudio Divi Claudi Aug. F. Germanic. Ces. Nepoteti Ti. Ces. Aug. Pronepoti Divi Aug. Abnepoti Caesaris Aug. Germ. Il. R. P. in. (lege TR. P. vii.) Imp. v. Cos. in. Sabi onavit votum merito (Chichester).

Horsfield's Sussex, i. 43.

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Pas-over, April 1.

Pentecost, May 25.

Tabernacles, September 29.

A.D. 61. U.C. 814. Olymp. 210, 1.

CICERO'S PATRIS.

P. PETRONIUS TRIDENTIENSIS.

Quam supra excepit.

P. CALPURNIUS RURA.

ex Kal. Jul.

FORSEN VERGENS REBANTES.

NERONIS VIII. FROM 18 OCTOBER. TRIB. POT. VIII. FROM SAME DAY. COS. IV. POST. MAX. PAT. PATR. IMP. (?)

Thirteenth year of the reign of Agrippa II. from some time in the second quarter.

1905. Rebellion of Britain under Boadicea, queen of the Iceni. Seventy thousand Romans and allies are said to have been slain in London and St. Albans. Paulinus Suetonius was at this time proprietor, and Catus Decianus procurator of Britain. *Cicronio Pato, Petronio Turpiliano coss. gravis clades in Britannia cepit. In quod neque A. Didius legatus nisi parva retinuerat, et successor Veranius, modica ex cursibus Silorus popalatus, quin ultra bellum proferebat morte prohibitus est. . . . Sol tunc Paulinus Suetonius obtinebat Britannus . . . Sed quin procul Suetonius aberat, petivere (the Romans at Camulodunum) a Cito Deciano Procuratore uerilian . . . At Suetonius miri constantia medios inter hostes Londinium perrexit, cognomento quidem colonus non insignis, sed capiti negotiatorum et conmeatum maxime celebre. Tac. Ann. xiv. 29-33. Πρώτας δὲ καὶ πολέων ἐγένητο ἡ ἔθνητος τῶν χρομάτων,*

ὁ Κλαύδιος τοῖς πρώτοις αὐτῶν ἐπέλωκε, καὶ ἔδει καὶ ἐκεῖνα, ὥς γε Δεκίανος Κάρος ὁ τῆς νῆσον ἐπιστροφῶν Δαγεν, ἀναπόμνημα γενέσθαι, etc. Dion, lxii. 2.

Suetonius defeats the Britons, when eighty thousand Britons are slain, and Boadicea closes her life, according to Tacitus, by poison, but according to Dion, by sickness, and the Romans go into winter quarters. *Boadicea vitum veneno finivit . . . Contractus deinde omnis exercitus sub pellibus habitus est ad reliqua belli perpetranda* Tac. Ann. xiv. 37, 38. Ἀποβαρούσης ἔϊεν τούτῳ βουνόουσις νόσος, ἐκείνη μὲν ἐνὶ ὥσδε ἐπὶ θνήσκαι καὶ πολυτελῶς ἰδοῦσαν. Dion, lxii. 12.

1906. Catus Decianus is succeeded by Julius Claudiianus as procurator of Britain, and Suetonius by Petronius Turpilianus as pro-prietary. *Julius Claudiianus successor Cato misissus . . . Suetonius tradere exercitum Petronio Turpiliano, qui jam consulari abierat, jubetur* (his cons.). Tac. Ann. xiv. 38, 39.

1907. Tarquinius Priscus, ex-prefect of Bithynia, is convicted of extortion in his province. *Domitius iudex Conseribis* (A.D. 61) *Tarquinius Priscus repetundarum, Bithynis interrogantibus, magno patrum gaudis, qui accusatum ab eo Statillum Taurinum, Proconsulem ipsius, mendicant.* Tac. Ann. xiv. 46.

1908. Pedanius Secundus, prefect of the city, is murdered by one of his slaves. *Hanc multa post Praeceptum nobis Pedanium Secundum servus ipseus interfecit* (his cons.). Tac. Ann. xiv. 42 (see A.D. 80, no. 1549).

1909. The gymnasium at Rome is dedicated by Nero, when the Quinquennalia are celebrated. *Gymnasium eo anno dedicatum a Nerone, praebitumque oleum equali ac semini Graeco faciente.* Tac. Ann. xiv. 47. Dion, lxi. 21. The Olympia, of which the Neronia were an imitation, were celebrated in Greece at the same time (see A.D. 60, no. 1883; A.D. 65, no. 1978).

1910. Apollonius Tyranensis is in Greece at the Olympia of this year. Ὅρθων δὲ καὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ, καὶ καλούμετων αὐτὸν Ἰλλέων ἐπὶ κοινω-νίας τοῦ ἀγῶνος, etc., γενομένου δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἰσθμόν, μικροσμίονος τῆς περὶ τὸ Δέχμιον θαλάττης, ὄψεαι, εἰπὼν, ὁ αὐτὸν τῆς γῆς τετμήσεται, μίλλον δὲ οὐ. Εἶχε δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πρόφησιν τῆς σμικρῆς ὑστερον περὶ τὸν Ἰσθμόν τομῆς, ἣν μετὰ ἔτη ἐπτά (A.D. 67) Νέρων ἐνενοήθη. Philost. V. Ap. iv. 24.

1911. After the Olympia of this year Apollonius proceeds to Sicily, where in winter

Διατρίψας ἔν τῃ Σπύρτῃ μετὰ τῇ Ὀλυμπίᾳ χρόνοι, ὥς ἐτελείετο ὁ χειμὼν ἐπὶ Μαλέαν ἦλθεν ἀρχομένου ἡρος. Philost. V. Ap. iv. 34. In the spring of A.D. 62, he went to Crete. Ὅθων δὲ ἐν Μαλέᾳ νηὶν πλεῖνων, αἱ ἐκ Κρήνῃ ἀφῆσιν ἔμελλον, ἐνέβη ναῦν. Philost. V. Ap. iv. 34 (see A.D. 60, no. 1903; A.D. 70, 2160).

1912. Agrippa raises the height of his palace so as to command a view of the doings in the Temple, whereupon the Jews erect a counter-wall, and thereby shut out the view of the interior of the Temple, not only from the palace, but from the western cloister, the station of the Roman guard. They are ordered by Festus to take down the wall, but obtain leave to send an embassy to Rome, when Ishmael, the high-priest, and Helcias, the treasurer, and others proceed to Rome. Κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας φιλο-μήσατο μεγάλῃ ἐκφόρῳ σίσμα ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πλησίον τοῦ Σηπτοῦ, etc. Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 11. This is related by Josephus after the clearance of the country from the bandits by Festus (see A.D. 60, no. 1902), and after the suppression of the religious impostor (see A.D. 60, no. 1903); and the embassy must have followed the completion of the palace and the erection of the counter-wall, both of which must have occupied some time. As Festus arrived at midsummer A.D. 60, the mission to Rome may be placed in A.D. 61.

1913. The Jews succeed in their embassy through the influence of Poppaea, a Jewish proselyte, and Poppaea detains Ishmael and Helcias at Rome. Νέρων δὲ . . . συνεχώρησεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, τῇ γυναικὶ Ποππῇ (θεοπότης γὰρ ἦν) ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐληθείη χαριζόμενος, ἢ τοῖς μὲν δέκα προσέταξεν ὑπάγειν, τὸν δὲ Ἐλ-κίαν καὶ τὸν Ἰσμήλον ἐμφορῶσαντας παρ' ἐαυτῇ κατέσχευε. Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 11. The expression τῇ γυναικὶ Ποππῇ in this passage is very significant. At this time Poppaea had been twice married and twice divorced, and was now living with Nero as his concubine, so that she might well be described as the woman Poppaea. In A.D. 62 Poppaea was married to Nero, and Josephus then changes his language. Φίλην οὖσαν τῆς Νέρωνος γυναῖκος. Ant. xx. 11, 1. Ποππηῇ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος γυναικὶ γνωσθεῖε. Jos. Vit. 3.

1914. Agrippa, hearing that Ishmael, the high-priest, had been detained at Rome by Poppaea, appoints Joseph, son of Simon, to the

high-priesthood. 'Ο δὲ βασιλεὺς, ταῦτα ὡς ἐπύθετο, δίδωσι τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην Ἰωσήφῳ τῷ ἑλμῶνος παιδί ἀρχιερεὺς, ἐπικαλουμένῳ δὲ Καῖ. Jos. Ant. xx. 8, 11 (see A.D. 59, no. 1880; A.D. 62, no. 1930).

1915. The death of Festus may be placed about 20 November of this year, for the news of it had been transmitted to Rome, and the appointment of Albinus in his place had been reported to Judaea about 20 April, A.D. 62, and the interval must have occupied about five months (see A.D. 62, no. 1920).

1916. Paul having passed the three winter months in Malta, sets sail in the Castor and Pollux, as soon as the seas are open, for Rome. Μετὰ δὲ τρεῖς μῆνας ἀνιήθημεν ἐν πλοίῳ παραχειμακότες ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Ἀλεξανδρίῳ παρασίμῳ Διοσκουρίῳ. Acts, xxviii. 11. 'As the vessel had wintered in Malta, it would of course set sail as soon as, according to the navigation of that day, the seas were open, and this, according to Pliny, was on 8 February, *Is dies scortus est ante February Idus*, Plin. N. H. ii. 47; about which time, therefore, the Castor and Pollux would weigh anchor.

They stay three days at Syracuse and then sail to Rhegium, and the next day start for Puteoli, which they reach the day after, and rest there seven days, and then proceed by land to Rome. Καὶ καταχθίστες εἰς Συρακούσας ἐπεμείναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς, ὅθεν περιελθόντες κατηγίσταμεν εἰς Ῥήγιον· καὶ μετὰ μίαν ἡμέραν ἐπιγεγεμένον νόνον, ἐντετρατίον ἤλθομεν εἰς Πορτὸν· οὗ ἐνδρότης ἄελοφους παρεκλήθημεν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιμεταίαι ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ· καὶ οὕτως εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἤλθομεν. Acts, xxviii. 12. Paul therefore would reach Rome at the beginning of March.

As Paul preached at Rome without interruption for two years, Acts, xxviii. 30, and the persecution of the Christians at Rome began in the latter half of A.D. 64 (see that year, no. 1956), when his preaching would have been stopped at once, he must have arrived at Rome at least some time before the latter half of A.D. 62. But further, Paul, on arriving at Rome, was delivered over to the prefect of the Praetorium, ὅτε δὲ ἤλθομεν εἰς Ῥώμην, ὁ ἑκατόνταρχος παρέδωκε τοὺς ἐς νότον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, Acts, xxviii. 16; and the στρατοπέδῳ, or prefect of the Praetorium, must have been Burrhus, for both before his appointment and after his death there were two pre-

fects of the Praetorium, and then the usual expression was not the *Praefectus*, but the *Præferti*. Thus, *Vinctus mitti ad Praefectum Praetorii mei debet*. Plin. Ep. x. 66. 'Ἀρεπέρβη εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ὡς ἀπολογησόμενος τοῖς τῶν στρατοπέδων ἡγεμόσιν. Philost. Vit. Sophiat. ii. 32. As Burrhus died in January A.D. 62 (see that year, no. 1919), and the arrival of Paul at Rome was at the beginning of March, it follows that he could not have reached Rome in March A.D. 62, but in March A.D. 61.

Paul is allowed to live by himself, μένειν καθ' ἑαυτόν, Acts, xxviii. 16, in a hired lodging, εἰς τὴν ξενίαν, xxviii. 23; ἐν ἰδίῳ μισθώματι, xxviii. 30; but chained by the wrist to a soldier, σὺν τῷ φυλάσσοντι αὐτὸν στρατιώτῃ, xxviii. 16. Three days after his arrival at Rome, the Apostle calls the Jews together and addresses them, when they agree to give him a hearing upon the claims of Christianity, ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ ἡμέρας τρεῖς, etc. Acts, xxviii. 17; and on the day fixed they attend him at his lodging, when Paul preaches to them, but without effect. Ταῦτάμενοι δὲ αὐτῷ ἡμέραν ἤσαν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ξενίαν πλείονες. Acts, xxviii. 23.

1917. Paul remains a prisoner at Rome for two whole years, ἔμεινε δὲ ὁ Παῦλος ἑσπρίαν ἔτη ἐν ἰδίῳ μισθώματι, Acts, xxviii. 30; and from Luke being able to fix the exact period during which Paul was a prisoner, it is evident that at the end of the two years Paul recovered his liberty (see A.D. 63, no. 1940).

1917 a. Coins of Nero.

Nero Caesar Aug. Imp. + Pontif. Max. Ty. P. viii. Cos. iii. P. P. Ec S. C.

Nero Caesar with laurelled head + Paulin. (see ante, no. 1905). Eckhel vi. 265.

Coin of Polemo II., king of Pontus.

Βασίλειος Πολέμωνος + Εὐσεβ. ΚΔ., i. e. in the twenty-fourth year of his reign (see A.D. 38, no. 1533). Id. ii. 372.

Coin of Antioch.

Νέρων Καίσαρ Σεβαστος $\frac{2}{\text{ΘΡ}}$ or $\frac{7}{\text{ΙΘΡ}}$ i. e. in the seventh year of Nero, and the 100th year of the Era of Antioch dating from 1 Nov. B.C. 40, and therefore struck between 1 Nov. A.D. 60, and 13 Oct. A.D. 61. Id. iii. 281.

Inscription.

Silvano Sancto et Mercurio et Libero Patri Saturni, M. Targantius M. F. Ptd. Aegvinius.

*Sud Perunâ D. D. iii. Idus August. Petronio
Turpiliano et Cesario Peto Coss.*

Gruter, 62, 7.

Sixth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 24.

Pentecost, May 14.

Tabernacles, September 18.

A.D. 62. U.C. 815. Olymp. 210, 2.

P. MARCUS CÆSAR.

L. AESTIVUS GALLIUS.

EX . . .

JENTUS MARTIUS.

EX Kal. Jul.

L. ANNEIUS SENECA.

TRELLIUS MAXIMUS.

NERONIS IX. FROM 13 OCTOBER. TRIB. POT. IX.
FROM SAME DAY. COS. IV. PONT. MAX. PAT.
PATR. IMP. (?).

Fourteenth year of the reign of Agrippa II.
from some time in the second quarter.

1918. Antistius is accused at Rome and escapes. *P. Mærio, L. Asinio coss. Antistius Prætor . . . majestatis delatus est.* Tac. Ann. xiv. 48. Fabricius Viento is accused, and is banished (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. xiv. 50.

1919. Death of Burrhus, prefect of the prætorium, when two prefects, Sofonius Tigellinus and Fenius Rufus, are appointed in his place. *Secl gravescentibus in dies publicis malis subsidia minuebantur, concessitque vitâ Burrhus, incertum valedudine an veneno . . . Civitati grande desiderium ejus navavit per memoriam virtutis et successuum alterius regnem innocentiam, alterius flagrantissima fugitiu et adulteri in: quippe Cæsar duos prætoris cohortibus imperaverat, Fenium Rufum ex cunctis favore patris rem fragmentariam sine quaestione tractabat: Sofonium Tigellinum, veterem impudicicam atque infamiam in eo secutus. Atque illi pro cognitis moribus fuere: validior Tigellinus in animo Principis et infinis libidinibus adsunptus: prosperâ populî et militum famâ Rufus, quod apud Neronem adeo minus experiebatur (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. xiv. 51. Τοῦτον μὲν οὖν (Burrhum) φαρμάκῃ ἰώλεται, ἡγελλήσαν: ἢ τινι Σωφρόνιον, ἀσέλγειν τε καὶ μαίφονιᾳ πάντα τοῦδε καθ' ἐαυτὸν ἀνθρώπου υπερέρματα, ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ὑπερφύρων ἀρχὴν κατέστησε, ὅς τὸν τε Νέρωνα καὶ τὸν συνάρχοντα Ρούφον παρ' αὐτὸν ἐκίδετο. Dion. lxxii. 13.* From the circumstance that the accusations

against Antistius and Viento are the only events recorded under this year which precede the death of Burrhus, and from the series of occurrences (see *infra*, no. 1927) between the death of Burrhus and the death of Octavia on 9 June, it would appear that Burrhus must have died at the very beginning of the year, probably before the end of January (see A.D. 51, no. 1750; A.D. 65, no. 1968).

1920. The death of Burrhus breaks the power of Seneca, and he is obliged to withdraw from public life. *Mors Burrhi infregit Senecæ potentiam* (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. xiv. 52. Seneca, on defending himself before Nero, refers to the present year as the eighth of the reign of Nero and the fourteenth since Seneca's recall. *Quartusdecimus annus est, Cæsar, ex quo spei tue abnotus sum* (see A.D. 49, no. 1729), *octavus ut imperium obtines.* Tac. Ann. xiv. 53. The eighth year of Nero expired on 13 October, A.D. 62, and Seneca's defence was therefore certainly before that time. In fact, it must have been in the first half of the year, for it is related before the death of Octavia, which was on 9 June (see *infra*, no. 1927).

1921. Tigellinus grows in power, and depresses Fenius Rufus, his colleague, and calumniates Plantius, who was in Asia, and Sulla, who was at Marseilles. *Compertoque Plantium et Sullam in Galliam Narbonensem nuper amotos, etc.* (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. xiv. 57.

1922. Sulla is put to death six days after the order for his execution. *Sulla sexto die peractis Massiliam percussoribus interficitur ante actum et ruuorem.* Tac. Ann. xiv. 57.

1923. Plantius is warned in Asia of his danger, but refuses flight and is slain, and his head carried to Rome, when Nero writes to the senate. *Plautio parari necem non periade occultum fuit, quia pluribus aulis ejus curabatur, et spatium itineris ac maris tempusque interjectum moverat sanam . . . Ceterum libertus Plauti celeritate ventorum prævenit centurionem . . . Caput interfecti relictum . . . sed ad Senothum (Nero) litteras misit de corde Sullæ Plautique (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. xiv. 58, 59. Dion. lxxii. 14.*

1924. Nero divorces Octavia and marries Poppæa. *Extorbat Octavianam sterilem dictitans: exia Poppææ conjungitur* (*his coss.*). Tac. Ann. xiv. 60.

1925. Octavia is banished to Campania, but

the people murmur, and Nero issues an order for her recall. *Moer in Computatium publica est, addita militum custodia. Inde erubri questus . . . His motus Nero, tanquam penitentia fugit, conjugem revocavit Octavianam (his cons.). Tac. Ann. xiv. 60.*

1926. Poppaea, before Octavia's arrival, represents the danger of her coming to Rome, and Octavia is banished to the island of Pandataria. *Quae (Poppaea) provoluta genibus ejus . . . 'Omitteret mola (Octavia) Campaniam, et in urbem ipsam pergeret, ad ejus nutum absentis iomulus clementis,' etc. . . Insulâque Pandatarid Octavianam (Nero) claudâ (his cons.). Tac. Ann. xiv. 61, 63.*

1927. Octavia, a few days after, is put to death, in the twentieth year of her age. *Ar pulchra nesciam utatis anno inter centurias et milites, praesidio malorum jam etiam exornata, nondum tamen morte acquiescebat. Paucis de hinc interfectis diebus mox iubetur (his cons.). Tac. Ann. xiv. 64. The day of her death was the same day on which occurred the death of Nero, viz. 9 June. *Obiit (Nero) tricesimo et secundo scilicet anno, die quo quondam Octavianam interemerat. Dicit Nero, 57.**

1928. Dion thus connects Burrhus with Poppaea. *Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἑννῇ ὁ Νέρων Ὀκτασίαν τὴν Ἀγροῦσαν ἀπεπερυσσομένην πρότερον ἐπὶ Σεβίαν τῇ παλαιᾷ ἐπέστειλεν ἔκ τῃ ἀπέκτινεν, αὐτὴ τοῦ Βούβρον ἐναντιομένην αὐτῷ, καὶ καλὸν ἔπος ἀποπέμψασθαι, καὶ ποτὶ εὐπρίως ὁδεῖον καὶ τὴν προικὴ αὐτῇ (τοῦτοστι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν) ἐπέδοσεν. Dion, lxi. 18. Burrhus is here represented as alive at the time of the divorce, if not of the death, of Octavia. But this part of Dion is very imperfect and corrupt, and the sequence of events detailed *en détail* in Tacitus is entitled to far greater credit, and Tacitus places the death of Burrhus long before either the death or divorce of Octavia.*

1929. Nero, on the news of the death of Testas reaching Rome, nominates Albinius as his successor. This must have been in February A.D. 62, for the news of it had reached Judaea on 20 April, A.D. 62 (see infra, no. 1931). *Μήνιμι εἰ Καίσαρ Ἀλβίνον εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπαρχίαν, Φίλστον τὴν τελευτήν πεθόμενον. Jos. Ant. xx. 9, 1 (see A.D. 61, no. 1915; A.D. 61, no. 1961).*

1930. Agrippa removes Joseph from the high-priesthood and appoints Ananus, son of Annas. This was probably in February, but

possibly at the commencement of the Jewish year, 1 Nisan, or 30 March. It was three months before his removal in May or June of this year (see A.D. 61, no. 1914, and infra, no. 1932). *Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀπέλετο μὲν τὸν Ἰωσήφον τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην, τῷ δὲ Ἀνάνῳ πατρί καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀνάνῳ λεγομένῳ τὴν ἐκδοχὴν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἔδωκε. Jos. Ant. xx. 9, 1.*

1931. Ananus, before the arrival of Albinius, brings James the Just, Bishop of Jerusalem, and other Christians before the sanhedrin on a charge of blasphemy, and causes them to be stoned. *Ὁ δὲ ἐκείνους Ἀνανοῦ, ὃν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἔραμεν εὐλαβεῖναι, θρασυῶς ἦν τὸν τόπον καὶ πολλοὺς ἐκασφόνους αἰρεῖν ἐν μετῇ τῶν Σαδδουκαίων, οἱ μὲν εἰς περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἠρώσι παρὰ πάντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, καθὼς ἦεν ἐκείνῳ αἰμεν. Ἄρε δὲ τοιοῦτος ὢν, ὁ Ἀνάνιος ἐκείνους ἔχειν κακῶν ἐπιτήλειον ἐπὶ τὸ τελεῖναι μὲν Φίλστον, Ἀλβίνον δὲ ἐπὶ κατὰ τὴν ἑξῆς ἐπαρχίαν, καθίζει συνέδριον κερῶν, καὶ παραγαγὼν εἰς αὐτὸ τὸν ἀεὶ φρόνῳ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ (Ἰάκωβος ἵερομ αὐτῷ) καὶ τινες ἑτέρους, ὥς περιουρησάντων κατηγορίας ποιεσάμενος, παρώκτω λαθρομένους. Jos. Ant. xx. 9, 1. The martyrdom of James was no doubt at one of the public festivals, and Hegesippus, as cited by Eusebius, states that it was when Jerusalem was full of people from the Feast of the Passover. Τινὲς οὖν τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀφίστασιν τῶν ἐν τῷ λαῷ . . . ἐπονηθάνοντο αὐτοῦ, τίς ἡ θύμῃ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ἔλεγε τούτων εἶναι τὸν Σωτῆρα· ἐξ ὧν τινες ἐπίστευσαν ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός. Αἱ δὲ ἀφίστασι αἱ προειρημέται ὥς ἐπίστασιν οὐτε ἀνάστασι, οὐτε ἐρχόμενον ἀποδοῦναι ἐκείνῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ· οὗτοι δὲ καὶ ἐπίστευσαν, ἐπὶ Ἰάκωβον. Πολλὰν οὖν καὶ τῶν ἐρχόντων πιστευόντων, ἦν θύμωτος τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ γαριματῶν καὶ Φαρισαίων λεγόντων, ὅτι κενδοί εἰσι πᾶς ὁ λαὸς Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν προσδοκῶν. Ἐλεγον οὖν συνέληθίντες τῷ Ἰακώβῳ, Παριουλιούμῳ σι, ἐπέτρεξε τὸν λαόν, ἐπὶ ἐπαλήθεϊ εἰς Ἰησοῦν, ὡς αὐτοῦ ὄντος τοῦ Χριστοῦ· παρακαλοῦμεν σε πείσαι πάσας τὰς ἰθαίτας εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ Πάσχα περὶ Ἰησοῦ . . . στήθῃ οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγων τοῦ Ἱεροῦ, ἔτα ὑψωθείς ἦν ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἡ ἐκαστοτὰ σου τὰ ῥήματα πατὴρ τῷ λαῷ, ἐπὶ γὰρ τὸ Πάσχα συνέληθθαι πᾶσι αἱ φυλαὶ ῥητὴ καὶ τῶν ἰθιῶν. Ἐσπασαν οὖν οἱ προειρημένοι γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι τὸν Ἰάκωβον ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγων τοῦ Ἱεροῦ καὶ ἐκράσαν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπέτι, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ὡς πάντες πεπισθῶσι ὀφειλόμεν, ἐπεὶ ὁ λαὸς πλανᾶται ὅπως Ἰησοῦ*

τοῦ στυγερῆτος, ἀπέγγειλον ἡμῖν τις ἡ θύρα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ' καὶ ὑπερίνατο φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, 'Τί με ἐπερωτᾶτε περὶ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ αὐτοὺς κίθηται ἐς τῷ οὐρανῷ ἔκ ἐξίων τῆς μεγάλης δυνάμεως, καὶ μέλλει ἔρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.' Καὶ πολλῶν πληροφορηθέντων καὶ δοξαζόντων ἐπὶ τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τοῦ Ἰακώβου καὶ λεγόντων ὡς ἄντι τῷ υἱῷ Δαβὶδ, τότε πάλιν οἱ αὐτοὶ γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔλεγον. Κακῶς ἐποίησαμεν τοιαύτην μαρτυρίαν παρασχόντες τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἄλλο ἀνιβάντες καταβάλλωμεν αὐτὸν, ἵνα φοβηθεῖτε μὴ πιστεύσωσι αὐτῷ. Καὶ ἔραξαν λέγοντες, 'Ὡ, ὦ, καὶ ὁ Δικαίος ἐπλανήθη.' Αἰσβάντες οὖν κατέβησαν τὸν Δίκαιον, καὶ ἔλεγον ἀλλήλους, Διθάσωμεν τὸν Δίκαιον. Καὶ ἤρξαντο λιθάζειν αὐτὸν, ἐπεὶ καταβλήθει οὐκ ἀπεθνεῖν, ἀλλὰ στραφείς ἔθηκε τα γόατα λεγών, 'Παρακλιῶ, Κύριε Θεέ πάτερ, ἔφες νυκτός, οὐ γὰρ οἶδας τί ποιοῦσιν.' Οὕτω δὲ καταλιθοβολούντων αὐτῷ, εἰς τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκμύεζε λεγών, 'Πνεύμασθε, τί ποιεῖτε, εὐχεταὶ ὁ-θεῖ ἡμῶν ὁ Δίκαιος.' Καὶ λαβὼν τις ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἰς τῷ κρητῶν τὸ ξύλον ἐς ᾧ ἀπεκίεζε τα ῥατρία, ἤρκεν κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Δακίου καὶ οὕτως ἐμαρτύρησεν. Hegesippus, cited Euseb Hist Eccl II 23.

As the Jews could not proceed to capital punishment during the Feast itself (see A D 33, no 1411), the execution of James could not have taken place before 20 April, the day next after the Feast of Passover. At this time therefore, the Jews, as appears from the account of Josephus, had heard that Albinus had been appointed in the place of Festus and that he was, on his way to Judea, at Alexandria. As five months must have been consumed in the transmission of the news of the death of Festus from Judea to Rome and the report of Albinus's appointment from Rome to Judea, this would place the death of Festus about 20 November, A D 61.

Agrippa, at the time of the martyrdom of James, was absent from Jerusalem, and perhaps at a distance from it, with the army of Corbulo. He would otherwise have attended the Feast of the Passover, for he was a rigid observer of Jewish ceremonial. However, intelligence of the outrage of Ananias is forwarded by the moderate party at Jerusalem to Agrippa, who is implored to interfere. 'Οσοι δὲ ἐδόκουν ἐτιμωρεσθαι τῷ κατὰ τὴν παλὴν εἶναι, καὶ τι περὶ τούτων νόμον ἀκριβοῦς, βίαιως ἠεργαῖον ἐπὶ τούτῳ, καὶ πέμπουσιν πρὸς τὸν βασιλεῖα (Agrippam) κρυφα παρακλιῶντες αὐτὸν ἐπιστῆναι τῷ Ἰησοῦ

μηκεν τοιαῦτα πράσσειν, μήδὲ γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ὀρθῶς αὐτὸν πεποικμεναι. Jos Ant xx 9, 1.

Others, dissatisfied with Ananias's proceeding—go to meet Albinus, who, it was heard, had already arrived at Alexandria. Τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν Ἀλβίνου ὑπαναίσουνσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξιαδρείας ὁδοποροῦντι, καὶ διδάσκουσιν, ὡς οὐκ ἔξδον ἦν Ἀνάμω χωρὶς τῆς ἐλευθέρου γνώμης καθίσαι συνεδρίον. Ἀλβίνος δὲ τεισθείς τοῖς λεγομένοις γράφει μετ' ὀργῆς τῷ Ἀνάμω λήψεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ δικασ περικλιῶν. Jos Ant xx 9, 1. As Albinus was not on the road and a reprimand written by him to Ananias, we may place the delivery at Jerusalem of Albinus's dispatch about a month after the outrage of Ananias, i.e. about 20 May, A D 62. The intimation of the Jews to Albinus that Ananias could not legally proceed to capital punishment without the sanction of Albinus as procurator, throws some light upon the political status of the Jews under the Romans (see A D 33, no 1411).

1932. After the arrival of the letter of Albinus, and perhaps in consequence of it, Agrippa deposes Ananias from the high-priesthood and appoints Jesus the son of Damneus, in his place. Καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ἔτα τοῦτο τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀφελόμενος αὐτὸν, ἔρξεντα μῆνας τρεῖς Ἰησοῦν τὸν τοῦ Δαμαίου κατήστησεν. Jos Ant xx 9, 1 (see A D 61 no 1914, A D 64, no 1960). If Agrippa was at Jerusalem when the receipt of Albinus arrived, the displacement of Ananias must have occurred toward the end of May. As Agrippa, however, may have been at some distance from Jerusalem and in attendance upon Corbulo, some interval may have elapsed between the arrival of Albinus's dispatch and the disposal of Ananias so that the latter event may have taken place in June. As Ananias had held office for three months, he must have been appointed in February or March A D 62.

1933. Albinus arrives at Jerusalem and proceeds to clear the country of the *Sicarii*. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦκεν ὁ Ἀλβίνος εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἰεροσολυμῶν πόλιν, πᾶσαν εἰσῆλάντο σπουδὴν καὶ πρόνοιαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῇ χώρᾳ εἰρῇ ἐᾶσθαι, πολλοὺς τῶν Σικαρίων διαφθείρας. Jos Ant xx 9, 2. Albinus was certainly at Jerusalem at the Feast of Tabernacles (7 October) of this year, for he was there at the Feast of Tabernacles in the fourth year current before the commencement of the Jewish war, which began on

19 April, A.D. 60. Ἰησοῦς γὰρ τὰς νύκτας Ἀνάνου τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀγροίκους πρὸ τασσάριων ἐπὶ τῶν τοῦ πολέμου τῆς μάστιγος τῆς πόλεως ἐκρηγνόντων καὶ ἐδυνάστευσεν (and therefore at the very beginning of the procuratorship of Albinus) ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν ἱερὴν ἐν ᾗ σκηνοποιεῖσθαι πάντας ἔθος τῷ θεῷ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐξαπίνης ἀνιπτοῦσαν ἡρώατο, etc. Ταῦτά δὲ Ἀλβίνου ἐκρωτῶντος (οὗτος γὰρ ἐπαρχος ἦν) τίς εἴη καὶ πόδες καὶ ἐὰν ταῦτα φθέγγοντο, πρὸς ταῦτα μὲν οὐδ' ὅτι οὐκ ἀπεκρίνατο. Bell. vi. 5, 8. And this was upwards of seven years and five months before the siege of Jerusalem, which began about the time of the Passover (13 April) A.D. 70, which again fixes this feast to be that of the Tabernacles A.D. 62. Μάλιστα δ' ἐν ταῖς ἱερῇς ἐκρηγνέει, καὶ τὰν ἐξ' ἐπὶ ἡμέρας καὶ μηνῶν πέντε εἰσὼν, οὐκ ἡμιλλήθη τὴν φωνὴν οὐκ ἔκαμιν, μέχρις οὗ κατὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐργασίαις ἐκδησάμενος ἰδὼν ἀνεπαύσατο, περιὼν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχεος αἱ, αἱ, πάλιν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῷ λαῷ καὶ τῷ κατὰ διαπύρσιον ἐβόων ὡς ἐν τελευταίῳ προσέβηκεν, αἱ, αἱ δὲ καὶ ἔροι, λίθος ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου σχασθεὶς καὶ πλήσας αὐτὸν παραχρήνι κτείνει. Bell. vi. 5, 3.

1934. Pallas and Dorphorus, the freedmen, are put to death at Rome in this consulship. *Eodem anno hystorionum potissimas veneno interfecisse (Nero) creditus est; Dorphorum quasi adversaria nuptiis Porphyre, Pallantem quod immensam pecuniam longi senectæ detineret.* Tac. Ann. xiv. 65. Τὸν δὲ Πάλλαντα διεχρήσατο, οὗ καὶ πλοῦτον πάλιν ἐκρήσατο. Dion, lxii. 14. These events are related by Tacitus after the death of Octavia, and therefore it occurred after 9 June.

1935. Tacitus under this year (but taking up the history from A.D. 60 where he had left it, see that year, no. 1886) relates the transactions respecting Armenia during the years A.D. 61 and A.D. 62; viz. the invasion by Tigranes of Adiabene, then under the rule of Monobazus, who had lately succeeded to the throne of his father Izates; and indeed the distractions consequent upon the death of Izates probably induced the king of Armenia to attempt the conquest of Adiabene. *Accendebat dolorem eorum Monobazus, quem pater Adiabænarum regnum.* Tac. Ann. xv. 1. Dion, lxii. 20. Then follows the investiture of Tiridates as king of Armenia by Vologeses, and the invasion of Armenia by Moneses, the Parthian general, Tac. Ann. xv. 2; Dion, lxii. 20; the

fruitless siege by him of Tigranes in Tigranocerta. Tac. Ann. xv. 4; Dion, lxii. 20; an exhortation from Corbulo to Vologeses, when the Parthians retire from Tigranocerta, and the Roman army also retreats to Cappadocia, and a Parthian embassy is sent to Rome, Tac. Ann. xv. 5, and see Dion, lxii. 20 (the last event was just before the winter of A.D. 61-62, for in the ensuing spring the Parthians ask, *Cur enim ex-positum Romanæ a Tigranocertis dedecus?* . . . *an melius hibernasse in extremâ Cappadaciâ, ruptum evictis tuguriis, quam in sede regni modo retenti* (Tigranocerta)? Tac. Ann. xv. 6); the arrival of Cæcennius Pætus as prefect of Armenia in the spring of A.D. 62, Tac. Ann. xv. 6, and see Dion, lxii. 20; the return of the Parthian embassy from Rome at the same time, and the resumption of the war, Tac. Ann. xv. 7, and see Dion, lxii. 20; the advance of Pætus into Armenia, and then his return on the approach of winter, viz. the winter of A.D. 62-63. *Ceterum Pætus, sparis ovisibus, ac damaschi fractis hibernaculis, nullo rei frumentariæ provisione, rapit exercitum, etc.; instante jam hieme, reduxit exercitum.* Tac. Ann. xv. 8. The Parthians, having no hopes against Corbulo in Syria, make a sudden incursion into Armenia, Tac. Ann. xv. 9; and see Dion, lxii. 21; when Pætus moves out of the winter quarters which he had just occupied (viz. for the winter of A.D. 62-63), *et tunc relictis hibernis . . . duxit* (Pætus) *legiones quasi prolixo certaturus*, Tac. Ann. xv. 10; and is worsted, and retires to his camp, which he abandons on ignominious terms, Tac. Ann. xv. 10-15, and see Dion, lxii. 21; then a meeting between Pætus and Corbulo on the Euphrates. Tac. Ann. xv. 16; and see Dion, lxii. 22. Pætus now winters in Cappadocia (the winter of A.D. 62-63). *Exin Pætus per Cappadociam hibernavit.* Tac. Ann. xv. 17. Corbulo and Vologeses agree, the former to withdraw his troops to the west of the Euphrates, and the latter to recall his troops from Armenia. Tac. Ann. xv. 17; and see Dion, lxii. 22 (see A.D. 63, no. 1945).

1936. Accusation of Claudius Tinnarchus, a person of great influence in Crete (*his cosa*). Tac. Ann. xv. 20.

1937. Pompeii is much damaged by an earthquake. *Et motu terre celebre Campaniæ oppidum Pompeii magnâ ex parte prorsus* (*his cosa*). Tac. Ann. xv. 22. But according to Serecia this calamity happened on 5 February, A.D. 63.

*Pompeius . deservisse terra motu audi-
mus* Nonis Fibi fuit motus hic, *Regulo et*
Linguistae Cass. Senec Nat Quast vi 1

1938 The Epistle to the Ephesians (more properly to the Laodiceans) and the Epistles to the Colossians and Philemon may be placed in the autumn of this year. That all three epistles were written and dispatched at the same time has been proved to demonstration by Paley in his *Home Paulinae*. The language in the Ephesians and Colossians is in numerous passages identical, and all the letters were sent by the same messenger, Tychicus. It sufficiently appears from their contents that they were penned while Paul was in prison at Rome. Thus in the Ephesians, ἐγὼ Παῦλος ὁ δέσμιος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, iii 1, ἐπὶ οὗ (the Gospel) πρεσβεῖω ἐν ἄλλοις, vi 20 (compare Acts, xxi 20), and in the Colossians, μνημονεύετε μου τῶν δεσμῶν, iv 18, and in Philemon, Παῦλος δέσμιος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ver 1, Παῦλος πρεσβύτερος (see A D 9, no 1035), καὶ δὲ καὶ δέσμιος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ver 9. And the Epistles were written when Paul was looking forward to his release, as likely soon to take place, ἀμα ἔτι καὶ ἐτοιμαζέ μοι ἔσται· ἐλπίζω γὰρ ὅτι ἅπα τῶν πρὸς ἐμοὶ ἱμῶν χειρὸς ῥησιν ἔσται, Philem 22, and yet it was dated before the Epistle to the Philippians, which was also written during his captivity, for when the Colossians was written Epaphroditus remained at Rome. Ἰσχυρίζεται ἡμᾶς Ἐπαφρόδιτος ὁ ἐξ ἡμῶν, Coloss 11 12. But the Epistle to the Philippians was sent by the hands of Epaphroditus, and the latter had then lately suffered from sickness, but to which no allusion is made in the Colossians. Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ἡγησάμην Ἰ παρὰ οὐδενος τιμῆσαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἐπειδὴ ἐπιποθῶν ἦν πάντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἀδελφονῶν, διότι ἡκούσατε ὅτι ἠσθένησα. Philip 11 25.

1938 A. Coin of Nero

Nero Caesar Aug Imp + Pontif Max Ti P viii
Cos iii P P F S C Eckhel, vi 205

Coin of Antioch

Nerwv Kairor Sebavoc Etrivc AIP Θ, or in the 11th year of the Era of Antioch and the ninth year of Nero, and therefore struck between 1 Nov A D 62, and 13 Oct A D 63.

Id in 281

Coins of Alexandria

Πορταία Σεβαστῆ L Θ + Νεωv Κλαυv Καις Σεβ
Τιρ Aη (see ante, no 1021), 10 in the ninth year of 2110. Id in 55

The Sabbatic year
Passover, April 12
Pentecost, June 2
Tabernacles, October 7

A D. 63 U.C. 816. Olymp 210. 3.

C. M. ALEXANDRI
L. VIBICINUS SEPTUS

NERONIS A. FROM 13 OCTOB TRIB POT V FROM
SAME DAY COS IV PONT MAX PAT PATP
IMP (?)

Fifteenth year of the reign of Agrippa II from some time in the second quarter

1939. Paul early in the year writes the Epistle to the Philippians. It was penned during his captivity, δια το ἔχειν με ἐν τῇ κυρδίᾳ ὑμᾶς, ἐν ταῖς δεσμοῖς μου καὶ τῇ ἀπολογία καὶ βεβαίώσει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, Philip 1 7, and at Rome, ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας Philip iv. 22. And Paul had been long enough a prisoner to have produced great effects both in the praetorium and elsewhere. Ὡστε τοὺς δεσμοὺς μου φαιροῦν ἐν Χριστῷ γεισθαί ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ Ἰερουσαλὴμ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἅπαι Philip 1 13. The long captivity of the Apostle before the date of the letter appears also from this the Philippians had heard of his imprisonment at Rome, and had sent him pecuniary relief by the hands of Epaphroditus, συγκοινωνοὺς μου τῆς χάριτος (the collection for the Apostle) πάντας ὑμᾶς οἷτας, Philip 1 7, πεπλήρωμαι, δεξιόμενος παρὶ Ἐπαφροδίτου το παρ' ὑμῶν, Philip iv 18, and Epaphroditus had fallen ill at Rome καὶ γὰρ ἥσθη ἡσθε παραπλήσιος θανάτου, Philip 11 27, and the Philippians had heard of it, and the report to that effect had reached Rome, ἐπειδὴ ἐπιποθῶν ἦν πάντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἀδελφονῶν, διότι ἡκούσατε ὅτι ἠσθένησα, Philip 11 26. In short, the Epistle was written when Paul was in such confident expectation of his release that he was making arrangements for his departure, and his intentions were, as soon as he was released, to send Timothy instantly to Philippi to learn their state and bring back word to Paul in Italy, and then both were to sail together for the East, and at no distant period Paul hoped to visit the Philippians in person. Ἐλπίζω δὲ ἐς κυρδίαν Ἰησοῦ Τιμοθεον ταχέως τιμῆσαι ὑμᾶς, ἵνα λόγῳ ἐνδύναμω γινόντα περὶ ὑμῶν τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐλπίζω τιμῆσαι,

ὡς ἂν ἀπὸ τὰ περὶ ἐμὲ ἔσαντες· πέποιθα δὲ ἐν Κυρίῳ ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ταχέως ἐλεύσεται. Philippi. ii. 19, 23.

1940. Paul is released about March, after an imprisonment of two years. "Ἐμενε δὲ ὁ Παῦλος ἐνταῦθα ὅλην ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μισθώματι. Acts, xxviii. 30. This duration of the imprisonment could not have been definitively stated had not the time of the release been known. Timothy is immediately dispatched with the intelligence to Philippi, according to the intentions announced in Paul's letter to them (see *supra*, no. 1939).

1941. Paul, being now at liberty, writes the long Epistle to the Hebrews, to prepare them for his intended visit as soon as Timothy should rejoine him. Paul at the date of this epistle was certainly at liberty, and was expecting Timothy back from the mission on which the latter had been sent to Philippi. "Γράσκει τὸν Τιμόθεον ἀποδελόμενον, μεθ' αὐτὸν τάχιστα ἐρχομαι εἰσελθεῖν ὑμῖν. Heb. xiii. 23. "Ἀποδελόμενον has been translated in the vulgate 'set at liberty,' but there is no trace of Timothy having suffered imprisonment, and the better meaning is 'sent on a mission,' in accordance with Paul's declaration of his intention to the Philippians (see *ante*, no. 1939). Paul at the date of the epistle was still in Italy, for ἀσπάζονται ὑμῖς οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας, Heb. xiii. 24; and intending to sail for Judea, whence he had sailed to Rome two years before. Μεταπορείως δὲ παρακαλῶ τοῦτο παντὶ, ἵνα τάχιστα ἀποκαρασθῶ ὑμῖν. Heb. xiii. 10.

We have seen that in the preceding year the Sadducees under Annas the high-priest had commenced a persecution of the Christians, and had put James the bishop of Jerusalem to death; and the epistle to the Hebrews makes frequent allusion to those sufferings of the Christians in Judea, and a series of arguments is contained in it for supporting the Christian Hebrews under their trials. See particularly the eleventh chapter, and thence to the end of the epistle. The persecution referred to by the epistle was not in the early days of Christianity, for the Hebrews are exhorted to patience under their present sufferings by the example of the martyrs at the first dawn of Christianity, ἀναμνησθεθὲ δὲ τὰς πρότερον ἡμέρας ἐν αἷσι μαρτυρήσαντες πολλὴν ἄλγισιν βραβεύεσθαι παθόντων, Heb. x. 32; and the recent death of James the Just and his fellow martyrs is thus spoken

of: Μεμνημένοι τῶν ἡγουμένων ἡμῶν, οἵτινες ἐλάλησαν ὑμῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς ἀναθεωροῦντες τὴν ἐκδοσιν τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς μμεῖσθαι τὴν πίστιν. Heb. xiii. 7. The word ἀναθεωροῦντες, or seeing over again the death of their rulers, refers to the death of James the Apostle at the hands of Agrippa in the earlier persecution (see A.D. 44, no. 1671), as well as of James the Just in this the later persecution.

1942. Paul on Timothy's arrival sails (we may suppose) to Jerusalem, according to his promise, Heb. xiii. 23; and then revisits Antioch, and passes on to Colossæ, where he had directed Philemon to prepare him a lodging, ἀρα δὲ καὶ ἱταμίζετε μοι ξενίαν, ἀπέλω γὰρ ὅτι διὰ τῶν προσώπων ὑμῶν χωρεσθήσομαι ὑμῖν, Philem. ver. 22; and thence to Ephesus.

1943. Ananias at this time is at the height of his popularity and influence at Jerusalem. "Ὁ δὲ Ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀνάνιος καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπὶ μέγῃ προέσκειτο δόξῃ, καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν εὐνοίας τε καὶ τιμῆς ἡρώτου λαμπρώς. Jos. Ant. xx. 9, 2.

1944. Nero has a daughter by Poppæa, and both the mother and child are invested with the title of Augusta, but the daughter lives only four months. *Memoirs Regule et Virginie Rufe coss. natam sibi ex Poppæo filium Nero ultra mortale gaudium accepit, adpellaritque Augustam, dato et Poppæa eadem cognomen . . . Quæ (the rejoicings) placu fœdere, quantum intra mensem defunctâ infante. Tac. Ann. xv. 23.*

1945. At the opening of spring A.D. 63 the Parthian embassy arrives at Rome. *Inter quæ veris principio legati Parthorum mandata regis Volagesis literarum in eadem forum adtulere (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xv. 21 (see A.D. 62, no. 1936, post, no. 1948).* The birth of a daughter of Poppæa is related by Tacitus before this, and must have been at the very commencement of the year. The arrival of the Parthian embassy in the spring of this year, in consequence of the negotiations between Corbulo and Volageses, related by Tacitus under the preceding year (see A.D. 62, no. 1936), determines also that the events in Armenia narrated by Tacitus under A.D. 62 were not prospective, but occurred in that or the preceding year.

1946. The Parthian embassy fails, and war is resumed. Corbulo has the military command in the East, while Cnæus takes the civil administration of Syria, and the feudalatory king

(including, no doubt, Agrippa) are ordered to attend the biddings of Corbulo. *Scriptur Te-
trarchis ac Regibus Praefectisque et Procura-
toribus et qui Praetorum fluitimas provincias
regerebunt, jussu Corbulonis obsequi* (his *cos*)
Tac Ann xv 25 (see A D 64, *post*, no 1918)

1947. Corbulo with his forces, including the
contingents of the subject-kings, advances to
the banks of the Euphrates. *Et ovula regna
in unum conduta apud Melitene, quid transmuta-
teret Euphratena parabat* (his *cos*) Tac Ann
xv 26

1948. Corbulo and Thridates have an inter-
view, at which Tiberius Alexander, the Jewish
renegade, is present. *Die pacta Tiberius Alex-
ander, illustis eques Romanus, minister bello
datus, et Vinumius Annus, gener Corbulonis
in castris Thridatis tenet*. Tac Ann xv 28
Thridates does homage to the image of the
emperor, and agrees to make a journey to
Rome to accept the crown of Armenia at the
hands of Nero (his *cos*), Tac Ann xv 28,
29, but plays a respite till he had paid a
visit to his family before entering on so long a
journey. *Postero die spotum oravit quo tantum
timoris adiutus fratres ante matremque viset
Obulenti interea filium tradidit, litterasque sup-
pliciter ad Neronem* (his *cos*) Tac Ann xv
30 (see ante, no 1945) (Thridates did not
leave Armenia till A D 65, and did not arrive
in Rome till A D 66, see that year, no 1987)

1948 a Coins of Nero

*Nero Caesar Aug Imp + Pontif Max Tr
P a Cos iii P P Ex S C*
Eckhel, vi 260.

Coin of Alexandria

Ποππαια Σεβαστ. L I + Νερω κλησ Καισ Σηβ
Γερ Αv Id iv 55

Coin of Antioch

Νερων Καισαρ Σεβαστος AIP I, on the 111th
year of the Era of Antioch dating from 1 Nov
B C 40, and in the tenth year of Nero, and
therefore struck between 13 Oct. A D 63, and
1 Nov A D 64 Id iii 281

Νερων Καισαρ Σεβαστος BIP. I, and therefore
struck between 1 Nov A D 63, and 13 Oct
A D 64 Id iii 281

Coin of Alexandria

Ποππαια Σεβαστ-η I + Νερω κλησ Καισ Σηβ
Γερ Αv Id iv 55

First year of the Sabbatio cycle

Passover, April 1

Pentecost, May 22

Tabernacles, September 26

A D. 64. V C. 817. Olymp. 210, 4.

C LECANIUS BASILEUS

M LICINIUS CRASSUS FELIX

NERONIS XI FROM 13 OCT TRIB POT XI FROM
SAMUEL DAY COS IV PONT MAX PAT PATR
IMP (?)

Sixteenth year of the reign of Agrippa II from
some time in the second quarter

1949. Nao makes his first appearance on
the boards of a public theatre at Naples. *C
Lecanio M Lacinio cos non tamen Roma
incipere ausus, Nrapolimi, quasi Giagam ubi
delegit* Tac Ann xv 33 Suet Nero, 20

1950. Josephus, when he is twenty-six (see
A D 38, no. 1541), comes to Rome. *Mer'*
*εἰκοσὸν δὲ καὶ ἔκτον ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς Ῥώμην μοι
συνέπεσεν ἀναβῆναι* Jos Vlt 3 He is ship-
wrecked by the way in Adria. On reach-
ing Puteoli he is introduced to Poppaea, and
obtains the release of some Jewish priests
whom Felix had sent bound to Rome. *καθ'*
*ὃν χρόνον Φηλὰς τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπετρόπευεν,
ἱερεῖς τινὰς συνήθεις ἡμοῖς, καλοὺς ἀγαθοὺς δια-
μακρὰν καὶ τῇ τυχεύσαν αἰτίαν ὤσας εἰς τὴν
Ῥώμην ἐπεμψεν λόγον φέροντας τῷ βασιλεῖ.*

*Βαπτισθεντος γὰρ ἡμῶν τοῦ πλοίου κατα-
μέσον τῶν Ἀδριαν περὶ ἑξακοσίων τὸν
ἐριθμὸν οἰτες εἰς ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐνηξά-
μεθα, καὶ περὶ ἀρχομένην ἡμέραν ἐπιφανέσας
ἡμεῖς καταθεῖν προνοῶν Κυρηναϊκοῦ πλοίου,
φθίσαντες τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐγὼ τε καὶ τινες ἑτέροι
ὁγδοήκοντα σύμπαντες, ἀνελήφθημεν εἰς τὸ
πλοῖον Διασθεῖς εἰς τὴν Δαμασκηάδα, ἣν
Ποππαιὸς Ἰταλὸς καλοῦσι, τὰ φίλις ἀρμόνην
Ἀλκυόνην (μυολόγου εἰ ἦν οὗτος ἀλλοστὰ τῷ
Νέρωνι καταθήμεος, Ἰουδαῖος, τὸ γένος), καὶ δὲ
αὐτοῦ Ποππία τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος γυναίκα γνω-
σθεῖς, προνοῶν ὡς τάχιστα παρακαλέσας ἀντὶν
τοὺς ἱερεῖς λυθῆσαι, μεγάλων δὲ δωρεῶν ποδὸς
τῇ ευεργεσίᾳ ταύτῃ τυχόν παρα τῆς Ποππίας
ἐπιστρέφον ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν Jos Vlt 3
Poppaea, as before observed, was a Jewish
proselite (see A D 61, no 1918), and as Jo-
sephus here calls Poppaea the wife of Nero, this
visit to Rome was about the marriage of Nao
to Poppaea (see A D 62, no 1924). We have
seen that at the beginning of the year Nero*

was performing upon the public stage at Naples (see *supra*, no. 1919), and this tallies with the statement of Josephus that at *Putcoli* (close to Naples) he became acquainted with Aliturus, an actor, and obtained through him an introduction to Poppea. The date is also confirmed by the statement of Josephus that on his return to Judaea he found the seeds of the Jewish war beginning to take root. *Ἰσχυροὶ ἐπὶ τῇ οἰκίᾳ. Καταλαβάνον δ' ἡδὲ νεοπερισμῶν ἀρχαὶ καὶ πολλοὶ ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἡποσίσει μέγα φρονούσας*. Jos. Vit. 2, 4. And the immediate causes of the rebellion were the cruelties and enormities of Gessius Florus, Ant. xx. 11, 1, who succeeded Albinus in the latter part of this year (see *infra*, no. 1961).

In some of the circumstances the shipwreck of Josephus resembles that of St. Paul, for both occurred on a voyage from Judaea to Italy, and both in the sea called *Adria*, and Josephus as well as St. Paul sailed on board another vessel to *Putcoli*. But the dates are very different, for the shipwreck of St. Paul was in A.D. 60, and that of Josephus four years later; and the one vessel had 276 men on board, Acts, xxvii. 57, and the other 600; the one vessel was run aground on the coast of Malta, *ἐπὶ ὁκεῖαν ῥήϊναι*, Acts, xxvii. 41; and the other foundered at sea, *βασιρθήσας τοῦ πλοῦ*, Jos. Vit. 3; Paul was carried on in the spring by a ship of Alexandria, *πλοῖον Ἀλεξανδρινόν*, Acts, xxviii. 11; but Josephus and eighty others were picked up at sea by a ship of Cyrene, etc. Indeed it is quite impossible, as some contend, that the two events can be identical.

1951. Nero, on his way from Naples to Brundisium, with the view of embarking for Greece, tarries at Beneventum to see a show. *Petiturusque maris Hadria trajectus, apud Beneventum interim consedit, ubi gladiatorum munus a Vatinio celebre edebatur* (his *cons.*). Tac. Ann. xv. 34.

1952. Torquatus Silius is put upon his trial, and kills himself (his *cons.*). Tac. Ann. xv. 35. Dion, lxxi. 27.

1953. Nero changes his mind, and, relinquishing his voyage to Greece, returns to Rome, and proposes to visit Egypt. *Nec multo post, missis in praesens Achaia (causae in incerto finis), urbem reversit, provincias Orientis, maxime Egyptum, secretis imaginationibus agitante* (his *cons.*). Tac. Ann. xv. 36.

1954. He ascends the Capitulum, etc. etc.

out for Egypt, and suddenly abandons his plan. *Super ea profectione ultit Caputium . . . repleta . . . deservit ineptum*. Tac. Ann. xv. 36.

1955. The great fire at Rome begins on 19 July and lasts for six days. *Entre qui adnatarent xic. Katak. Scatiles principum incendii hujus ortum*. Tac. Ann. xv. 41. *Sexto decimo die apud imas Esquilias finis incendio factus* (his *cons.*). Tac. Ann. xv. 40. Suet. Nero, 38.

Nero, when the fire broke out, was at Antium, but came to Rome on the fire approaching his palace. *Eo in tempore Nero, Antii agens, non tunc in urbem regressus est quam domus ejus, quod palatium et Maccenatis hortos continuaverat, ignis propinquaret*. Tac. Ann. xv. 39.

1956. Nero imputes the origin of the fire to the Christians, and commences a persecution of them. *Sed non ope humani, non largitionibus principis aut debet, provocante deus, sed infamia, quia jussam incendium crederetur. Ergo, abolendo rumor, Nero subdidit reus, et questissimis penis afflicti quos per flagitia acris vulpes Christianis culpabat. Ausus nominis ejus Christus, Tiberio imperitante, per Procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat. Repressaque in praesens exitiabilis superstitione rursus erumpbat, non vultu per Julorum originem ejus mali, sed per urbem etiam, quo euncta undique atrociter aut potendo confiant celebrantque. Igitur primo coarctati qui fitebantur, deinde, iudicio eorum, multitudo ingens, haud perinde in crimine incendii quam odio humani generis convicti sunt. Et percontantibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergo coniecti, laniati canum interirent, aut crucibus afflicti; aut flammati, atque ubi defecisset dies in usum nocturni humanis urebantur. Hortos suos ei spectaculo Nero obtulit, et Circense ludium dabat, habitu varique permixtos pluri vel curriculo insidentes. Unde, quatuordecim adhaerens centis et novissimum explevit, relictos, miserum spectabat, tamquam non utilitate publici, sed in exitium unius abuteretur* (his *cons.*). Tac. Ann. xv. 44. Afflicti supplicio Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novae ac maleficae. Suet. Nero, 16. The persecution is also alluded to by Juvenal:—

Pone Tigellinum, tanta luebis in illi.
Quid stantes ardent qui fixo gutture fumant,
Et latum mediis sulcum deducis arat.

Juv. Lib. 1. Sat. l. v. 155.

And by Martial —

*In matulind nuper spectatus arend
Mucius imposuit qui sua membra focus,
Se putens fortisque tibi illiusque videtur,
Abili stant pectora plebis habes
Nam cum dicatur tunica presente molestā
Ute munum, plus est dicere 'non fucio'*
Martial, Lib x Ep 25

1957. Nero builds the golden palace (*his* *cos*), Tac Ann xv 42, Suet Nero, 31, and ransacks the provinces to adorn it with the finest statues, etc. Acratus and Secundus Caprimas are sent to Asia and Achaia for the purpose. *Per Asiam aliquae Achaiam non dona tantum, sed simulacra plurimum abstriebantur missi in eas provincias Acratio ac Secundo Caprimate* (*his* *cos*). Tac Ann xv 45

1958. Seneca, to avoid the obloquy of these proceedings, shuts himself up in his house. *Ferebatur Seneca fida valetudine, quasi aeger nervis, cubiculum non egressus* Tac. Ann xv 45

1959. A comet appears towards the close of the year. *Fine anni vulgantur prodigia, imminetum malorum nuntia Vis fulgurum non alius crebrior, et etidus cometes sanguine iulustri semper Neion exornatum* (*his* *cos*). Tac Ann xv 47 *Stella crinita, quae summis potestatibus exitium portendere vulgo putatur, per continuas noctes in vi caperat* Suet Nero, 36

1960. About this time, Agrippa removes Jesus, son of Damnaeus, from the pontificate, and appoints Jesus, son of Gamaliel. *Λαμβάνει δὲ καὶ Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Γαμαλιλ τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς Δοχιερωσύνης πνευ τοῦ βασιλέως, Ἰησοῦν ἀφελόμενον τὸν τοῦ Δαρμαίου.* Jos Ant x x 9, 4 This is related by Josephus under the procuratorship of Albinus, and just before the arrival of Gessius Florus (see A D 62, no 1932, A D 65, no 1979)

1961. Albinus is succeeded by Gessius Florus as procurator of Judea Jos Bell ii 14, 2, Ant xv 11, 1 (see A D 62, no 1929). The appointment of Gessius Florus was sometime between 19 April, A D 64, and 19 April, A D 65, for the Jewish war, which began on 19 April, A D 66, broke out in the second year of the rule of Florus. *καὶ δὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβὼν ὁ πόλεμος, δεύτερος μὲν ἔτει τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς Φλώρου, ὠδεκίτω δὲ τῆς Νέρωνος ἀρχῆς.* Ant xv 11, 1 Had Florus arrived before 19 April, A D 64, the commencement of the war would have

been in the third year of his rule, and had Florus arrived after 19 April, A D 65, it would have been in the first year of his rule.

1962. Costius Gallus is about the same time appointed prefect of Syria, for he appears to have been already for some time in office at the Passover A D 66. *Μέχρι μὲν οὖν ἐν Συρίᾳ θέσταις Γάλλος ἦν προέστην τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, οὐδὲ πρεσβεύουσθαι τις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐτόλμησε κατὰ τοῦ Φλώρου, παραγενόμενον ἐξ εἰς ἱερουσόλυμα τῆς τῶν Ἀζύμων ἑορτῆς ἐνστάσης* (Passover A D 66) *περιστάς α ὄμιος ἕστευεν.* Jos Bell ii 14, 3 And see Jos Vit 67, 71, Tac Hist v. 10 (see A D 63, no 1916, A D 67, no 2015) The changes in the prefecture of Syria and the procuratorship of Judea were very commonly contemporaneous (See A D 60, nos 1892, 1893, A D 41, no 1679, A D 12, nos 1046, 1047, A D 6, no 1012)

1963. Paul, in the spring, leaves Timothy at Ephesus, and sails himself with Titus to Crete, where, after making a circuit, he leaves Titus to complete the work begun, and returns himself to Ephesus. Here he gives a charge to Timothy, and leaving him there, proceeds to Macedonia. He visits Philippi, from which he passes on to Corinth, whence he writes the First Epistle to Timothy, and the Epistle to Titus. Hence he advances to Nicopolis, in Epirus, where he winters, and where Titus was to rejoin him from Crete.

That Paul had been in Crete not long before the date of the Epistle to Titus is evident from the passage, *τούτου χάριν κατέλιπί σε ἐν Κρήτῃ*, Tit i 5, and that he had gone thither from Ephesus, and again touched at Ephesus on his way from Crete to Macedonia, may be collected from his words to Timothy *καθὼς παρελάσθαι σε προσμεῖναι ἐν Ἐφεσῇ πορευόμενος εἰς Μακεδονίαν*, etc 1 Tim i 3 The word *προσμεῖναι*, to stay on, implies, first, that Paul had placed him there, when the Apostle was last at Ephesus, and, secondly, that Paul, on his way to Macedonia, had desired him to continue there. That Paul, while in Macedonia, visited Philippi, we may infer from his promise to them while he was a prisoner at Rome. *ἡδέποιθα ἐξ ἐν Κυρίῳ, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ταχέως ἐλεύσομαι* Philip ii 24 From Macedonia he would naturally go down to Corinth (whence the Epistles, the First to Timothy, and the Epistle to Titus, appear to have been written), and that he wintered at Nicopolis we may pic-

same from the intention to that effect expressed in his letter to Titus. Ὅταν πρῶτον Ἀρετῶν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἰδύμεν, σπουδαίον ἔλθειν πρὸς με εἰς Νύκτοπλιν. Ἐπὶ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ πιστευθήσεται. Tit. iii. 12. It may be safely assumed that the Epistles, the First to Timothy, and the Epistle to Titus, were written after Paul's liberation from imprisonment at Rome.

1963 a. Coin of Nero.

Πομπαι Σάββαη ΙΑ. + Νῆρω. Κλαρ. Καπ. Σεβ.
Rep. Ae. (i. e. in the eleventh year of Nero).
Eckhel, iv. 55.

Coin of Alexandria.

Πομπαι Σάββαη ΙΑ. ΙΑ. + Νῆρω. Κλαρ. Καπ.
Σεβ. Rep. Ae. Id. iv. 55.

Second year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 21.

Pentecost, May 11.

Tabernacles, September 15.

A.D. 65. U.C. 818. Olymp. 211, 1.

A. IULIUS NERVA SUTANUS.

M. VESTENTIS ATTICUS. Qui in mag. oceanus est.

Ex Kal. Jul.

PLACIDUS LATEBRANS. Qui antequam infiret oceanus est.

ANCIUS CEREALIS.

NERONIS XII. FROM 18 OCT. TRIB. POT. XII.
FROM SAME DAY. COS. IV. POST. MAX. PAT.
PATR. IMP. (?)

Seventeenth year of the reign of Agrippa II.
from some time in the second quarter.

1964. The Olympia are not celebrated this year, as Nero postponed them till he should arrive in Greece. Δυσκοινοσὴ ἐδεκάτη. Οὐκ ἔχθη Νέωνος ἀνελυλλομένης εἰς τὴν ταυτοῖ ἐπερχομένης. Μετὰ δὲ ἔτη εἰς ἀρχήσιν αὐτῆς, etc. Synchronus, Olymp. 211. *Non est actu Nerone in suam praesentiam differente.* Hieron. Chron. *Non est celebrati Olympiis quia Nervus distulit illum donec se illuc ipse conferret.* Euseb. Chron. Lib. i. p. 160, Armen. Vers.; and see Lib. ii. anno 2080, ib. Εἰς δὲ ἀληθεῖν τὸ ἐπιγράμμα, Ὀλυμπιάδι τῇ πρώτῃ μετὰ δέκα καὶ ἑκατοστίς φαινοσιν ὅτι τὸν κτίστον ὁ Ζεὺς φέταμος εὐληθὴς· αὕτη δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις γράμμασι παύεται μόνη πασῶν ἢ Ὀλυμπιάς. Pausan. x. 36, 4 (see A.D. 66, no. 1996).

1965. A conspiracy of Piso against Nero is

discovered at Rome. The assassination of Nero had been fixed by them for the *Circenses ludii Cereales*. Tandem statuerunt Circensium ludorum die qui Cereis celebratur caesariis delictis, quia Censor rarus oppressu, domoque aut hortis clausus, ad ludicra Circi ventitabat, promptioresque aditus erant litiis spectaculi (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xv. 63. *Tum dona et gratias deis decernuntur . . . utque Circensium Cerecium ludicrum pluribus eorum curulis celebraretur, mensisque Aprilis Neronis cognomentum acciperet.* Tac. Ann. xv. 74. *Et mensis qui Aprilis, eundemque Neronem, sequetur Maius Claudii, Junius Germanici, exculis mutantur.* Tac. Ann. xvi. 12; and see Suet. Nero, 36. The *Circenses ludii Cereales* were celebrated on xiii. Kal. Mai, or 19 April. Fasti Verriani and Old Calendar, cited Fasti Rom. A.D. 65; and see Ovid Fasti, iv. 679.

1966. Death of Seneca. *Sequitur cordes Aenari Seneca, latissima Principi* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xv. 60. *Seneca praefectorem ad necem (Nero) compulsi.* Suet. Nero, 35. Dion. lxii. 25.

1967. The death of Fenius Rufus, one of the two prefects of the Praetorium (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xv. 68.

1968. Nymphidius Sabinus is appointed in his place. Νυμφιδίος γὰρ Σαβίνος, ὡς ἐπαρχος, ὥστερ εἶρηται, μετὰ Τυγελλίνου τῆς αἰδῆς, etc. Plut. Galb. 2, 8. Suet. Galb. 11. Tac. Hist. i. 5 (see A.D. 62, no. 1919; A.D. 68, no. 2069).

1969. The death of Lucan, the poet, the son of Mela, the brother of Seneca (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xv. 70. This is placed by Auctor Vitae on 30 April. *Sua sponte coactus vitam excedere venas sibi praecidit peritulum prid. Kal. Maias, Attico Vestino et Nerva Sgillono Coss. xxvii. abitis annum agens.* See Fasti Romani.

1970. The banishment of Rufius Crispinus, the first husband of Poppaea (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xv. 71.

1971. Musonius Rufus, the philosopher, is banished. *Musonius Rufus claritudo nominis expulsi . . . Stadia juvenum Musonius praecipis sapientiae furebat* (his coss.). Tac. Ann. xv. 71. *Ῥούφος μέγιστος Μεσσήνιος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐπὶ τοῖς τοῖς ἐργασθεῖν.* Dion. lxii. 27. May not this have been the Rufus saluted by St. Paul in the Epistle to the Romans? Rom. xvi. 13 (see A.D. 67, no. 2056).

1972. Gallio, the brother of Seneca, is in fear of his life, *Junium Gallionem Seneca*

fratris morte pavidum et pro sua incolumitate supplicem intercessit Salernus Clemens, hostem et periculis suis (his cross), Tac Ann xvi 73 and ultimately he was put to death. The latter event was subsequent to the death of Seneca καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ (Seneca) ὕστερον ἐκπαύοντο Dion, l.c. 25. The death is consciously referred by Iusebi Chonicon to the tenth year of Nero *Junius Annus Galio, frater Senecae egregius declamator, priusquam se morte interjecit* Hieron Anno 2080, 10 Nerous (A.D. 64-65).

1973. The Quinquennalia are celebrated for the second time (see A.D. 61, no. 1909) *Ac forte quinquennale ludium secundo lustro celebrabatur* (his cross) Tac Ann xvi 2, and see Suet Nero, 21. The celebration was probably at midsummer, the time of the Olympia, of which they were a copy.

Nero sings on the public stage at the theatres, and Vespasian, the future emperor, is one of the audience (his cross) Tac Ann xvi 4, 5.

1974. The death of Poppaea, shortly after the Quinquennalia *Post finem ludiorum Porrepta moritur odit* (his cross) Tac Ann xvi 6 Dion, l.c. 27. Porrepta was buried, and not burnt *Corpus non igni ablatum, ut Romanus mos, sed regium exequiorum consuetudine dignum odioribus conditum, tumuloque Juliorum infertur* Tac Ann xvi 6. This was probably from her being a Jewish proselyte Θεοσεβής γὰρ ἦν Jos Ant xv 8, 11.

1975. Death of Lucius Vetus, late proconsul of Asia (his cross) Tac Ann xvi 10 (see A.D. 58, no. 1850 and infra, no. 1977).

1976. The year is attended with incessant storms and plagues in Italy. *Tot faminiibus furtum annuum etiam Du tempestatibus et morbis insignitis* *domus corporibus exanimis, iussa a funeribus complebantur* (his cross) Tac Ann xvi 13. As Tacitus records this amongst the very last events of the year, the prevalence of the plague and storms was probably toward the close of the year.

1977. Barco Solanus is at this time proconsul of Asia, and is engaged in clearing out the port (see supra, no. 1975, A.D. 58, no. 1850, A.D. 68, no. 2071).

1978. The Temple of Jerusalem, begun by Herod, is at length completed "Ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐτετέλεστο Jos Ant xv 9, 7. This is related after the arrival of Cestius Florus (see A.D. 64, no. 1961), and before the

outbreak of the Jewish war, on 19 April, A.D. 66 (see that year, no. 2006).

1979. Agrippa ieiunioses Jesus, the son of Gamaliel, from the high-priesthood, and appoints Matthias, the son of Theophilus Ἰησοῦν δὲ τὸν τοῦ Γεμαλιὴλ τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀφελόμενος ἔδωκεν αὐτῇν Μαθθαί τῷ Θεοφιλου, καθ' ὃν καὶ οὗτος Ῥωμαίους πόλεμος Ἰουδαίους ἐλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν. Jos Ant xv 9, 7. This is related next after the completion of the Temple (see A.D. 64, no. 1980, A.D. 67, no. 2059).

1980. The martyrdom of St. Peter may be placed about this time. It is universally ascribed to the period of the general persecution of the Christians under Nero. Clement, his contemporary, writes thus—"Ἄλλ' ἵνα τῶν ἀρχαίων υποδειγμάτων πανσώματα ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑγγιστοὺς γενομένους ἀθλητάς. Λάβωμεν τῆς γενομένης ταῦτα γενναίᾳ υποδείγματα. Διὰ ζῆλον καὶ φόβον οἱ μέγιστοι καὶ δικαιοτάτοι σφόδρα ἐδιώχθησαν καὶ ἕως θανάτου ἦλθον. Ἀνέβωμεν πρὸς τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἡμῶν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀποστόλους. Ὁ Πέτρος δια ζῆλον ἀδικῶν οὐκ ἐνὶ οὐδὲ φόβῳ, ἀλλὰ πλείονος ὑπὲρβηκεν τόνου, καὶ αὐτῷ μαρτυρήσας ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. ὁμοιωσάμενος τὸν τρόπον τῆς ζωῆς. Διὰ ζῆλον καὶ ὁ Παῦλος ὑπομνήσας βραβεῖον ὑπέσχετο, ἑκπῶνος ἔσχατα φερσας, φυγαδευθείς, λιθοβοληθείς, κήρυξ γενόμενος ἐν τε τῇ ἀπειροχλίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ δυσί. τὸ γενναίον τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ κλέος ἐλαβεν, δικαιοσύνην ἠδεδέσας ἔλκον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρας τῆς δύσεως ἑλθὼν καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων οὕτως ἀπὸ πᾶσιν τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τόπον ἐπορεύθη, ὑπαγομένης γενόμενος μέγιστος ὑπογραμμός. Τοῦτο τοῖς ἡνδοῦσι οὐκ ὁμοιωσάμενοις συνηθροίσθη πολὺ πλῆθος ἐκλεκτῶν, οἵτινες πολλὰς πειλίας καὶ βασάνους διὰ ζῆλον καθόρται ὑπόδειγμα κάλλιστον ἐγένοντο ἐν ἡμῖν Clem 1 Epist. Cap 5. From the deaths of Peter and Paul being coupled with the martyrdom of a multitude of others, we may collect that a general persecution was then raging, and the only one up to the time of Clement was that under Nero, and which arose from, and followed not long after the great fire at Rome, which broke out on 19 July, A.D. 64 (see that year, no. 1985). It will be observed that in this the earliest testimony the martyrdoms of St. Peter and St. Paul are not, as in many later writers, coupled together as contemporaneous, but the death of St. Peter precedes in the narrative that of St.

Paul. Eusebius, in his History, gives the following account:—*Ταύτῃ γὰρ αὐτὸς (Nero) θεωμάχος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα πρῶτος ἀνακηρυχθεὶς ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπιβολῇ σφαγῆς. Παῦλος δὲ οὐδ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς Πώμης τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτηνθῆναι, καὶ Πέτρος ἀπαύτως ἀνασκολοπιθῆναι κατ' αὐτὸν ἰστοροῦνται . . . Ὡς δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρμος καθρὶν ἐμαρτύρησαν Κοῖνι θίαν ἐπίσκοπος Διονύσιος ἐγγράφως Ῥωμαίους ἀμείβων ὡς πῶς παρίστανται . . . Καὶ γὰρ ἄρμος καὶ ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν Κόμην θανόντες ἐλαμναι ἡμῶς ὁμολογεῖσθαι ὁραῖος ἐκ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἡρώς ἐκείνων ἐμαρτυρησάντων κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἡμετέρος.* Euseb. *He. Hist.* ii. 25. The expression in this passage, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον means only about the same time, viz. in the same general persecution. In another work, Eusebius merely observes, Πέτρος δὲ ἐπὶ Πώμης κατὰ κεφαλὴς στυγερῶς, Παῦλος τε ἀποτέμεται. Euseb. *Deon. Evang.* iii. 3, p. 116. But in his Chronicle, Eusebius places these events expressly in the thirtieth year of Nero. *Nero ad cetera sedem persecutionum quorū Christianorum prius advenit, sub quo relictus Petrus et Paulus Apostoli Martirianus Romae consummaverunt.* Euseb. *Chronicon*, Olymp. 211, 4, Anno Abrahami 2083, Neronis 130 (Armenian version). However, as Eusebius has fixed the reign of Nero one year too late, the martyrdoms of St. Peter and St. Paul must be referred to the twelfth, and not to the thirteenth, year of Nero; and with this agrees the testimony of Epiphanius. *Μετὰ τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου τιμωρῆν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείτῳ ἔτει Νέρωνος γενόμενῃ.* Epiphani. *Haeres.* Lib. i. Haeres. 27. Assuming the martyrdom of St. Peter to have been in the twelfth year of Nero, it was after 13 October of this year, when the twelfth year began; and as the martyrdom of St. Paul was on 29 June of the next year (see A.D. 66, no. 1939), both martyrdoms fell within the twelfth year of Nero. Jerome, in his version of Eusebius's Chronicle, places the martyrdom of St. Peter, as also that of St. Paul, anno 2081, Neronis 14^o; and in another work, he refers the death of both to the fourteenth of Nero, and places both on the very same day. *Paulus ergo xiv. Neronis anno, eodem die quo Petrus, Roma pro Christo truncatus caputque est in Vā Ostiensi.* Hieron. *Catal.* c. 5, cited *Fasti Romani*. But Jerome is here certainly mistaken as to the year, and we cannot suppose that he had any

sufficient warrant as to the day. Orosius writes as follows.—*Primus Romae Christianos supplicis et mortibus affecit (Nero) ac per omnes provincias pari persecutione exercitari imperavit; ipsaque novam extirpare conatus ventis-ans Christi Apostolus, Petrus cunctis, Paulum gladio occidit.* Mos accuratim nostram civitatem clerta antiqua opprobria clades, non subsequenti autumno tanta urbi pestilentia incubuit, ut triginta millis fuerim in rationem libidine venient. Oros. vii. 7. Orosius, therefore, placed the death of both Peter and Paul in A.D. 65, for the pestilence was in the latter part of it (see ante, no. 1976). In *Christianus sacris scriptis, post etiam datis legibus religio venditatur; postea quia ab eis persequitur Christianum esse non licebat. Tunc Paulus et Petrus capitis divinati quorum uni cerere gladio desecit, Petrus in crucem subitus est.* Quia haec Roma geruntur Judaei pessidit et Petri (Clerge Gessi) Flori injuriam non ferentes rebellare ceperunt. Sulpic. Severus, II. s. ii. 41, 42. The coupling the persecution at Rome during this year and the next with the outbreak of the Jewish war would be strictly correct (see A.D. 66, nos. 1939 and 2006). The testimonies of other fathers are still less explicit as to time. *Orientum fides a Roma prius Nero cruciavit. Tunc Petrus ab altario vincitur* (see the prophecy, John, xxi. 18), *cum cruci adstringitur. Tunc Iudaea cruciata Romana consequitur libertatem.* Tertullian, *Scorpiae.* c. 15; and see *Contra Marc.* iv. 5; *Præcepit.* Haeres. c. 3. *Cum animavit Petrus (Nero) non modo Romam, sed ubique, quotidie nequam multitudinem de-ferre a cultu idolorum, et ad religionem novam, dominatū reinstat, transire, ut erat execrabilis ac nocens tyrannus, prosilivit ad excidentium ecclesie templum delendumque justitiam, et prius nationem persecutus Dei servos, Petrum cruci ad-plexit, et Paulum interfecit.* Lactant. *de Mortib.* Persecuti. c. 2.

1981. The labours of Paul this year appear to have been these:—Having passed the winter at Nicopolis in Epirus (see A.D. 64, no. 1963), he advanced into Dalmatia (whither he afterwards sent Titus, as one acquainted with them during this circuit. *Τίτος εἰς Δαλματίας.* 2 Tim. iv. 10). He thence proceeded through Macedonia to Thracia, where he left his cloak and parchments. *Τὸν περικλόνει ὅν ἀπέλειπον ἐν Τρωάδι παρὰ Κάρπῳ ἐρχόμενος ῥίπα καὶ τὰ βιβλία, μάλιστα τὰς μεμβράνας.* 2 Tim. iv.

13 Thence to Ephesus where he had commanded Timothy to wait till his arrival Ταῦτά σοι γράφω ἑλπίζων ἔλθεῖν πρὸς σε τάχιτι, ἐὰν δὲ βραδύνω ἰσὶ αἰδῆς πῶς δεῖ ἐν οἴκῳ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἀσπασθῆναι 1 Tim iii 14. Here from the bitter persecution by Nero of the Christians he seems to have been deserted by many of his Ephesian followers Οἷδας τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπεσπράφην με πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ 2 Tim i 15. He was then arrested himself and imprisoned at Ephesus, and visited and comforted by Onesiphorus Δῶν ἔλεις ὁ Κύριος τῷ Ὀνησιφόρῳ αἰετῇ ὅτι πολλοὺς με ἀπέφυγε καὶ τὴν αἰσχρὰν μου οὐκ ἐπρόσχυνε καὶ ὅσα ἐν Ἱερουσολέμῃ βέλτιον σὺ γινώσκεις 2 Tim i 16-18. From Ephesus he was sent prisoner to Rome, and touched by the way at Miletus, where he left Trophimus sick Τρόφιμον δὲ ἀπέλειπον ἐν Μιλήτῳ ἀσθενοῦντα 2 Tim iv 20. He then passed (as it was winter) over the isthmus of Corinth, where he parted from Erastus, who was a native of that city Ἐραστὸς ἐμμένει ἐν Κορινθῷ 2 Tim iv 20. [NB King Agrippa, three years after this, crossed the isthmus at the same season in the same way Ἰεροππας ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς Γάβριαν ἔπλει καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἀχαιῆς, χειμῶνος γὰρ ἦν ὥρα, etc. Jos Bell iv 2, 2.]

On arriving at Rome Paul is kept a prisoner, but receives great comfort from Onesiphorus, who arrived there soon after him. Ἀλλὰ γενόμενος (Onesiphorus) ἐν Ῥώμῃ σπουδαίστερον ἐζητήσέ με καὶ εὖρε 2 Tim i 17.

1982. Demostriatus is archon at Athens. "Ἀρχοντες Ἰθρήνησι Δημοστράτου, ὑπατεύουσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ Αἰλίου Δουκίου Νηρού Σιλαίου καὶ Μάρκου Οὐέστερου Ἀτταίου Phleg Mirab Muller's Frag Græc Hist iii 622.

1983. Coin of Alexandria

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ Ι ΒΒ + ΝΩ ΚΛΑΥ ΚΑΙΣ ΣΕΒ ΤΙΡ 17. The Egyptians dated the reign from 1 Thoth, or 29 Aug., and 1B the twelfth year of Nero therefore began on 29 Aug. of this year, and if the coin be genuine Poppæa survived that day (see ante no 1974). Eckhel, iv 55.

A coin of King Agrippa

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ Tabernaeanum + L E ΤΙΣ ΕΡΙΑ Agrippa in his coinage reckoned A D 61 as the first of his reign. Why this was does not appear, but the fact is incontrovertible. Thus on one coin we have IMP C P D T P P F DOM AVS CUS III CVPET

Donatiani laqueatum + ΕΠΙ ΝΩ ΑΓΡ ΕΓ ΚΣ. Caducens inter duples coinmunicat. Donatius was consul III in A D 86, which was therefore the twenty-sixth year of Agrippa, so that A D 61 was his first year. The coin first above-mentioned was struck in the fifth year of his reign, and therefore in A D 65.

Eckhel, iii 493. See also Wieseler's Chronol Apostol 90, note (1).

Insurrection

Neroni Cl Caus Aug Paul Mar ob proime latronib et his qui novam gentem Iouannem inprostitutione uentibus pnugetum (Marque-ri in Hispania) Grueter, 238, 9. The inscription, if genuine, may be placed about this time.

Third year of the Sabbatic cycle

Passover, April 9

Pentecost, May 50

Tabernacles, October 4

A D 66. U.C. 819. Olymp 211, 2.

C LECTUS TRIBUNUS
C SUBROTIUS PARMENTA

NI RONIS XIII FROM 13 OCTOBER TRID POF XII FROM VIMF DAY COS IV PONI MAX PAT PATR AND IMP XI For an old inscription thus, IMP XI TR P AHP COS IV, and the thirteenth year of the Tribunitian Power answers to A D 66. See Eckhel, vi 282 (see infra, no 1989).

Eighteenth year of the reign of Agrippa II from some time in the second quarter.

1984. Nero is timid from the late conspiracy against him, and puts Ostorius to death from apprehension of his military fame. Ostorius melius Neroni fecerat, ne inuaderet paruum semper et sepeid nuper conuersione magis exterritum (his coas). Tac Ann xvi 15.

1985. Mela the brother of Seneca, and Rufius Crispinus, who had been prefect of the praetorium, are put to death. Pueros quippe intra dies, eodem agmine, Annas Mela, Cerialis Annius, Rufius Crispinus ac C Petronius cecidere. Mela et Crispinus equites Romanum dignitate senatoria nam hic quondam Praefectus Praetorii Mela, quibus Gallio et Seneca praetibus natus (his coas). Tac Ann xvi 17, and see Dion, lvi 25.

1986. Nero quits Rome for Baalos in Campania. Forte illis diebus Campaniam petiuit Ceras, et Cerasus usque progreusus Petronius illic adinebatur (his coas). Tac Ann xvi 19.

1987. Imolates the Paphlagon king of Ai-

menia (see A.D. 63, no 1945) (with his sons and those of Volagases, king of Parthia, and of Pacorus, satrap of Media, and of Monobazus, king of Adiabene), arrives in Italy, attended by 3000 Parthian horsemen (*his eos*). Dion, lxiii. 1, 2. He came by way of Illyria and round the Adriatic, *ἐκ τοῦ Ἰλλυρικῷ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰόνιον*, Dion, lxiii. 7; and then through Picenum, and joined Nero at Naples. *Καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλικῶν ἐς Νεῶν πόλιν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφίκετο*. Dion, lxiii. 2. The journey occupied nine months. *Καὶ τοῦτο ἐπ' ἐννέα μῆνας, οἷς ὠλοῦσθαι, ὁμοίως ἐγένετο*. Dion, lxiii. 2; and see Suet. Nero, 13; Plin. N. H. xxx. 6.

1988. Nero entertains Tiridates with a show at Puteoli. *Ὁ οὖν Νέρων καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ αὐτῷ (Τιριδάτει) θεωρίας, τῶστε ἄλλως ἐκείνωντο καὶ μονομαχίας ἐν Πουτεύλοις ἔθετα*. Dion, lxiii. 3.

1989. From Campania Nero accompanies Tiridates to Rome, and makes a triumphal entry, and then publicly crowns him. *Μετὰ δὲ τούτοις τε τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτὸν ὁ Νέρων ἀνέγαγε καὶ τὸ, ἑσπέρῃ αὐτῷ ἔπεθεκε*. Dion, lxiii. 4. The proceedings are described in Dion, lxiii. 4. Suet. Nero, 13. Nero is saluted Imperator, and the temple of Janus is shut. *Ob quæ (the pageant of Tiridates) Imperator consulatus, laurus in Capitolina latu, Janum genium clausit, tanquam nullo residuo bello*. Suet. Nero, 13.

1990. Thrasea Pætus and Barea Soranus are put to death (*his eos*). Tac. Ann. xvi. 21-35. It would almost seem that they suffered as Christians, for the charge against Thrasea was that he refused to sacrifice to the emperor, the test by which Christians were tried. *Ὅτε ἴθυσεν τῇ ἡπὶ αὐτοῦ φωνῇ, ὥσπερ ὁ ἄλλος*. Dion, lxii. 26. *Nunquam pro salute Principis aut celesti voce hamuluisse*. Tac. Ann. xvi. 22. And he was charged with contumacy. *Ejusdem animi est, Poppæam Divam non credere, cujus in actu Divi Augusti et Divi Julii non jurare. Spernit religiones, abrogat leges*. Tac. Ann. xvi. 22; and he was accused as one, *qui fora, theatra, templa, pro solitudine haberet*. Tac. Ann. xvi. 23. And Soranus was charged with practising magical rites. *Quod pecuniam magis (filia ejus) dilargita esset*. Tac. Ann. xvi. 30. *Σοφρονίου μὲν οὖν ὡς καὶ μαγευατὴν τοῖς ἐκ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐκρημένους, ἐπειδὴ παθήσαντος αὐτοῦ θυσίαν τοῦ ἁβέστανου, ἐπέλεγε*. Dion, lxii. 26. They were both put to death, not for any real crime, but for their virtues. *Τῆς τε συμπύσης ἀρετῆς*

τὰ πρῶτα ἀνέκρινες. Dion, lxii. 26. *Trucidatis tot insignibus viris ut postremo Nero virtutem ipsam conspectibus conciperet, interfecto Thrasea Peto et Barea Sorano*. Tac. Ann. xvi. 21.

Barea Soranus had been proconsul of Asia, and had promoted the public weal by attempting to clear out the port of Ephesus, which had begun to be choked up. His year of office must have been from midsummer A.D. 64 to mid-summer A.D. 65, for he was proconsul when, after the great fire at Rome (see A.D. 64, no. 1955), Acratus was sent to Asia to plunder the towns of statues and paintings. *At Barea Soranum jam sibi Ostorius Sabinus, eques Romanus poposcerat rem ex proconsulatu Asia, in qua offensiones Principis auxilii justitiae atque industriae, et quia portui Ephesiorum aperiendo curam insumpserat, vanaque civitatis Pergamene prohibentis Acratum Caesaris libertam statuas et picturas avehere inultum ausierat*. Tac. Ann. xvi. 23.

1991. The deaths of Pætus and Soranus occurred just as Tiridates and Nero were approaching Rome from Puteoli. *Tempus damnationi delectum quo Tiridates occipiendo Armenis regno adventabat*. Tac. Ann. xvi. 23. The people having gone out to meet Nero and Tiridates, Thrasea sought an interview with Nero and was refused, and then addressed a memorial to him. *Omni civitate ad excipiendum Principem (Neronem) spectandamque regem (Tiridatem) effusa, Thrasea occursum prohibitus non denisit animum, sed codicillos ad Neronem composuit*. Tac. Ann. xvi. 24. Thrasea was then accused in the senate, but Nero, being engaged with Tiridates, did not appear in the senate, but sent his questor. *Oratio Principis per Quaestorem ejus audita est*. Tac. Ann. xvi. 27. [With the deaths of Pætus and Soranus the Annals of Tacitus unfortunately end, the remaining books being irrecoverably lost.]

1992. At what time Tiridates arrived at Rome is not stated, but the hot weather had set in, as may be inferred from the use of purple awnings as a screen from the sun. *Τάγε μὲν παρατεταγμένα τὰ ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος ἐκταθέντα, ὥστε τὸν ἥλιον ἀπερύκει, ἰδοὺργα ἦν, καὶ ἐν μίσθῳ αὐτῶν ἄρρα ἱαλῶν ὁ Νέρων ἐτίσταντο*. Dion, lxiii. 6. Tiridates returned by way of Brundisium to Dyrrhachium, and thence through Asia. *Ἀνεκρίσθη δὲ . . . ἐς τὸ Δυρράχιον ἐκ τοῦ Βροντίσιον πλεύσας, καὶ εἰς καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἰστίᾳ πόλεις*. Dion, lxiii. 7.

1993. St Paul writes from Rome the Second Epistle to Timothy, the last of his letters. That he was a prisoner at Rome at the time appears from the epistle itself. Μὴ οὖν ἐπι-σχυρήσῃς ἐμὲ τὸν δεσμὸν αὐτοῦ 2 Tim i 8. Τὴν ἀλυσὶν μου οὐκ ἐπρσχύνῃς, ἀλλὰ γενόμενος ἐν Ῥώμῃ σπουδαίστερον ἐξήγησέ με καὶ εὖρε Ib i 16. Ἐν ᾧ (the Gospel) ἐπισπαθῶ μεχρὶ δεσμῶν ὡς καιὸς γὰρ Ib ii 9. And he had already been brought to trial once (perhaps before Nero, designated as the Lion), when he had been either acquitted on the count first brought forward or the trial had been adjourned. Ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ μοι ἀπολογία οὐδεὶς μοι συμπαρεγέετο, ἀλλὰ πάντες με ἐγκατέλιπον. καὶ ἐρόσθη ἐς σήμερον Δεῖστος Ib iv 16, 17. The letter was probably written a little before midsummer, for Timothy at the time was somewhere in Asia. Τὸν φυλάσκον ὃν ἀπελπίοι ἐν Ἰερῶσι παρὰ Κάρπῳ ἐρχόμενος φέρε καὶ αὐτὸ βιβλία μάλιστα τὰς μεμνημένας Ib iv 13. And yet Timothy was entrusted to come to Rome from that distance before winter. Σπούδασον πρὸ χριμῶσις ελθεῖν Ib iv 21. And the date was (if the Apostle's own forebodings were realised) not long before his death. Ὅγῳ γὰρ ἰδὲ σπείδομαι, καὶ οὐ καὶρός τῇ ἐμῇ αἰολύσει, ἐρεσσηκε Ib iv 6.

1994. After dismissing Timotheus, Nero undertakes an expedition to Parthia, or Ethiopia, or the shores of the Caspian, but finally resolves on going to Greece. Dion, lxxii 8. Suet. Nero, 19. Nero is accompanied to Greece by Tigellinus. Ἰὸν γὰρ Τίγελλινον ἐν προσθήκῃς μέρει τοῦ Νερωνίου, ὅτι συν αὐτῷ ἦν, τίθημι Dion, lxxii 12. And Helius, the friendman, is left in command at Rome. Τοῦ μέντοι ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πάντας Ἰλίω τινὶ Καίσαρῳ ἐκδόντος παρδωκε πάντα γὰρ ἄπλως αὐτῷ ἐπιτέτραπτο, ὥστε καὶ δημεύειν καὶ φυγαδεύειν καὶ ἀποκτείνειν (καὶ πρὶν ἐθλῶσαι τῷ Νερωνί) καὶ ἰδιώτας ἡμίους καὶ ἀπέντας καὶ βουλευτάς. Ὁὖτω μὲν δὴ τότε ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ δύο αἰτοκράτοριν ἀμὰ ἐδούλυνε Νερωνί καὶ Ἰλίω Dion, lxxii 12. Suet. Nero, 23.

1995. Nero sails to Greece by way of Cassiope in Cilicia, where he sings in public. Nec profectioe dilatā, et privata Cassiope trajecit, statim ad arum Jovis Cassi cantare auspiculus est Suet. Nero, 22.

1996. The Olympia, which should have been observed in A D 65 are celebrated this year, and Nero is crowned victor. Ἰ' οὕτως ἐκλήπει

μὲν Νερωνία ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ φημι, τίς γὰρ οὐτω θασσὺς ὡς ἐνάται θεοῦ Ὀλύμπια ἔξου καίσει, ἄτε μὴδὲ ἐν ὥρᾳ ἄγουσι. Μαρτίον μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις τοῦ περυσιν ἐνιαινοῦ (A D 65, no 1961) ἐπέλεισε τοῦ Ἡλείου. Νερων ἀμαδαισθαι αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ ἐκτοῦ ἐπιδόμῃ (A D 66). Philost. V A v 7, and see Dion, lxxii 14. And Euseb. Chion places the Olympic victory of Nero under the year 2081, i.e. A D 66. Anno 2081 Nero Olympius coronatus est. In the Eusebian catalogue of the Olympiads is the following passage. cccc (A D 65) non est celebrata Olympias, quia Nero etiam distulit donec se illic ipse coronaret, post biennium tamen (μετὰ δὲ ἔτη δύο Africanus) celebrata est, i.e. quoque stadium quidem Tyrihus Philadelphensis, Nero autem a pivecomibus coronatus est, quia cautoium, cithariscorum, canticorum pullum, et decem equaleorum, certamen vici. Euseb. Chion Armen 160. The postbiennium and μετὰ ἔτη δύο must be here taken to mean after one year complete, viz. in A D 66. The Olympia occurred every fourth year, and yet were called quinquennial, or μετὰ ἔτη τέττε. Nero conquered in all the Grecian games in the course of this year. Ἦς δὲ καὶ ἀποκρίτερα, ἐν ᾗ τὸν λόγῳ, ἢ τὴν δάφνην, ἢ τὸ σέλιον, ἢ τὴν περὶ λαβῶν ἀπόκλειε τὸ τολεῖον Dion, lxxii 9, and see Dion, lxxii 12, 18, 20. And so Suetonius. Certamina diviceps oblii omnia. Nam et quae divi missis sunt temporibus sunt eorum in unum annum, quibusdam etiam stetit, iussit Suet. Nero, 23.

The following coins relate to the victories of Nero in this year: and the next —

Ἀπολλων Ἀκτίος L II	Ἀπολλων Περὶος Δ
Διοι Ὀλύμπιον L II	Ζεὺς Νερειος Δ
Ἡρα Ἀργεῖα L II	Ἡρα Ἀργεῖα Δ
Ἀπολλων Ἀκτίος Δ	Ποσειδων Ἰσμήιος Δ

Eckhel, ii 279, id iv 53

All these coins are Alexandrian, and in Egypt the reigns were reckoned from 1 Thoth, the first Egyptian month (29 August). II on the thirteenth year of Nero, began therefore on 29 August, A D 66, and Δ, or the fourteenth year, on 29 August A D 7 (see Eckhel, iv 11).

Nero did not visit either Athens or Sparta. Τῶνταις γὰρ μοι καὶ (Athens and Sparta) οὐδὲ ἐπεφοίτησε τὴν ἀρχὴν Dion, lxxii 14.

1997. Caecina Tuscus, at this time prefect of Egypt, is put to death for having used the baths at Alexandria prepared for Nero. Dion

lxviii. 18. Suet. Nero, 35 (see A.D. 53, no. 1822; A.D. 66, no. 2004).

1998. Pontus Polemoniacus (see A.D. 38, no. 1533) becomes a Roman province. *Hic cons. duor provinciarum factus sunt, Pontus Polemoniacus et Alpes Cottia, Cottia rege defuncto. Cassiodor* This was on the resignation of Polemo II. Pontum in *ius Provinciarum, Polemonia regali permissu*, (Nero) *redegit, a quo Polemoniacus Pontus appellatus est.* Amr. Victor. Epit. 5. De Caesaribus 5; and see Suet. Nero, 18. Eutrop. vii. 11 (see A.D. 13, no. 1662; A.D. 59, no. 1881).

1999. The martyrdom of St. Paul may be placed in this year. According to Anetor Martyrii Pauli, who wrote A.D. 396, it took place on 29 June of this year. *Ἐπὶ Νέρωνος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐμαρτύρησεν ἀνὴρ ὁ Πῦλλος ὁ ἐπίστολος ἔχει τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποσπῆσθαι, ἐν τῷ πραιποσίτῳ καὶ ἔκρη ἔπει τοῦ Σωτηρίου πάθους, τὸν καλὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀγωνισάμενος ἐν Ῥώμῃ, πέρι πτῆ ἡμέρῃ κατὰ Σωρομικέονας Παρέμον μηνός, ὅστις λέγοντο παρ' Ἀγροπώσιος Ἐπαφί, παρὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἢ πρὸ τριῶν καλὰν δὲν Ἰουλίῳ, μηνί Ἰουλίῳ καὶ, κατ' ἡμετέραν αὐτῇ ἡμέρῃ ἐπίστολος τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν μαρτυρίῳ, ἔξωσσε καὶ ἐνάντη ἔπει τοῦ Σωτηρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας. Ἐπειν οὖν ὁ πᾶς χρόνος ἐξ οὗ ἡμετέρας τριῶνται ταύκεντα ἐπὶ μέχρι τῆς παρουσίας ταύτης ὑπατίας τετάρτης μὲν Ἀρκείος ἐπὶ τῆς δὲ Ὀυριπὸν τῶν δύο ἀειφῶν ἀποκαταστάσεων ἀειφῶστων (A.D. 396), ἐνάντης Ἰουλιανῶς τῆς τετελευτήσασθαι πύκνους μηνός Ἰουλίῳ καὶ ἡμέρας. Martyr. Pauli, prefixed to Eusebius, Ed. Veron. f. 5, cited Fast. Rom. anno 396. [N.B. The dates of the birth and crucifixion of Our Saviour in this passage are erroneously placed.] Epiphanius also places the martyrdom in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero. *Μετά τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου τελευτὴν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ δωδεκάτῳ ἔτει Νέρωνος γενόμενῃ.* Epiphani. Haeres. 27, Num. 6. The twelfth year of Nero was from 13 October, A.D. 65, to 13 October, A.D. 66. Eusebius refers the martyrdom to the thirteenth year of Nero, but as he has fixed the reign of Nero one year too late, we must for the thirteenth year substitute the twelfth year, which agrees with the other testimonies (see A.D. 65, no. 1980, where will be found other citations relating to the martyrdoms of St. Peter and St. Paul) St. Paul was released from imprisonment at Rome in the spring of A.D. 63, and his death, in June A.D. 64, would harmonize with the*

events during the interval; and indeed his martyrdom could not well be placed earlier than in A.D. 66 (see A.D. 63, no. 1940-1912; A.D. 64, no. 1963; A.D. 65, no. 1981).

2000. Apollonius of Tyana, according to Philostratus, comes to Rome in the consulship of Telesinus (A.D. 66). *Ἀμα ἐν τῇ ἡμέρῃ Τελεσίνος, ὁ ἑτερος τῶν ὑπάτων, καλέσας τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, τί ἔσθι, τὸ σῆμα;* Philost. V. A. iv. 40. But the work is full of inconsistencies. Thus, during the stay of Apollonius at Rome (supposed to be in A.D. 66) Philostratus mentions the following events as occurring in this year: The dedication of the gymnasium, and the profanation of Tigellinus over the praetorium, iv. 42 (the dedication being really in A.D. 61, see no. 1909, and the profanation of Tigellinus being in A.D. 62, see no. 1919); an eclipse of the sun, and the falling of a thunderbolt while Nero was at supper, iv. 43 (but which really happened in A.D. 59, see Dion. lxi. 16); a sickness at Rome, iv. 44 (but which was in A.D. 65, see no. 1976); the imprisonment of Musonius, iv. 48 (but who had been banished in A.D. 65, see no. 1971).

Philostratus speaks of Nero's edicts against the study of philosophy. *Νέρων οὐ ἐνεκώρει φιλοσοφεῖν, ἀλλὰ περιέργον αὐτῷ χεῖμα οἱ φιλοσοφούντες ἐφύλοντο καὶ μνηστῆρς συνεκίστατες.* V. A. iv. 35. *Ἐφέλκοντο οὖν οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι τοῦ Νέρωνος καὶ προκηρυσσάντες ἐν ἡμετέροις μηδίνοι ἐμφλοσιφεῖν τῇ Ῥώμῃ.* V. A. iv. 47. The edicts against Christianity considered as a sect of philosophy may here be alluded to.

2001. Martial the Epigrammatist is at Rome, *æt. 23.* See Fasti Romani, A.D. 66.

2002. On 8 Nisan, or Xanthicus, first Jewish month (22 March), being a few days before the Passover, a preternatural light appears in the Temple at Jerusalem. *Ἐπὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐκρήματος, ἀθροζόμενον τοῦ λαοῦ πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ἀζύμων ἑορτήν, ὁδεύοντ' ἦν Σαυθκοῦ μηνός (Nisan), κατὰ νύκτας ἐνάντην ὡραν τοσούτων ὥς περιέλαψεν τὸν βασιλὸν καὶ τὸν ναὸν ὥς ὅκετι ἡμέραν εἶναι λυμπαράν.* Jos. Bell. vi. 5, 3. The Passover began on 14 Nisan, and as the people were wont to assemble six days before, i.e. on 8 Nisan (Johu. xii. 1) for the Passover, it is evident that Josephus by Xanthicus means not the Syro-Macedonian solar month, but the Jewish lunar month Nisan.

2003. As Josephus, in his account of the last Jewish war, A.D. 66-70, upon which we

are about to enter, makes constant reference to the Jewish months and days of the months, it will be necessary to keep in mind the Jewish calendar and Josephus's use of it.

The Jews made use of two kinds of years, the civil and the sacred.

1 The civil was a solar year, and began with Tisri, so that Nisan was the seventh month. *Ἐβδόμος ὦν ὁ μὴν οὗτος* (Nisan) *ἀρχαῖος καὶ τάξι κατὰ τὸν ἡλιακὸν κύκλον ἐντάμει πρῶτος ἐστίν*. Philo de Sept 19, and see De Opific Mund 39. The civil or solar year of the Jews, according to byncellus consisted in a general way of twelve months of thirty and thirty-one days alternately.

2 The sacred year was a lunar year, and began with Nisan, and consisted of twelve months of thirty and twenty-nine days alternately. That Ab and Tisri had each thirty days (which they would have if Nisan the first month, had thirty days) will be seen *infra*, no 2018, and under a D 70, no 2153. Thus the sacred year contained only 354 days, falling short of the real time by eleven days and a quarter. In eight years the deficit would amount to ninety days, or three months of thirty days each. Accordingly thrice in the course of eight years the Jews intercalated a month of thirty days, called Veadar. Josephus, who was a priest himself, reckons throughout his works by the Jewish sacred or lunar year, which regulated the feasts, but calls the Hebrew months, for the benefit of the Greeks to whom he wrote or translated, by the names of the Syro-Macedonian months, which best corresponded with the Hebrew months. That Josephus employed the lunar year appears from the frequent reference to the moon's course. *Διατῆρ δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς κατὰ σελήνης*. Ant iii 10, 3. *Τεσσαρισκαιδέκατῃ κατὰ σελήνην*. Ant iii 10, 5. *Πεντητῇ καὶ δεκάτῃ κατὰ σελήνης*. Ant ii 15, 2. *κατὰ σελήνην-νομμια*. Ant iv 4, 7, etc. In these passages the lunar month *κατὰ σελήνην*, or reckoned according to the moon's age, is opposed to the solar month, *κατὰ ἡλιακὸν κύκλον*. Philo de Septen 19. That Josephus intends the Hebrew months under the Syro-Macedonian names is evident in various ways. First The Syro-Macedonians made Dius their first month, but Josephus considers Xanthicus as the first month, Ant i 3, 3, and reckons the other months in order from it. Thus Atteneus is the

second, and Hyperberetanus is the seventh, Ant viii 4, 1, in 10, 2, Apellæus is the ninth, Ant xi 5, 4, and Dystius the twelfth, or last. Ant iv 8, 49, xi 4, 7, xi 6, 13. Secondly he identifies the Jewish names of the months, not only with the Syro-Macedonian months, but also with the Greek. Ant iv 4, 7, and Egyptian, Ant ii 14, 6, and as the Syro-Macedonian and Greek and Egyptian months all differed from each other, it is evident that when Josephus calls a Hebrew month by a Syro-Macedonian or Greek or Egyptian month, he means only that those respective months corresponded more nearly together than any other months in the respective calendars. Thirdly Josephus invariably places the Jewish festivals on the same days of the months by their Syro-Macedonian names on which they would fall in the Jewish months. Thus, he assigns the Passover, which was on 14 Nisan, to 14 Xanthicus, and the Tabernacles, which was on 15 Tisri, to 15 Hyperberetanus. Fourthly In Ant xii 7, 6, he calls the same day indifferently 25 Chislev and 25 Apellæus, so that the two months, the one Hebrew and the other Syro-Macedonian by name, were identical. Fifthly He tells us that the Temple was destroyed by Titus on 10 Lous, being the same day on which it had been destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, Bell vi 4, 5, but the Temple was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar on 10 Ab. Jerem li 12. Therefore by 10 Lous, Josephus means 10 Ab. Sixthly The sacrifice in the Temple is said to have ceased on 17 Panemus, Bell vi 2 1, and according to the Mishna it ceased on 17 Tammuz, see Anger, p 16, note (q), so that Panemus and Tammuz are the same month.

While the Jews counted by lunar months, they at the same time adapted their year by intercalation to the solar year, and the rule by which they intercalated so as to keep pace with the solar year appears to have been this.—If the vernal equinox would without intercalation fall earlier than seven days (inclusive) before 15 Nisan, then, as the Passover was celebrated on or after the vernal equinox, or at least not earlier than seven days (inclusive) before the vernal equinox, they intercalated Veadar at the close of the year so as to delay Nisan, and make 15 Nisan, the Paschal full moon, fall a month later. It is said also that the Sabbatic year was taken into account in making intercalations, and that usually they did not inter-

calate in the Sabbatic year in order that the cultivation of the land might not be any longer impeded; and that they did not usually intercalate in the eighth year or the year next after the Sabbatic year; for as they were still living on the old corn, the intercalation would keep them so much the longer from the gathering in of the new corn at the commencement of the ninth year. A favourite year for intercalation is thought to have been the sixth year. See Auger, 32, note (k).

2004. Agrippa quits Jerusalem for Egypt to congratulate Tiberius Alexander on his being appointed prefect of Egypt. Κατὰ τούτων τὸν καιρὸν ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας ἔφυγε εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πεποιημένος, ὅπως Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνασθεῖν πεποιημένῳ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὑπὸ Νέρονος καὶ περιφθόνῳ ἔλειπε. Bell. ii. 15, 1. Regent tutu Tiberius Alexander ejusdem nationis. Tac. Hist. i. 11 (but in fact he was a Jewish renegade); and see Tac. Hist. ii. 74 (see ante, no. 1997).

2005. The Jewish war breaks out in Artemisius, i. e. Ijar, the second Jewish month, in the twelfth year of Nero and 17th of Agrippa. Ημερολόγιον τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ πολεμὸς ἐπέσκηπεν μὲν ἐν τῇ Νέωνος ἀρχῇ ἡγερμάτων, ἐπυκατέκταν δὲ τῆς Ἀγρίππας βασιλείας, Ἀρτεμισίου μηνός. Jos. Bell. ii. 14, 4. The month of Nisan, or Xanthicus, A.D. 69 is said to have been in the third year of the war, ἐνιαυτῷ τρίτῳ τοῦ πολέμου Παρθωῶς μηνί. Bell. iv. 9, 12; which also shows that the war could not have begun until after the month of Nisan A.D. 66, and the next month was Artemisius, or Ijar.

2006. Josephus considers the conflict between the Jews and Gentiles of Caesarea as the commencement of the war, and the day of this occurrence may be thus fixed. The conflict was on a Jewish Sabbath, or Saturday, τῆς δὲ ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας ἑξομιάδος οὕσης, etc., Jos. Bell. ii. 14, 5; and after it the Jews retired in a body to Nabata, seven and a half miles distant from Caesarea, and sent an embassy to Florus, then at Sebaste, who put the envoys in bonds. Bell. ii. 14, 5. Florus then ordered a seizure of the sacred treasure at Jerusalem, which further inflamed the people; and then Florus, being enraged, marched to Jerusalem. Bell. ii. 14, 6; and the next day, τῇδε ἡμερᾷ, Bell. ii. 14, 8, committed a massacre of the people; and this was on 16 Ijar, or Artemisius. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐκκυτέκην μηνός Ἀρτε-

μισίου μηνός. Bell. ii. 15, 2. The full moon of the vernal equinox this year was about noon on 29 March, which was therefore 15 Nisan; and if so, the 1 Ijar, or Artemisius, would be 14 April, and 16 Ijar would be 29 April. The war, therefore, which began in Artemisius, broke out on some Saturday between 14 and 29 April, A.D. 66, i. e. either on Saturday the 19, or Saturday the 26 April. As the massacre at Jerusalem was on 29 April, the many intervening events exclude the supposition that the conflict at Caesarea took place on 26 April, being three days only before the massacre. The first day of the war, therefore, may safely be assigned to Saturday, 19 April, A.D. 66.

2007. The ἑορτασμοί are celebrated on 14 Lous, or Ab (21 July). Jos. Bell. ii. 17, 6.

2008. The Jews get possession of Fort Antonia on 15 Ab, or Lous (25 July). Τῇδε ἑστῆ (περικυκλωσάτω δὲ ἡ Ἰόδου μὲν) ὁρμησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν. Jos. Bell. ii. 17, 7.

Josephus, on the capture of Antonia, retires for safety into the Inner Temple. Ἐχρημίνης ἡδὲ τῆς Ἀντωνίας, ὅπερ ἦν φοιτῶν, εἰς τὸ ἐνδότερον τῶν ἐν τεχνόδοσιν. Jos. Vit. 5. But on the death of Manahem, he again joins the chief priests and leaders of the Pharisees. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν Μαναήμιον καὶ τῶν πρώτων τοῦ ἱεροῦ στήθους πεπλησθῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ πάλιν τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι καὶ τοῖς πρῶτοις τῶν Φαρισαίων συνήλθον. Jos. Vit. 5.

2009. The Romans are driven into Hippicus Phasaelus and Marianne on 6 Elul, or Gorpheus (15 August). Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔκρυ Γορπιτίου μηνός ἐπράχθη. Jos. Bell. ii. 17, 8.

2010. Death of Ananias, by the hands of the Sicarii, on the following day, 7 Elul, or Gorpheus (16 August). Κατὰ τὴν ἐπιούσαν. Jos. Bell. ii. 17, 9. The assassination of Ananias had been predicted by Paul eight years before, when the Apostle was heard before the Sanhedrim. Τότετοι σε μέλλει ὁ Θεός, τοῖχα σκοπεῖν. Acts, xxiii. 3.

2011. Massacre of the Jews at Caesarea, Jos. Bell. ii. 18, 1; and at Philadelphia, Gadara, Gerasa, Sebaste, Hippos, and other cities, including Antiochia and Gaza, which two last are laid in ruins. Αἱ θύραι καὶ τὰς κυρίως κατοικίας. Bell. ii. 18, 1 (see A.D. 38, no. 1517).

2012. Canala revolts from the Romans on 24 Elul, or Gorpheus (2 September). Τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἡμερᾶς Γορπιτίου μηνός τετάρτῃ καὶ εἰκάτῃ. Jos. Bell. iv. 1, 10.

2013. Cestius Gallus advances from Antioch to Judaea at the time of the Feast of Tabernacles, 15 Tisri (23 September) Δια γὰρ τῆς τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἱερτὴν ἀναβεβήκει τὰς τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἱεροσόλυμα Jos Bell II 19 1

2014. During the feast, which began on 15, and ended on 22 Tisri the Jews attack Cestius Οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι κατεβάντες, ἡγὼν πλησιάζοντα τῇ μητροπόλει τὸν πόλεμον, ὁφείμενοι τῆς ἱερ-ῆς, ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῖς, καὶ μέγα τῷ πλῑθει θαρρόντες, ἵσταντο καὶ μετὰ κρινγῆς ἐξεπήδων ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, μηδὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξδομάδος ἐνιοῦν λαβοῦντες, ἡ γὰρ δὴ τὸ μάλιστα παρ' αὐτοῖς θρησκυόμενον συμβῆναι Jos Bell II 19, 2 The words ἀρχὴ ἐξδομας may be thought to mean the holy week of the Feast of Tabernacles, which began on 23 September and ended on 30 September, and the word συμβῆναι may also be interpreted the week, but the phraseology τὸ μάλιστα παρ' αὐτοῖς θρησκυόμενον συμβῆναι would rather seem to indicate the great Sabbath of the year, viz the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles, which would therefore be 30 September

2015 Cestius, after this, remains victorious for three days Μέριστος δὲ τοῦ Κεστίου κατὰ χρόνον τριῶν ἡμέραις Jos Bell II 19, 2 These three days, if the attack on Cestius was on 22 Tisri, or 30 September would expire on 25 Tisri or 3 October

2016. Agrippa, apparently the next day, 26 Tisri, or 4 October, endeavours to bring the Jews to reason Jos Bell II 19, 3

2017. Cestius encamps on Scopus, and waits there for three days Τριῶν μὲν ἡμερῶν οὐκ ἐτεχειρεῖ τῇ πόλει Jos Bell II 19 4 Those three days would end on 29 Tisri, or 7 October

2018 The next day is expressly called the 30 Tisri, or Hyperbeteus (8 October) when Cestius possesses himself of part of the city Τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ, ἥτις ἦν τριακὴς Ὑπερβεταίου μηνὸς, διατάξας τὴν στρατὸν, εἰσέφυγεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν Jos Bell II 19, 4

2019. If the attack on Cestius was on the great Sabbath, or last day of the Feast of Tabernacles, i.e. on 22 Tisri, and the eighth day after was the 30 Tisri, it is evident that Josephus reckons by the Jewish lunar months, and not by the months of the *Syro-Macedonian* solar year It is also to be noted that Tisri, or Hyperbeteus, is here said to have thirty days from which it follows that, if the months had alternately thirty and twenty-nine days,

Nisan, the first month, must have had thirty days It is possible, however, that as the lunations varied in length the number of days in each month was so regulated as to make the full moon of the Passover always fall on 14 Nisan and the full moon of the Tabernacles always fall on 15 Tisri That 14 Nisan and 15 Tisri were invariably the very days of full moon cannot be questioned

2020. For five days (the 30 Tisri inclusive) the Romans attack the Jews without effect, and on the sixth day, 5 Marchesvan or Dnus (13 October), Cestius makes an attempt on the Temple πειτε μὲν οὐκ ἡμέρας τίνεσθαι ἐπιχειροῦσι οὗτοι Ῥωμαῖοι ἀμύχανος ἢ ἡ προσβολή, τῇ δὲ ἐκινεσθαι οὐ Κεστίος ἐτεχειρεῖ τῷ ἱερῷ, Jos Bell II 19, 5, and then retires to Scopus, seven stades from the walls. Ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἑξέλειξεν Τότε μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸν Σκοπον στρατοῦν ἀνέλιξται Κεστίος Bell II 19, 7

2021. The next day 6 Marchesvan or Dnus (14 October), Cestius returns to Gabao Τῇ δὲ ἐπιούρῃ τοῦσδε τῶν χωρίζομενος . . . μοι εἰς Γαβὰν κατήγαγε Jos Bell II 19, 7 Here he rested two days (6 Marchesvan included) Εἴθα δύο μὲν ἡμέρας ἐτεμεῖται ὁ Κεστίος Bell II 19, 7

2022. The next day, 8 Marchesvan, or Dnus (16 October), Cestius retires to Bethhoion, the pass from the mountains into the plain of Shaion, on the road to Cesarea τῇ τοιγὰρ δὲ προήγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ Βαιθώροι, Jos Bell II 19 7-8, and the Jews follow them and slay 5,300 foot, and 380 horse, when night intervenes Ὀλίγου δὲ δειν, πᾶσαν ἡρπασαν τὴν αὐτὴν Κεστίω δύναμιν, εἰ μὴ νύξ ἐπέλαβεν Bell II 19 8

2023. The next day, 9 Marchesvan or Dnus (17 October), the Jews pursue the Romans, but fail to overtake them Ἰωθεν δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐδίωκον δὲ τοὺς Κεστίον . . . ἔπειτα οὐ κατέλαμβανον, ὡς προσφροντες, etc Jos Bell II 19, 9 Josephus places the slaughter of the Romans on 8 Marchesvan, and in the twelfth year of Nero, i.e. before 13 October, A D 66 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπαράχθη διὰ τὸν μηνὸς ὀκτωβρίου, δεκάτῃ τῷ εἰς τῆς Νερωνίους ἡγεμονίας Bell II 19, 9 But Josephus has here fallen into a slight error for though the first books in this chain of events began in the twelfth year of Nero, yet the last four days, viz from 13 to 16 October, both inclusive, fell in the thirteenth year of Nero, which commenced on 13 October,

A.D. 66. There can be little doubt of the oversight of the historian in this respect, for the Feast of Tabernacles was certainly at the time of the autumnal equinox, and as certainly at the full moon either next preceding or next following the equinox. The ancients reckoned the equinox to be on 24 September, and the full moon next after the equinox in A.D. 66 was on or about 22 October; and if the Tabernacles began on that day, then all the occurrences referred to fell, not in the twelfth, but in the thirteenth year of Nero, for Cestius only arrived at Jerusalem at the Feast of Tabernacles. The historian, therefore, must have assumed that the festival this year was celebrated on 23 September, the full moon next before the equinox; and if so, the 23 September would be 15 Tisri, and then the 9 Marchesvan would be 16 October, in the thirteenth year of Nero.

2024. Cestius sends a dispatch to Nero, then in Greece. *Kéiroc δὲ . . . ἀπέπεμψε εἰς Ἀγαθὸν πρὸς Νέρωνα*. Jos. Bell. ii. 20, 1.

2025. Vespasian (who was also in Greece) is appointed by Nero to take the command in Judaea. *Peregrinatione Achaica inter comites Neronis . . . secessit (Vespasianus) in parvam ac deviam civitatem, quoad latent etiamque extrinsecus metuenti provincia cum exercitu oblata est. Percrebuerat Oriente toto ratus et constans opinio, esse in iustis, ut eo tempore Iudaea profecti rerum potirentur. Id, de Imperatore Romano, quantum exarato postea patuit, praedictum, Iudaei ad se trahentes, rebellant, etc.* Suet. Vesp. 4. Tac. Hist. i. 10.

2026. Coin of Nero.

Imp. Nero Claud. Cesar Aug. Germ. Im. Tr. P. xiii. P. P. + Roma, S. C.

Eckhel, vi. 206.

Coin of Antioch.

Νέρων Καίσαρ Σεβαστός ΔΙΕ. ΠΙ., i. e. in the 114th year of the Era of Antioch during from 1 Nov. A.D. 40, and in the thirteenth year of Nero, and therefore struck between 13th Oct. A.D. 60, and 1 Nov. A.D. 66.

Νέρων Καίσαρ Σεβαστός ΕΙΡ. ΠΙ., and therefore struck between 1 Nov. A.D. 60, and 13 Oct. A.D. 67.

Id. iii. 281.

Imp. Caesar Nero (Cian. + Eri. Paus. Kéiroc. (C. Cestii Galli) Avtoxiwv Eri. ΔΙΕ., and therefore struck between 1 Nov. A.D. 65, and 1 Nov. A.D. 66.

Id. iii. 281.

Αντοχίαν, with turreted female head + *Eri. ΔΙΕ.*

Αντοχίαν, with laurelled female head + *Eri. ΔΙΕ.* Eckhel, iii. 282.

Coin of Alexandria.

Σεβαστεύς (σεβαστὴς ἡμεῖς) L. Π., i. e. in the thirteenth year of Nero. Id. iv. 54.

Απολλων Αἰγίου, with head of Nero, L. Π.

Διοσ Οὐρανίου, with head of Nero, L. Π.

Παρ Αἰγίου, with head of Nero, L. Π.

Id. iv. 53.

Θεὸς Σεβαστός, with head of Nero, L. Π.

Id. iv. 54.

A coin of King Agrippa.

Βασίλειος Ἀγρίππας Tabernaculum + L. C. tres quæ, and therefore struck in the sixth year of his reign, or A.D. 60.

Id. iii. 403 (see A.D. 65, no. 1989).

Inscriptions.

Neroni Claudio Casari Aug. Germ. Paul. Mur. Trib. Pot. xiii. Imp. xiii. (P) Cos. xiii. P. P. L. Stenius Silvanus Ex Testamento (In sancti Germani civitate). Muratori, i. 227, 1.

*Diva Poppea Augusta Imp. Neronis Cosens August. L. Titinius, L. F. Gal. Glauco Lucetianus Flam. Romæ et Aug. itir iii. P. C. Scvir. Ey. R. Curio Prof. Fabr. Cos. Tr. Mil. Leg. vi. Victoria Er voto suscepto pro salute Imp. Neronis quod Ballaribus curvat Anno A. Lucinio Neræ Cos. itir. A. Ufeto Teyeto et Q. Aburio Nypate ubi vellet poneret voto compas posuit Jori Junoni Minerve Felicitati Romæ Divæ Aug. And on the left of the same tablet as follows: Imp. Neroni Claudio Divi Claudi F. Germani, Casaris N. Ti. Casaris Aug. Pro N. Divi Aug. ab N. Casari Aug. Germ. P. M. Tr. Pot. xiii. Imp. xi. Cos. xiii. L. Titinius L. F. Gal. Glauco Lucetianus Flam. Romæ et Aug. itir xiii. P. C. Scvir. Ey. R. Curio Prof. Fabr. Cos. Tr. Mil. Leg. xvi. Pringy. Prof. Proleg. Insularum Balnearum Tr. Mil. Leg. vi. Victoria Er voto suscepto pro Salute Imp. Neronis quod Ballaribus curvat anno A. Lucinio Neræ itir A. Ufeto Teyeto et Q. Aburio Nypate ubi vellet poneret voto compas posuit Jori Junoni Minerve Felicitati Romæ Divæ Augusto (Cecina in Agro Lunensi). Muratori, i. 227, 4. From the expression *Diva Poppea*, the inscription was evidently subsequent to her death and apotheosis. See A.D. 65, no. 1974. Ti. Claud. Nero Imp. Aug. Pont. M. Tr. Cos. xiii. (Leg. Tr. P. xiii. Cos. it.) Augustobrigam M. P. xii. Id. i. 445.*

Fourth year of the Sabbatic cycle.

Passover, March 29.

Pentecost, May 19.

Tabernacles, Sept. 23.

A.D. 67. V.C. 820. Olymp. 211, 3.

PONTIUS PILATUS.

JESUS REUS.

ex Kal. Jul.

NERO CLAUDIUS CESAR AVG. v. sine colleg.

NERONIS XIV. FROM 13 OCTOBER. TRIB. POT.

XIV. FROM SAME DAY. COS. IV. POST. MAX.

PAT. PATR. IMP. (I)

Nineteenth year of the reign of Agrippa II. from some time in the second quarter.

2327. Vespasian arrives in Syria, having made the circuit from Greece by way of the Hellespont, and having sent Titus to Alexandria. 'Ο δὲ (Vespasianus) ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀχαΐας, ἐνθα συνῆν τῷ Νέωνι, τὸν μὲν νῦν Τίτον ἔσταυεν ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρίας . . . παράσας δὲ αὐτὸς τὰς ΠΑΥΣΠΟΝΤΑΣ, πεζὸς εἰς Συρίαν ἀφικνεῖται. Jos. Bell. iii. 1, 3. Tac. Hist. v. 10.

2329. Vespasian is joined by Agrippa at Antioch, and marches to Ptolemais. Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ τὰς ἑντάμεις ἀνταλαβόμενος τῆς Λιτωχείας . . . ἐνθα . . . Ἀγρίππαν τὸν βασιλεῖα καταλήγει, ἐπὶ Πτολεμαῖδος ἡγεύμετο. Jos. Bell. iii. 2, 4.

2329. Titus during or soon after winter A.D. 66-67 passes from Egypt to Ptolemais. 'Ο δὲ Τίτος περιωδεῖ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀχαΐας εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἀκόντηεν ἢ κατὰ χειρὸς ὄσον, παραλαμβάνει μὲν ἐφ' ἣν ἔσταλα δύναμιν, συντόνρ δὲ χρόματος πορεύε διὰ τάχους εἰς Πτολεμαῖδα ἀφικνεῖται. Jos. Bell. iii. 4, 2.

2330. Vespasian and Titus remain some time at Ptolemais. Οὐεσπασιανὸς μὲν ἡμαρτῇ παυτὶ Τίτῳ ἐπαρμόζων ἐν Πτολεμαίδι συνείτασαι τὰς δυνάμεις. Jos. Bell. iii. 6, 1.

2331. Vespasian marches into Galilee, and takes Caesarea. Jos. Bell. iii. 7, 1.

2332. Vespasian designs next to assault Jotapata (now Jeshit, halfway between Acre and Tibérias, see Robinson's Palestine, 1852), and sends foot and horse thither. Οὐεσπασιανὸς δὲ ὑπάρμενος ἐξοικεῖν τὴν Ἰωτάπατα . . . πέμπει πεζοὺς τε καὶ ἵππους, etc. Jos. Bell. iii. 7, 3.

2333. These troops are engaged on the work before Jotapata four days. Ὅ μὲν οὖν τέσσασιν ἡμέραις ἐξεργάζονται, καὶ πλατείαν ἡραζέον τὴν στρατιὴν διακρίνον. Jos. Bell. iii. 7, 3.

2334. Josephus on the fifth day, which was 21 Ijar, or Artemisius (21 May), throws himself into Jotapata. Τῇ πέμπτῃ δὲ (ἡμέρᾳ) ὁ Ἰώσηπος (αὐτῇ δὲ ἦν Ἀρτεμισίου μηνὸς εἰκοστὴ πρώτη) φθίνει παρὰ τὸν εἰς τὴν Ἰωτάπατα εἰς τῆς Τηβερύδαος. Jos. Bell. iii. 7, 3. The troops therefore had commenced their works before Jotapata on 17 Ijar, or 17 May.

2335. An ineffectual assault is made on Jotapata on 20 Sivan, or Desius (19 June). Εἰκάδι μὲν οὖν Δασιῶν μηνὸς ἡ παρίσταται ἦν. Jos. Bell. iii. 7, 29.

2336. Japha, in Galilee, is taken by Trajan on 25 Sivan, or Desius (24 June). Τότε συνέβη, τὸ πᾶθος Γαλιλαίας πέμπτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι Δασιῶν μηνὸς. Jos. Bell. iii. 7, 31.

2337. Cerealis makes a slaughter of the Samaritans at Mount Gerizim on 27 Sivan, or Desius (26 June). Ὡσα εἰ ἦν θέρος . . . Δασιῶν μηνὸς εἰκάδι καὶ ἐξῆκτῃ ἐπρώχθη. Jos. Bell. iii. 7, 32.

2338. The menials against Jotapata are completed by the Romans on the forty-seventh day of the siege. Τὸν δὲ ἑνὰ τὰ ἑωρτάκατα διακοτημῶντων καὶ παρ' ἑλπίδα τοῖς ἐννοῖς ἀποχεῖντων, τεσσαμικοστῇ μὲν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐξῆκτῇ χάματα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπερβῆ το ταχὺς. Jos. Bell. iii. 7, 33.

2339. A deserter comes to the Roman camp the same day and informs them how to surprise the city at the fourth watch, or between 5 and 6 A.M. Ἀπομολεῖ δὲ τις πρὸς τὸν Οὐεσπασιανὸν τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας . . . περὶ γὰρ τὴν ἐσχάτην φυλακήν, etc. Jos. Bell. iii. 7, 35.

2340. The Romans, taking advantage of the information, assault the city the next morning (the forty-eighth day of the siege, and the 1 Thamuz, or Panemus, 29 June), when Jotapata is carried by assault. Ἰωτάπατα μὲν οὖν αὐτῃ, εἰκοτρισκαίδεκα τῷ Νέωνος ἡγεμονίᾳ, ἐναι Παίεμον νομηνίᾳ. Jos. Bell. iii. 7, 36. And Josephus is made prisoner. Πάλιν iii. 8, 1, etc. Vna, 74. The forty-eighth day from 1 Thamuz, or 29 June, would carry us back to 13 Ijar, or 13 May, as the commencement of the siege. But the works had been begun on 17 Ijar, or 17 May (see ante, no. 2334). The forty-eight days therefore must be reckoned from the arrival of the troops before Jotapata some days previously to the commencement of the operations, or there must be some mistake in the dates.

2341. Vespasian returns to Ptolemais on

4 Thamuz, or Pannemus (2 July), and thence to Caesarea-on-sea. *Ἐκταρτῇ τε Πανεμοῖν μηνὶ ἀναβῆσαι εἰς τὴν Ἀνδριανίδου κώμην εἰς τὴν Παράλιον ἀφαιρέται Καισάρειαν.* Jos. Bell. iii. 9, 1.

Thence to Caesarea Philippi. *Οὐδ' ὀπίσσω εἰ καὶ ἰσχυρίαν τῆς Ἀγρίππας βασιλείας . . . ἔσται ἀπὸ τῆς Παράλιου Καισάρειας εἰς τὴν Φιλιππῶν κώμην· ἐπὶ μετὰ τούτοις Καισάρειαν.* Jos. Bell. iii. 9, 7.

2042. Turichens taken on 8 Elul, or Gorpianus (3 September), and 6000 prisoners are sent to Nero, then at the Isthmus of Corinth. *Τῶν δὲ γένων ἐπιβίβας τοὺς ἰσχυροτάτους ἑξακισχιλίους ἐπέμψεν (Vespasianus) εἰς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν Νέρωνι . . . Ἐδάκωσαν ἐν Ῥωμαίων μνησὲς δόγλοι.* Jos. Bell. iii. 10, 10.

2043. Vespasian leads his forces against Gamala after it had already withstood a siege of seven months from Agrippa. *Ἐπὶ καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' Ἀγρίππας προπεμφθεῖσιν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἰσχυρίαν ἀπέμψεν ἐπὶ μηνὸς ἑπτά.* Jos. Bell. iv. 1, 2.

2044. Titus is dispatched to Mucianus, prefect of Syria. *Ὁ δὲ γὰρ ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Τίτος τότε συμπροσβῆναι, τῆνικα πρὸς Μουσιανὸν εἰς Συρίαν ἀπεσταλμένος.* Jos. Bell. iv. 1, 5.

2045. Mucianus had apparently been not long before appointed to the government of Syria, and Titus may have been sent to congratulate him. See Suet. Vesp. 6. Tac. Hist. i. 10; ii. 5. Plat. Orho. 4. Jos. Ant. xii. 3, 1; Bell. iv. 10, 6 (see A.D. 64, no. 1962; A.D. 70, no. 2159).

2046. The walls of Gamala are undermined on 23 Tisri, or Hyperboreus (17 October). *Δευτέρως καὶ ἐκάλει μνηστὴς ὑπερβόρειου . . . τὸν προέχοντα κατὰ τοὺς τοῦτον ὑπορύσσουσιν.* Jos. Bell. iv. 1, 9.

2047. Titus returns, and Gamala is taken on 23 Tisri, or Hyperboreus (18 October). *Ἐρωτοῖτο γὰρ μὴν μεμνημένοι τοῦ προτέρου πταίσματος οὐκ εἰσέβαλλον τοὺς τῆς τοῦ καὶ ἐκείνου τοῦ προσημειμένου μηνὸς Τίτος ἐξ, ἥδη γὰρ παύσει· εἰς.* Jos. Bell. iv. 1, 9, 10.

2048. Vespasian retires, to recruit his troops, to Caesarea. *Αὐτοῦ δὲ (Vespasian) σὺν ὧσι τότε λοιποῖς ἐπαχθήσαν εἰς Καισάρειαν.* Jos. Bell. iv. 2, 1.

2049. Titus is sent against Gischala, and takes it. Jos. Bell. iv. 2, 2.

2050. The capture of Gischala completes the conquest of all Galilee, Galilee then being all under the power of Titus. *Ἐλὼν πάντα, Jos. Bell. iv. 2, 5; καὶ ἵνα ἵνα*

turns to Caesarea. *Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Τίτος ἀπὸ Παράλιου εἰς Καισάρειαν . . . ἀνέκερται.* Jos. Bell. iv. 3, 2.

2051. Vespasian marches from Caesarea against Jamnia and Arotus, which he takes, and then returns to Caesarea. Jos. Bell. iv. 3, 2.

2052. Corbulo is put to death by Nero at Cenchrea, immediately on his arrival and before an interview. *καὶ ἐκείνον (Corbulonem) ἠμύματα μεταπέμψαντος (Nero) . . . ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ αὐτὸς σφαγῆται.* Jos. Bell. iv. 17. From Corbulo's arrival at Cenchrea, the eastern port of Corinth, he evidently came from the East.

2053. Nero is crowned victor this year at the Isthmian, Pythian, and Actian games. Euseb. Chronic. anno 2081 (see A.D. 66, no. 1996).

2054. Nero, at the time of the Isthmian games, proclaims the liberty of Greece. *Τίτος (Flamininus) ἐν Κορινθῷ τότε καὶ Νέρων αὐτῷ καὶ ἡμῶν, ἐν Κορινθῷ τῶν ἑσπερίων ἀγομένων, τοὺς Ἑλληνας διαδήμους καὶ ἀνδράρην ἀφῆκεν, ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ κήρυκος, ὃς ἐφῆται, Νέρων δ' αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορῆς ἀπὸ βήματος ἐν τῷ πλάθει δημογορήσας.* Plutarch. Flaminin. c. 12; and see Pausan. vii. 17, 2. And this was shortly before the departure of Nero from Greece. *Donatus dicitur P. Flaminium cum eo libertate donavit, simulque iudicis civitate Romanam et personam gratiam: quo beneficii cunctis studio Isthmiorum die et ipse come praevenivit.* Suet. Nero, 24.

2055. Nero attempts to cut through the Isthmus of Corinth, but is obliged to desist from disastrous news brought from Rome. *Σχεῖν δὲ λέγεται Νέρων τὴν τοῦτον (τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ) . . . πύλωρα πρὸς τῇ ἀρχῇ διέσσει.* Pbilost. V. A. iv. 21. Dion. lxi. 16. Suet. Nero, 19.

2056. Musonius Rufus is with Nero while the cutting of the Isthmus is proceeding. *Ἐκείνῳ (Demetrius the Cynic) καὶ Μουσωνίῳ ἑσπερίαν ἐντετυχεῖν αὐτὸν τὸν Ἰσθμὸν, ἐκείνῳ τε καὶ κλεισαμένῳ (ἡγε κλεισαμένῳ) ὄντε.* Pbilost. V. A. v. 19 (see A.D. 65, no. 1971).

2057. Helius writes to Nero pressing him to return. Suet. Nero, 23; and see Nero's delaying. Helius hastens himself to Greece, where he arrives in seven days, and then Nero returns to Italy. *Ὁ δὲ ἥλιος πολλὰς μὲν καὶ πρότερον ἐπεστράτευσεν αὐτῷ, ὅτι τὸ γὰρ ἀνακομι-*

σθῆναι, ὥς δ' οὐκ ἐ-είθετο, ᾗθεν αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐβδόμη ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἐξεβόβησεν αὐτὸν, εἰδὼν μεγάλῃ τινα ἐπιβουλῇ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ παρασκευάζεσθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ, ὥστε ταρπυθὺς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀποταλῆσθαι Dion, lxxi 19

2058. Nero makes his triumphant entry into Naples Antium, Albanum and Rome itself as an Olympic victor *Ρενεινὸς τις εὐχαιεὶς Νεαρρῆνα, quod in eā primum ceteri protulerat, alibi equis intravit directā parte nuntii ut nos hieronycarum est simile nudo Antium, inde Albanum inde Roman Suet Nero 25* Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσήλασε, τοῦ τε τειχοῦς τε καθαρῆθαι, etc Dion lxxi 20

2059. The Zealots at Jerusalem choose Phannas by lot to be high-priest, the last of the series Καὶ δὲ μεταμεψόμενοι μὴν τῶν ἀρχιερατικῶν φυλῇν (Ἐπ' αὐαίμ κυλεῖται) διεκλήρουν ἡμέρᾳ λευγῆναι δ' ἀπὸ τυχῆς ὁ μάλιστα διαδείξας αὐτῶν τὴν παριαρίαν Φαννάς τις ὀνομα, vid. Σαμουήλου Jos Bell iv 3, 8 (suo A D 65, no 1979)

2060 Josephus reckons up twenty-eight high-priests from the commencement of the reign of Herod (l.c. 37) to the fall of Jerusalem (A D 70) *Ἔσιν οὖν οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἡρώδου χρόνων ἀρχιερατεύσασαι τες μέλλει τῆς ἡμέρας, ἥ τῶν ναῶν Τίτος ἔλδν ἐκπυρπόλησεν, οἱ πάντες ἐπισκοιοῦν Jos Ant xx 10 5* This statement exactly agrees with the particulars contained in the Wars and the Antiquities The twenty-eight were — 1 Ananelus, b.c. 37 (no 529), 2 Aristobulus, r.c. 36 (no 542), 3 Ananelus, b.c. 35 (no 560), 4 Josus, son of Phabi, b.c. 22 (no 715), 5 Simon, b.c. 22 (no 715), 6 Matthias, b.c. 5 (no 896), 7 Joazar, b.c. 4 (no 904), 8 Eleazar, b.c. 3 (no 952), 9 Jesus, son of Sieb, b.c. 4 (no 952), 10 Ananus, A D 7 (no 1022), 11 Ishmael, A D 15 (no 1074), 12 Eleazar, A D 15 (no 1074), 13 Simon, A D 16 (no 1185), 14 Joseph, called Canaphas, A D 17 (no 1096), 15 Jonathan, A D 37 (no 1496), 16 Theophilus, A D 37 (no 1506), 17 Simon, A D 42 (no 1643), 18 Matthias, A D 42 (no 1646), 19 Lihonai, A D 48 (no 1663), 20 Joseph, A D 45 (no 1693), 21 Ananus, A D 47 (no 1715), 22 Ishmael, A D 59 (no 1880), 23 Joseph, A D 61 (no 1914), 24 Ananus, A D 62 (no 1930), 25 Jesus, son of Dammus, A D 62 (no 1932), 26 Jesus, son of Gamahel, A D 64 (no 1960), 27 Matthias, A D 65 (no 1979), 28 Phannas, A D 67 (no 2059)

2061. A coin of king Agrippa

Βασίλειος Ἀγρίππα Τυβεραιοῦντι + I Z Tres
annis, and therefore in the seventh year of
his reign, oi A D 67
Eckhel, iii 493 (see A D 65, no 1033)

Coins of Antioch

*Imp Caesar Nero Clau + EPI ΛΕΙΤΟΥ (C Ophi
Gall)* Αντιστοιχεί Ερ ΕΙΡ, i.e. in the 115th
year of the Era of Antioch dating from 1 Nov
B.C. 10, and therefore struck between 1 Nov
A.D. 60, and 1 Nov A.D. 67

Id in 282

Αντιστοιχεί, with laurel branch + ΓΡ ΕΙΡ

Αντιστοιχεί, with head of Jupiter + Ι - ΓΙΡ

Αντιστοιχεί, with laureled head + ΒΡΟ ΕΙΡ
Id in 283

Coins of Alexandria

Απολλων Ιεῖος, with head of Nero, f 13

Απολλων Ηνῖος, with head of Nero, l 13

Ζεύς Νεμειος, with head of Nero, l 13

Περσ Αρμεν, with head of Nero, f 13

Πασιδων Ισθμιος, with head of Nero, f 13

Id iv 53

Fifth year of the Sabbatic cycle

Pasover April 16

Pentecost June 6

Tabernacles, October 11

A D 68. U.C. 221. Olymp. 211, 4.

GAIPRIUS TRACHACUS

C SILIUS ITALICUS

Kal Jul

CICONTUS VANNIO, designatus erat sed ante
quam iniret oculis est

et Kal Jul

C EPHICLITUS NATALIS

P CORNELIUS SCIPIO AFRICANUS

But according to others,

et Kal Jul

M PRACITUS SIVIANUS

M SALVUS OTRO

et Kal Sept

C EPHICLITUS NATALIS

P CORN. SCIPIO AFRICANUS

GALBA IMP FROM 3 APRIL, A D 68

Twentieth year of the reign of Agrippa II.
from some time in the second quarter

2062 The revolt of Vindex, in Gaul Dion,
lxxii 22, 23 Suet Nero, 40 Plut Galb 4

The news reached Nero, about 19 March, at Naples (whither he had returned after his triumphal entry into Rome). *Neapoli de motu Galliarum cognovit die ipso quo matrem occiderat*. Suet. Nero, 49 (see A.D. 59, no. 1869). Nero at first treats the matter lightly, but on worse intelligence arriving, he is panic-struck for eight days. *Denique per octo continuos dies non scribere cuiquam, non mandare quid aut precipere conatus, rem silentio oblituravit*. Suet. Nero, 40. Dion. lxxiii. 26.

2063. Nero returns to Rome and summons some of the leading courtiers. *Urgentibus aliis super aliis nunciis, Romam protrepidas rediit . . . Ac ne tunc quidem aut senatu aut popularum appllato, quosdam e primoribus civis domum evocavit*. Suet. Nero, 41.

2064. Galba in Spain accepts the empire by the title of Legate. *Consulatusque Imperator Legatum se Senatui ac populo Romani professus est*. Suet. Galb. 10. This was on 3 April (see Fasti Romani, A.D. 69, and *post*, A.D. 69, no. 2082).

Galba had held the province of Spain for eight years. *Per octo annos carie et iniquissimae provinciae regit*. Suet. Galb. 9 (see A.D. 60, no. 1838).

2065. Nero at Rome hears of the revolt of Galba in Spain. *Postquam dehinc etiam G. Ibbam et Hispanias descivisse cognovit, collapsus, animique mole fructo, diu sine pace et prope intermortuus jecuit*. Suet. Nero, 42. Dion. lxxiii. 27.

2066. The death of Nero on 9 June, being a year and twenty-two days before the accession of Vespasian, on 1 July, A.D. 69. *Συμβυῖναι ἐνιαυτὸν τε καὶ ἔξοι καὶ εἴκοσι ἡμέρας ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Νέρωνος μέχρι τῆς τοῦ (θεσσαλονικεῖ) ἀρχῆς ἐυλόγηται*. Dion. lxxvi. 17. *Ἐξήκω δὲ ἔτη τριάντα καὶ μήνας ἑνὴς, ἡμέρᾳ ἑξῆς ἐν ἑκαταμῇ καὶ μήνας ὀκτώ*. Dion. lxxvii. 29. *Τρισκαίδεκα βυσσιλίστας ἔτη καὶ ἡμέρας (lege μήνας) ὀκτώ*. Jos. Bell. iv. 9, 2. *Δέκα πρὸς τρισὶν ἔτεσιν*. Euseb. H. E. iii. 5. *Talem Principem paullo minus annis, annos perpersus tercentum orbis tandem destituit*. Suet. Nero, 40. *Obiit tricesimo et secundo etatis anno, die quo quondam Octavianum interceperat*. Suet. Nero, 57. *Regnavit annis 13, mensib. 7, diebus 28*. Cassiodor. sub Cos. Silano et Othone. Clemens Alexand. states the reign at thirteen years, eight months, and twenty-eight days. Strom. lib. i. c. 21, p. 106. The age is thus computed by

Zonaras. *Βασις ἔτη τριάντα πρὸς μῆνας πέντε καὶ ἡμέρας εἴκοσι*. Zonaras, xi. 13, p. 371. The exact duration of his life was from 15 December, A.D. 37, to 9 June, A.D. 68, or thirty years, five months, twenty-six days, and the length of his reign was from 13 October, A.D. 54, to 9 June, A.D. 68, or thirteen years, seven months, twenty-eight days (see Fasti Romani).

2067. Galba on hearing of the death of Nero assumes the title of Caesar. *Supercelestibus ab urbe nuntiis, ut occisum Nerone cunctisque in verba sua jurasse cognovit, deponit Lejoti suscepti Caesaris appellatorem*. Suet. Galba, 11.

2068. Galba enters Rome, and puts to death the freedmen Helius, Narcissus, and Patrobinus. Dion. lxxv. 3. This Narcissus must not be confounded with the more celebrated freedman who was put to death in A.D. 54 (see that year, no. 1807). And the Narcissus referred to by St. Paul, in Rom. xvi. 11, was another Narcissus still.

2069. Cornelius Laco is appointed prefect of the praetorium. *Ὁ γὰρ Νυμφέος . . . ἀσπαστῆς μὲν υἱὸς καὶ τῶν ἐσθυρίων ἀποδέεσθαι Κορνήλιον Λάκωνα . . . ἐθογγύλην*. Plut. Galb. 13; and see Suet. Galb. 14. Tac. Hist. i. 13, 19, 27 (see A.D. 65, no. 1968; A.D. 69, no. 2085).

2070. Galba, at the close of the year, sends A. Vitellius (afterwards emperor) to command in Germany. Suet. Vitell. 7. Vitellius had been scarce a month in Germany, when, on 2 January, A.D. 69, he was proclaimed emperor. *Vixit mense transacto . . . subito a militibus . . . Imperator est consalutatus*. Suet. Vitell. 8.

2071. Fonteius Agrippa, who had been proconsul of Asia, is made prefect of Moesia. *Fonteius Agrippa ex Asia (pro consule eius provinciam annuo imperio tenuerat) Moesia praepositus est*. Tac. Hist. iii. 46 (see A.D. 65, no. 1977).

2072. Vespasian is at Gadara on 4th of Adar, or Dystros (24 February). *Ἐλθὼν γοῦν ἐπὶ τὰ Γαδάρων μητρόπολιν τῆς Παρθίας καρπείων, τετάρτῃ Δέστρων μηνί, εἰσείπεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν*. Jos. Bell. iv. 7, 8.

The Jordan at this time was swollen with the winter rains. *Συρδάνιος δὲ (Placidus) ποδὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος, εὐχρηστεύει ἀπὸ τοῦ βρυμμετος (τραπὴν γὰρ ἔσ' ἡμεῶν ἡλίοντες ἦν) ἀνταρὸν παρέρχασθαι*. Jos. Bell. iv. 7, 8.

2073. Vespasian returns to Caesarea. Ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Καισάρειαν. Jos. iv. 7, 4.

2074. Vespasian, while it is still spring, marches from Caesarea to Antipatris, Lydda, Jamnia, and Emmaus. Ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ ἔαρος ἀναλαβὼν τὸ πλεον τῆς ἐνάρμεως ἤγαγεν ἀπὸ τῆς Καισαρείας ἐπὶ Ἀντιπατρίδος . . . καταστρέψαντος δὲ τὰ περὶ Οαμιῶ τοπαρχίῳ· ἐπὶ Ἀδύνης καὶ Ἰαμνίας ἑχώρει . . . εἰς Ἀμμαούτα ἀφικνεῖται. Jos. Bell. iv. 8, 1.

2075. He encamps at Corca on 2nd Sivan, or Vesius (21 May), and the next day reaches Jericho. Καταβὰς εἰς Κορκαὶν δευτέρα Δαισίου μηνὸς στροπεύουσιν, τῇ δὲ ἑξῆς εἰς Ἰεριχοῦντα ἀφικνεῖται. Jos. Bell. iv. 8, 1.

2076. Vespasian returns to Caesarea to prepare for the siege of Jerusalem, when he hears of the death of Nero on 9 June previously. Οἰστυπυῖ δὲ εἰς Καισάρειαν ἐπιστρέφεται, καὶ παρουσίαζομένη μετὰ πάσης ἐνάρμεως ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἔσχευον, ἀγγέλλεται Νέρων ἀποθνήσκον. Jos. Bell. iv. 9, 2. The news, therefore, would reach him about the beginning of August.

2077. Vespasian, on hearing of Galba's accession, sends Titus, who is accompanied by king Agrippa, to Rome to congratulate Galba and take his orders as to the Jewish war. It was now near the close of the year, and winter was near at hand, and Titus and Agrippa sail for Rome by way of Greece. Ἀθῶν δὲ Γάλβαν ἀκούσας (Vespasian) ἀντακράτορα, πρὶν ἐπιστῆλαι τι περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ἐκείνου, οὐκ ἐπέχειρει. Πέμπει δὲ τὸν υἱὸν Τίτον ἀσπασόμενον καὶ ληφόμενον περὶ Ἰουδαίων ἐντολὰς. Τῆς αὐτῆς δὲ αἰτίας ἅμῃ Τίτῳ καὶ Ἀγρίππῳ, ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς Γάλβαν ἔπει, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀχαιᾶς χειρῶνος γὰρ ἦν ὥρα, μακρὰς ναυαὶ πλεόντων, &c. Jos. Bell. iv. 9, 2. Τῷ μὲν Γάλβῳ ἀνταρχήσαντι τὸν υἱὸν ἐπεμψε Τίτον προσποιῶντα αὐτῶν. Dion. lxx. 8 (Tauchnitz Ed.). Tac. Hist. i. 10.

2078. Apollonius of Tyana is at Messene in Sicily at the time of the insurrection against Nero and the consequent struggles for power. Καταχθυσιν ἐπὶ Συελλίῳ . . . παραπλεύσαντες δὲ ἐπὶ Μεσσήνῃ τε καὶ πορθήσιν, ἔθθα ὁ Τυρρῆνιος. Ἀντὶς ζομαράλλου χυλεπὴν ἐνοχλοῦνται τὴν χαρμῆν, ἀκούσαι φασιν ὡς Νέρων μὲν περιφύγον, τεθνήσκου δὲ Δεῖνῳ, ἀπαντοῦ δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς αἱ μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς Πάρμης, οὐδὲ ὁπόθεν τόχου τῶν ἐθνῶν. Philost. V. A. v. 11. He returns from Sicily to Greece in the autumn. Ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐκομίζετο περὶ Ἀκτωβρίου ἐπι-

τολάς. Philost. V. A. v. 18. He is at Athens and encounters Demetrius the Cynic. Μοχθίς δ' Ἀθῆναις . . . ἐτίσχε καὶ Δημοκρίτῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ. Philost. V. A. v. 10.

2078 a. Coins of Galba.

Galba Imperator + Bon. Erant.
Galba Imperat. + Concordia Provinciarum.
Imp. Galba + Diva Augusta.
Imp. Ser. Galba Cesar Aug. + Diva Augusta.
Ser. Galba Imp. + Galba.
Ser. Galba Imp. Aug. + Tres Gallie.
Galba Imperat. + Galba Hispania.
Imp. Galba or Imp. Ser. Galba Aug. + Hispania.
Galba Imp. + Hispania.
Ser. Nup. Galba Imp. Cesar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. + Hispania. Quin. S. C.
Various obverses + Honor et virtus S. C.
Uncertain obverse + Libertas P. R.
Galba Imperator + Libertas Restituta.
Genio P. R. with head of Galba + Marti Ultori.
Ser. Nup. Galba Imp. Cesar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. + Paces Augusti S. C.

The reverses of several is,

Quadragesimum Remissum S. C.
Or Quadrages Remissum S. C.
Or XXX. Remissum S. C.
Or R. XL. Libertas Aug. S. C.
Ser. Galba Imp. Ces. Aug. Tr. P. + R. XL. Roma.

Galba Imperator + Libertas Restituta.

Other coins have on the reverse,

Roma renasc. or Renascens or Renascens or Salus Gen. Human.
Ser. Nup. Galba Imp. Cesar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. + Soutus Pictati Augusti S. C.
Ser. Nup. Galba Imp. Aug. + S. I. Q. R.
Eckhel, vi. 203.

Eckhel gives the following list of obverses in Galba's coins, the only material reverses being those above:—

A. Galba Imperat.
B. Galba Imperator.
C. Galba Imp. Ces. Aug. Tr. P.
D. Imp. Galba.
E. Imp. Ser. Galba Aug.
F. Imp. Ser. Galba Aug. Tr. P.
G. Imp. Ser. Galba Cesar Aug. Tr. P.
H. Imp. Ser. Galba Cesar Aug. P. M.
I. Imp. Ser. Galba Cesar Aug. P. M.
K. Imp. Ser. Galba Ces. Aug. Tr. P.
L. Imp. Ser. Galba Ces. Aug. P. M. Tr. P.
M. Imp. Ser. Galba Ces. Aug. P. M. Tr. P.
N. Imp. Ser. Nup. Galba Ces. Aug. Tr. P.
O. Imp. Ser. Nup. Galba Ces. Aug. Tr. P.

A D. 69. U C 822 Olymp 212, 1

SFRY SLPICITIS GALBA II CFSAM AUCI STUS
T VINIUS RUPINUS Ambo triuig oovisi sunt
Εἰς δ' αὖ καὶ ἑβ

Lup M SALTUS OTHO AUC
L SAI VILS OTHO ITIANUS, II
Ex Kal Mart

T VIRGINIUS RUFUS
VOPISCUS POMPEIUS SILVANTIS
ex Kal Mar

CESIUS BABINUS
T FIVINS SARPINIS
ex Kal Jul

I ARRIUS ANTONIUS
P MARCUS CRESTUS, II
ex pr d Kal Noi

CY CCELLIUS NUPLEX,
C QUINTUS ATTICUS

GALBA UNTIL 15 JAN OF THIS YEAR

OTHO FROM 15 JAN TO 16 APRIL OF THIS YEAR

VITELLIUS FROM 2 JAN TO 22 DECEMBER OF
THIS YEAR

VLPASIANI I FROM 1 JULY AND TPIB POT I
FROM 21 DEC OF THIS YEAR

Twenty-first year of the reign of Agrippa II
from some time in the second quarter

2079 The German legions show disaffection to Galba on New Year's Day *Inferioris tamen Germania legiones sollemni Kalend Januariarum sacramento pro Galbā adiectae*, etc Tac Hist 1 55 Ἐπλήθον ἡ ἰουμηνία τοῦ πρώτου μηνός, ἣ καλὰ δὲς Ἰανουαρίως καλοῦσι, etc Plut Galb 22 *Eigo primi* (the German legions) *observatum iurpere*, at se *Kalendis Januarii adigi sacramento*, nisi in nomen senatus, recusavunt Suet Galb 16, and see Dion, lxxiv 4

2080. Vitellius is proclaimed emperor on 2 January *Proxima Legions prima hiberna erant et promptissimus e legatus Fabius Valens Is de posterio Imperatorem Vitellium consulatur* Tac Hist 1 57, and see Suet Galb 16

2081 Galba adopts Piso as his son Dion, lxxv 5 Suet Otho, 5 This was only six days before the death of Galba *Quo faciliorem occasionem M Salio Othoni praeberi perficiendi conatu intra sextum adoptionis diem Suet Galb 17*

2082. Galba is slain on 15 January, *anni Kalend Febri sacrificanti pro sede Apollinis Galbæ haeripex Umbrius tristia exata et insistentes insidias ac domesticum hostem praediavit*, Tac Hist 1 27 πρὸ τελευτῆς Καλα-

ῶν Φερρονειῶν, Plut Galb 24, and see Dion, lxxv 6, Suet Galb 20 In the seventy-third year of his age *Hunc exitum habuit* Sui Galba, *tribus et septuaginta annis quinque principes prosperi fortunae cmeasus* Tac Hist 1 49 Eutrop vii 16 Victor, Epit 6 Dion, lxxv 6 Suetonius places his birth on 24 December, B C 3. Sui Galba *Imperator M Valerio Vessallā Cn Lentino Coss* (B C 3) *natus est 12 Kalend Januarii* Suet Galb 4 This would make him at his death seventy years and twenty-three days But Suetonius himself, in another passage, assumes him to have been seventy-three, *Consilio Delphis Apolline septuagesimum ac tertium omnium vivendum sibi* (Neroni) *auduit, quasi eo demum obturus, ac nihil conjectans de aetate Galbæ*, Suet Nero 40, and, indeed, Suetonius expressly states his age to have been at his death seventy-three *Perit tertio et septuagesimo aetatis anno* Suet Galb 23 He was therefore born B C 5 He reigned from the death of Nero, on 9 June, A D 68, to 15 January, A D 69—seven months and seven days Φθαίει Γάλβας ἀνασθεῖς μετὰ μῆνας ἑπτα καὶ τσας ἡμέρας Jos Bell iv 9, 2 Galba *imperavit menses septem, diesque totidem* Victor, Epit c 6 Csesus est mense imperii ac de septimo Victo, De Csaai, c 6 Occidit est imperii mense septimo Eutrop vii 16 *Septem a Neronis fine menses sunt* Tac Hist 1 37 Μῆς αὖ ἑττα ἡμέρας π' Cleui M Strom 1 p 339 *Mensis illi, diebus 11 Tertullian*, Adv Iud c 8 *Regnavit mensibus 7* Cassiodori Dion states a different period for the reign of Galba Ἐξῆς δὲ Γάλβας ἑτη δύο καὶ ἑβδομήκοιτα, ἀφ' ὧν ἡρξ' ἡμῶν εἰσεα καὶ ἡμερῶν, δεκατρεῖς Dion lxxv 6 Dion must therefore refer, not to the death of Nero, on 9 June, A D 68, but to the assumption of imperial power by Galba in the lifetime of Nero, so that the date of this assumption must have been on 3 April, A D 68

2083. Titus, when at Corinth, on his way to Rome, to offer his congratulations to Galba, hears of his death, and then returns along the coast of Achaia and Asia, and thence by way of Rhodes and Cyprus to Judaea Titus *Vespasianus e Iudaea, infulam adhuc Galbā, missus a patre ubi Corinthi Achaiae inde ceutos munitos accepit de interitu Galbæ oram Achaiae et Asiae ac Iera maris praevectus, Rhodum et Cyprii insulas, inde Syriam audientibus apertis protulit* Tac Hist ii 1, 2,

and see Dion, lxxv. 8. Tauchnitz ed. He returns to Antioch at Cæsarea. *Ἦτος δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐπιδημίᾳ ἡγήθη ὑπὸ τῆς ἑλλάδος εἰς τὴν Σοῦρην ἰστέλ, καὶ ἐκ τῆς τάχως εἰς Καϊσάρειαν ἀφαιρέται ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς.* Jos. Bell. iv. 9, 2. This is the instance of communication between Vespasian at Cæsarea and Mithridates, ruler of Syria, at Antioch. *The . . . ἡγεμονία καὶ ἡ ἐπιδημία ἐπὶ τοῦτοῦ χρόνου.* Tac. Hist. ii. 79.

Agrippa, who had accompanied Titus on his way to Rome (see A.D. 68, no. 2077), appears not to have returned with Titus, but to have continued his journey, and to have died on his way to Rome (see A.D. 68, no. 2077, and no. 2083).

2084. Otho, on the death of Galba, is elected emperor by the senate. Tac. Hist. i. 47. Dion, lxxv. 8.

2085. Plotius Firmus and Licinius Proculus are elected prefects of the Praetorium by the soldiery. *Proterii praefectus sibi ipsi legere, Plotium Firmum . . . adsignantur Licinius Proculus.* Tac. Hist. i. 46; and see i. 82; ii. 33, 39, 46, 49 (see A.D. 68, no. 2069; and no. 2110).

Death of Iacon, ex-prefect of the Praetorium. Plut. Galb. 27. Tac. Hist. i. 46 (see A.D. 68, no. 2069).

2086. Death of Tigellinus (his case). Tac. Hist. i. 72.

2087. Otho is still at Rome on 14 March, *Prædie Idus Mart. commendatæ Patribus Republicæ*, etc. Tac. Hist. i. 99; and goes out from Rome soon after. *Praefectus Otho, quæstem . . . permissit.* Pl.

2088. Battle of Bedriacum, or Bedriacum, or Cremona, between the forces of Otho and those of Vitellius. Tac. Hist. ii. 43-45. Dion, lxxv. 19. Plut. Otho, 11. Suet. Otho, 9.

Death of Otho on 16 April, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, and when only eleven days were wanted to complete the year; and on the ninety-second day of his reign, reckoned from 15 January, the death of Galba, to 16 April. *Illeque rite facta habuit (Otho) septimo et trigesimo octavo anno.* Tac. Hist. ii. 50. *Post hæc (Galba) Otho mensibus 3, diebus 5.* Cassiodorus. *Ἐπομνηστεύει κατὰ ἡμέρας αὐτῆς Γαλατίας πέντε τὴν Ὀδάρτα καὶ Καραῖαν τοὺς Ὀφθαλμοὺς σημεῖον, ὅτι πρὶν μὲν ἡμέρας "Ὁδωρ, τῇ ἐννευῇ δὲ τοῦ Ὀδοῦ στρατωρῶν" καὶ πολλοῦ χρόνου γενομένου ἐσχίσθησαν μὲν ὧμων ἑαυτῶν ἐν Ρωμῇ Ἀγο-*

τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς ἡμῶν, ἡμέρας δὲ καὶ πέντε μὲν αὐτῶν τὸν πρῶτον. Jos. Bell. iv. 9, 9.

Ἐπειτα μὲν δὲ αὐτὸς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἑνδεκά ἡμέραις ἀφαιρέται. Ἐν ἡμέραις ἐννευῇ. Dion, lxxv. 19. Otho was slain on 28 April, A.D. 69 (see i. 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

Ἦτος δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐπιδημίᾳ ἡγήθη ὑπὸ τῆς ἑλλάδος εἰς τὴν Σοῦρην ἰστέλ, καὶ ἐκ τῆς τάχως εἰς Καϊσάρειαν ἀφαιρέται ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς. Jos. Bell. iv. 9, 2.

2089. At the death of Otho, it would seem that Pollio was one of the two prefects of the Praetorium. *Πολλίωνα τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν*

ἡμέρας ἐννευῇ. Plut. Otho, 11. Suet. Otho, 9.

2090. Vitellius is in Gaul at the death of Otho. *Victoria sua nescius.* Tac. Hist. ii. 57. *De Libriensis victoria et Othonis exitu, cum adhuc in Galliâ esset, audit.* Suet. Vitell. 10.

2091. He visits the battle-field of Bedriacum, the fortieth day after it was fought. *Intra quadragesimum pugor diem.* Tac. Hist. ii. 70.

2092. P. Sulpicius and Julius Priscus are appointed praefecti of the Praetorium. *Praeposuit praefecti utri (Vitellius) P. Sulpicianum et*

Julium Priscum tum e-

lectionem. Tac. Hist. ii. 92. *Sulpius Priscus*

Præfectus utriusque Praetorii. Tac. Hist. ii. 91.

2093. He visits the battle-field of Bedriacum, the fortieth day after it was fought. *Intra quadragesimum pugor diem.* Tac. Hist. ii. 70.

2094. He visits the battle-field of Bedriacum, the fortieth day after it was fought. *Intra quadragesimum pugor diem.* Tac. Hist. ii. 70.

2095. He visits the battle-field of Bedriacum, the fortieth day after it was fought. *Intra quadragesimum pugor diem.* Tac. Hist. ii. 70.

2096. He visits the battle-field of Bedriacum, the fortieth day after it was fought. *Intra quadragesimum pugor diem.* Tac. Hist. ii. 70.

2097. He visits the battle-field of Bedriacum, the fortieth day after it was fought. *Intra quadragesimum pugor diem.* Tac. Hist. ii. 70.

2098. He visits the battle-field of Bedriacum, the fortieth day after it was fought. *Intra quadragesimum pugor diem.* Tac. Hist. ii. 70.

2099. He visits the battle-field of Bedriacum, the fortieth day after it was fought. *Intra quadragesimum pugor diem.* Tac. Hist. ii. 70.

2100. He visits the battle-field of Bedriacum, the fortieth day after it was fought. *Intra quadragesimum pugor diem.* Tac. Hist. ii. 70.

2101. He visits the battle-field of Bedriacum, the fortieth day after it was fought. *Intra quadragesimum pugor diem.* Tac. Hist. ii. 70.

2102. He visits the battle-field of Bedriacum, the fortieth day after it was fought. *Intra quadragesimum pugor diem.* Tac. Hist. ii. 70.

2103. He visits the battle-field of Bedriacum, the fortieth day after it was fought. *Intra quadragesimum pugor diem.* Tac. Hist. ii. 70.

2104. He visits the battle-field of Bedriacum, the fortieth day after it was fought. *Intra quadragesimum pugor diem.* Tac. Hist. ii. 70.

2105. He visits the battle-field of Bedriacum, the fortieth day after it was fought. *Intra quadragesimum pugor diem.* Tac. Hist. ii. 70.

2106. He visits the battle-field of Bedriacum, the fortieth day after it was fought. *Intra quadragesimum pugor diem.* Tac. Hist. ii. 70.

2107. He visits the battle-field of Bedriacum, the fortieth day after it was fought. *Intra quadragesimum pugor diem.* Tac. Hist. ii. 70.

2108. He visits the battle-field of Bedriacum, the fortieth day after it was fought. *Intra quadragesimum pugor diem.* Tac. Hist. ii. 70.

2109. He visits the battle-field of Bedriacum, the fortieth day after it was fought. *Intra quadragesimum pugor diem.* Tac. Hist. ii. 70.

2110. He visits the battle-field of Bedriacum, the fortieth day after it was fought. *Intra quadragesimum pugor diem.* Tac. Hist. ii. 70.

2111. He visits the battle-field of Bedriacum, the fortieth day after it was fought. *Intra quadragesimum pugor diem.* Tac. Hist. ii. 70.

2112. He visits the battle-field of Bedriacum, the fortieth day after it was fought. *Intra quadragesimum pugor diem.* Tac. Hist. ii. 70.

substituto in locum eius Alpheno Varo Tac Hist m 36 (see *supra* no 2085, *infra*, no 2110)

2093. Agrippa is at this time at Rome but hastens back to Syria, to join the party of Vespasian *Μόνα per oculos suorum punitos exiit us ubi urbe Agrippa, ignaro adhuc Vitellio, celeris navigationis properaverat* Tac Hist n 81

2094 Vitellius is at Rome on his birthday, 24 September *Καὶ τὰ γενέθλια αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας ἐορτάζοντο* Dion, lxxi 4 Tauchnitz ed (see A D 15, no 1076)

2095. The Mathematici are ordered to quit Italy by 1 October *Jubebat intra Kalend Octobris inde Italique Mathematici excederent* Suet Vitell 14 Dion, lxx 1 (see A D 52, no 1774)

2096. Revolt of the armies of Moesia and Pannonia and Syria and Judea, in the eighth month of the reign of Vitellius, and therefore between 10 November and 10 December, A D 69 *Octavo mense perierunt ab eo exercitus Moeniarum atque Pannoniae, item et transmarinis Iudeis et Syriacis* Suet Vitell 15

2097 An eclipse of the moon about this time. *Ταραχῆς οὖν καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οὐρανὸς ἐπὶ ὅδεσεν αὐτὴν ἡ σελήνη - ἥς νυκτὸς ἐλπίσονται* Dion, lxx 11. The eclipse in question must have been that on 18 October, at 10 P M for the meridian of Paris (see Table of Eclipses)

2097 a Destruction of Cremona Tac Ann Hist m 32-34 Dion lxxv 15

2098. Vitellius retires from the palace in mourning on 18 December, *καὶ Ἰαννῆς αὐτῷ defectione legionis cohortumque quae ex Narnia deducuntur pullo amictu palatio degredatur mactat eam cum familiā*, Tac Hist m. 67, at the time of the Saturnalia (commencing 17 December) *Quia haec in palatibus Vitellii geruntur, digressus Antonia Vespasiani exercitus festos Saturni dies Oculi per otium agitabat* Tac Hist m 78

2099 Vitellius is slain on 22 December Dion speaks of Vitellius at his death as *χθοντα μὲν ἐπὶ τέσσαρα ἔτη καὶ πενήκοντα καὶ ἡμέρας ἐνθά καὶ οὐδοκῶντα, ἀρξάντα δὲ ἐν ταῦτον ἡμερῶν δέκα ἀποθανόντα* Dion, lxxv 22 and see Zonaras, xi 10 Vitellius was born on 21 September, A D 17, Suet Vit 3, and the fifty-fourth year, eighty-month day, would therefore be complete (reckoning one day inclusive, and the other exclusive) from 22 December, A D 69

And so the reign of a year less ten days as reckoned from 2 January, A D 69, when Vitellius assumed the purple, in the lifetime both of Galba and Otho would terminate on 22 December, A D 69

Josephus writes in one place that Vitellius *ἀποσφύριετο μηνί, ὅτῳ κρατήσεαι καὶ ἡμέρας τέττε*, Jos Bell iv 11, 4, and as the death of Otho was on 10 April, A D 69 the eight months and five days would expire on 21 December But on the other hand, Josephus allows three months, two days, to Otho, *ἡμέρας δύο καὶ τρεῖς μῆνας*, Bell iv 9, 9, and eight months, five days, to Vitellius, *μήν ας ὀκτώ κρατήσεαι καὶ ἡμέρας πέντε*, Bell iv 11, 4, making together eleven months, seven days, and as Galba was slain on 15 January, A D 69, these eleven months, seven days would terminate on 22 December, A D 64 An indirect argument that Josephus really meant the 22 December, A D 69, as the day of Vitellius's death is as follows —

The historian, referring to this event, tell us, *ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τρίτῃ Ἀπελλαίου μηνὶ δὲ πέπρακτο*, Bell iv 11, 4 Now, *τρίτῃ Ἀπελλαίου* is obviously a mistake, but an easy correction of the text had occurred to the author before he saw the same suggestion by Greswell — viz that for γ' Ἀπελλαίου, or 3 Chisleu, should be read κ' Αὐδαιίου, or 20 Audimeus, i e Tebeth On what day, then, did 20 Audimeus fall in this year? The Passover was on 25 March (the first full moon after the vernal equinox), and the Feast of Tabernacles, or 15 Tishri, would fall on 10 September Maichevan, or Dius, the next month, would therefore begin on 5 October, and Chisleu, or Apellæus, a month of thirty days, would begin on 3 November, and 3 Apellæus would fall on 5 November Tebeth or Audimeus, would begin on 3 December, and 20 Tebeth, or Audimeus, would therefore answer to 22 December That κ' Αὐδαιίου should thus coincide exactly with 22 December, the day of the death of Vitellius, affords at the same time an argument that Josephus, in his works, employs the Hebrew months under the Syro-Macedonian names (see A D 66 no 2003) At Tyre, Dius appears to have been reckoned from 18 November (inclusive), see Fasti Hellen 358, 368, and, according to that system, the 3 Apellæus would correspond with 20 December, and it has been conjectured by some, but without reason, that Josephus may have referred

ἡμερᾶς ἐπελάγασεν Dion, lxxi 8, and see Suet Vesp 7 The Nile begins to rise after mid-summer, and when the author visited Egypt in 1853 it was at its highest flood on 27 September.

2109. Apollonius-Tyanensis, having wintered in Greece, sails in the spring to Egypt. Λεϊμάσας ἔ' Ἀπολλώνιος ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληναῖς ἱεροῖσι πᾶσι, εἰγατο τῆς ἐπ' Αἰγυπτου οδοῦ περὶ εαρ, etc Philost V A. v 20 He was in Egypt when Vespasian arrived there. Οὐρεσπασιανοῦ δὲ τὴν αυτοκράτορα ὁρχήν - ἐρικουδόντος παρα τα ὁμοια τῇ Αἰγυπτῳ ὄρη, καὶ προχωροῦντος ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτου, etc Philost V A. v 27

2110. Annus Vauus is appointed prefect of the Praetorium under Vespasian. *Præfectura Praetorii penes Annium Vauum* Tac Hist iv 2 Titus at some time held this office, but it does not appear when. *Præfecturam quoque Praetorii* (Titus) *suscepit* Suet Tit 6 (see *supra* no 2092)

2111. A coin of king Agrippa

Βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππα *Tabernaculum* + L Θ, and therefore in the ninth year of his reign, or A. D. 69 Eckhel, iii 408 (see i v 65, no 1983) Agrippa, the last of the Herods, died in the third year of the reign of Tiberius, A. D. 69 Παρελάβε (Agrippa) τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου, πρὶν ἢ εἶ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος, καὶ ἐπὶ μάλλον ἐπὶ Οὐρεσπασιανοῦ, πρὶν ἢ εἶ ἐπὶ τριτῳ Ἰρρανοῖ. Photius Cod 38

Coin of Galba

Obverse uncertain + *Libertus P M Tr P*
Eckhel, vi 208

Coins of Otho

Imp Otho Casar Aug T P
Imp M Otho Casar Aug T P
Imp + Pat orbis Terrarum Oth + Pont. Max
Or + Roma or + Securitas P R Or + Securitas P R Or + Victoria Othoms
M Otho Casar Aug P M T P Imp P P
+ Imp T Casar Divi Vesp T Aug S C
Imp Otho Casar August T P + Imp Tiber Aug Restit Id vi 301

Coins of Vitellius

A Vitellius Germanicus Imp Aug P M T P
+ Honor et Virtus S C
1211 + I O Mica Capitolinus
A Vitellius German Imp T P or A Vitellius
German Imp Aug T P + L Vitellius Cos
in Censu
A Vitellius Germanicus Imp Aug P M Tr P
+ L Id

A Vitellius German Imp T P + Libert Imp
German

A Vitellius German Imp Aug T P + Iudae Imp German Aug

A Vitellius Germanicus Imp Aug P M T P
+ Pui German Romae S C

A Vitellius German Imp Aug T P + Pont
Maxim

1111 + Ubiem Restitutum S C

A Vitellius German Imp T P + xviii Saci
Pa

A Vitellius (re) Imp Aug T P + xviii
Sac Eue Eckhel, vi 310

Eckhel also gives a list of the obverses in the coins of Vitellius, the only material reverses being those above

A Vitellius Imp Germanicus

B " " Imp German

C " " Germanicus Imp

D " " German Imp T P

E " " German P M T P

F " " Aug Imp German

G " " German Imp Aug P M T P

H " " German Imp Aug P M T P

I " " German Imp Aug T P

K " " Germanicus Imp Aug P M

Tr P

L " " German Imp Aug P M T P

M " " German Imp Pont

Id vi 300

Coins referred to the time of Vitellius

Vesta P R Quirinum + I O Mica Cap-
itolinus

Vesta P R Quirinum + I O M Capitolinus

Vesta P R Quirinum + Iudaeus xivimus (i e
Romanus) Or + Fides Eueretum

Genus P R + I O Mica

Figure of Pallas + Securitas P R

Obverse uncertain + Tutela Augusti

Eckhel, vi 317

Coins of Vespasian

Imp Casar Vespasianus Aug

Imp Cas Vesp Aug

Imp Casar Vespasianus Aug T P + Titus
et Domitian Casares Prin Juven or Prin
Jim Id vi 320

Coins of Antioch

Antioche Er ZIP 1 e in the 117th year of the
Era of Antioch dating from 1 Nov B C 49,
and therefore struck between 1 Nov A D 68,
and 1 Nov A D 69 Id vi 259

Αν-οκρατωρ Οδοιν Καίσαρ Σεβαστος + κρου, Α
Id vi 258

Jewish year by which the feasts were regulated, and so, it is scarcely conceivable that Josephus should in some places reckon by Jewish months, and in others by Syro-Macedonian months. It may be assumed, therefore, that Josephus in the Wars and the Antiquities employs the Jewish months under their Syro-Macedonian names.

2117 As the days of the month are frequently referred to by Josephus in this year, the following summary of the Jewish calendar for A.D. 70 is subjoined for the convenience of reference —

	Days
1 Nisan or Xanthicus at 6 P.M. = 31 March = 30	
14 Nisan at 6 P.M. the Passover = 13 April	
1 Ijar or Artemisius = 30 April = 29	
1 Sivan or Desius = 29 May = 30	
7 Sivan, the Pentecost = 4 June	
1 Tammuz or Panemius = 26 June = 29	
1 Ab or Iouis = 27 July = 30	
1 Elul or Gorpheus = 26 Aug = 29	
1 Tishri or Hyperboreus = 24 Sept = 30	
15 Tishri, the Feast of Tabernacles = 8 Oct	
1 Marhavan or Dias = 24 Oct = 29	
1 Chisleu or Apellæus = 23 Nov = 30	
1 Tebeth or Andrius = 22 Dec = 30	
1 Shebat or Pritius = 20 Jan = 30	
1 Adar or Dystrius = 19 Feb = 29	

This table proceeds on the assumption that the Passover (which began at 6 P.M. on 13 April) regulated the whole year, and that the subsequent months followed with thirty and twenty-nine days alternately. But see *post*, no 2153.

As to the topography of Jerusalem in connection with the siege, see the author's work, 'The Siege of Jerusalem by Titus.'

2118 Titus encamps at Scopus, on the north-west of the city, seven stades from the walls. Jos. Bell v 2 3, v 3 2.

2119. He clears the ground before the city on the northern and western sides. Jos. Bell v 3 2. This was done in four days: *ἰσσοῦσαι δὲ ἡμέρας ἑξισθίνοντας τοῦ μέχρι τῶν τευχῶν ἐπιστήμης*. Jos. Bell v 3, 5.

2120. Titus encamps himself with the twelfth and fifteenth legions before Psephus, the tower at the north-west corner, the fifth legion encamping before Hippicus, and the tenth on Olivet. Jos. Bell v 3, 5.

2121 Titus, on 23 Nisan, or 22 April, begins casting up three mounds against the wall of Agrippa, on the west a little to the north of Hippicus. Jos. Bell v 6 2.

2122. The Jews rally round a secret gate of

Hippicus, and set fire to the Roman works. Jos. Bell v 6, 4.

2123 The Romans get possession of the first, or outer wall, which had been built by Agrippa round the north-western and northern parts of the city to comprise Bezetha, on 7 Ijar, or Artemisius (6 May). *καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὕτω τοῦ πρώτου τευχὸς πεντεκαίδεκάτῃ ἡμερᾷ (ἡβδόμη δ' ἦν Ἀρτεμίσιον μηνὸς) αὐτοῦ τε πολὺ κατασκάπτουσι*, etc. Jos. Bell v 7, 2. By the fifteenth day is meant, not the fifteenth from the commencement of the siege, but the fifteenth day from the commencement of the works, which must therefore have been on 28 Nisan, or 22 April.

2124. The Romans take the second wall, viz that which enclosed the part of Acra which lay on the north of Sion and to the west of the Temple, on the fifth day after the capture of the first wall. *Ἀφ' ἧς δὲ κατέσκαψαν τὴν πρῶτην τῶν τευχῶν ἡμέρᾳ πέμπτῃ μετὰ τὸ πρῶτον*, Jos. Bell v 8, 1, and therefore on 12 Ijar, or 11 May.

The Romans lose the second wall, but retake it the fourth day after. *Τρῶσιν μὲν ἀντεσχόν ἡμέραις κυρτερῶς ἀμυνόμενοι, τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ προσβάλλουσι γαίαντες*. Τίτον οὐκ ἠνέγκαν. Jos. Bell v 8, 2.

2125. Titus now relaxes the assault for four days. *Ἐξοσσοῦσι οὖν ἡμέρας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καθ' ἑκαστον τάγμα διετελέσανται, τροφὰς κομίζομενοι, τῇ πέμπτῃ δὲ Τίτος ἤρχετο χωμάται*. Jos. Bell v 9, 2. But this seems inconsistent with the subsequent statement that the mounds were begun on 12 Ijar, or Artemisius (11 May), and therefore immediately after the capture of the second wall.

2126 The Romans commence four mounds—two against the north wall of the south-west quarter, then called the High Town and now Sion, at the tomb of the high-priest John, which lay between the western wall of Acra and Hippicus and now the Castle of David at the Jaffa Gate, and two against the western wall of Antonia. Jos. Bell v 9, 2.

2127. The mounds of the Romans, which are stated to have been begun on 12 Ijar, or Artemisius (11 May), are finished on 29 Ijar, or Artemisius (28 May). *Τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαῖοις ἀρξαμένοις ὠδεύειν μηνὸς Ἀρτεμίσιον συντελέσθη τα χωμάτια μόλις ἐπ' ἡμέρας καὶ εἰκόσι ταῖς δεκάεξτα συνελθὺς ποιουμένων ἡμερῶν μέγιστα γὰρ ἐχώσθη τα τέσσαρα, καὶ θάτερον μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν ἐπὶ τοῦ πέμπτου τάγματος ἐβλήθη*

κατὰ μέσον τῆς Στρουθίου καλουμένης κολομβή-
θου, τὸ δὲ ἔτερον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ διωκόντος διωκτῶτος
ἔσται εἰς πύλας εἰσοῦ. Jos. Bell. v. 11, 4.
The Struthion Pool was near the western wall
of the Temple inclosure (including Antonia),
and took its name from *strophion*, or saw-work,
used for the lavatories in that quarter.

2128. The two mounds against Antonia are
destroyed by the Jews, and the two other
mounds against the High Town two days after.
Μερὶ δὲ δύο ἡμέρας, *etc.* Jos. Bell. v. 11, 5.

2129. A wall of circumvallation round the
city is completed by the Romans in three days.
Τριπλὴ δὲ φεκορήθη τὸ πᾶν ἡμέρας. Jos. Bell.
v. 12, 2.

2130. The Romans commence four new
mounds against the western wall of Antonia.
Jos. Bell. v. 12, 4.

2131. The new mounds are finished in
twenty-one days. Πομπαιοὶ δὲ . . . τὰ χεῖματα
ἐποίησαν μὲν καὶ εἴκοσι ἡμέρας. Jos. Bell.
vi. 1, 1.

2132. 115,888 dead bodies are carried away
been carried through one place alone between
14 Nisan, or Xanthicus (14 April), and 1
Tammuz, or Paneemus (28 June). Ἀπ' ἧς
αἰσίου ἡμέρας ἐταρατύνεοντο τοσαύτων σώμα-
των Σαρβισὸς μὲν ἐξ ἑνὸς Πανέμου τοσημίνας,
etc. Jos. Bell. v. 13, 7.

2133. The Jews make a sally from Antonia
on 1 Tammuz, or Paneemus (28 June). Νο-
μολογία ἡμερῶν μὲν ἡ ἐπιχείρησις ἦν. Jos.
Bell. vi. 1, 3.

2134. The Romans carry the western wall
of Antonia, but find a second wall newly erected
behind it. Jos. Bell. vi. 1, 3 and 4.

2135. A fruitless attempt of Sabinus to
scale the second wall on 3 Tammuz, or Pane-
mus (30 June). Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τοῖς Πανέμου
μὲν ἐπαύθη. Jos. Bell. vi. 1, 6.

2136. The second wall of Antonia is carried
two days after, and therefore on 5 Tammuz, or
Paneemus (2 July). Μερὶ δὲ ἡμέρας δύο, *etc.*
Jos. vi. 1, 7.

2137. The Romans force their way from
Antonia into the Temple along the corridors or
colonnades communicating between the two,
but are again driven out. Jos. Bell. vi. 1, 8.

2138. Antonia is razed and levelled by the
Romans, with the exception of the main tower
at the S.E. corner. This was done to prepare
the way for operations against the Temple it-
self. Jos. Bell. vi. 2, 1.

2139. The daily sacrifices cease on 17 Tam-
muz, or Paneemus (14 July). Ἐτίπτετο γὰρ
ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ ἡμέρα (Μαζέμεν δὲ ἡ ἐκείνη)
τοῦ ἐν ἐκτελεσμένῳ καλούμενου, ἀντὶ τῶν
ἀπορίᾳ διαδολογούντων τῷ θείῳ. Jos. Bell. vi. 2, 1.

2140. The Romans attempt a surprise upon
the Temple, but fail. Jos. Bell. vi. 2, 5.

2141. They now cast up four mounds against
the Temple—two within the area of Antonia,
and two without. Of these within, one was
against the N.W. corner of the inner Temple,
and the other over against the ἑξέστρα, or alcove,
between the two central cloisters of the four
enclosures of the inner Temple. Of the
two mounds without Antonia, one was against
the western cloister of the Temple, opposite the
alcove of the inner Temple, and the other
against the northern cloister to the east of
Antonia. Πλησιούτα δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ περιέτοι-
μα τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, αὐτοῦ χωρίτου· τὸ μὲν ἀντι-
παρῆς τοῦ εἰσὶν ἱεροῦ γωνίας ἦν, ἡ κατ' ἄκρον
καὶ ἑστὴν, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὴν βόρειον ἐξέστρα ἡ
μεταξὺ τῶν δύο πόλων ἦν, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν δύο,
ἄκρον μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἐστέραν πύλιν τῶν ἐστέ-
ρων ἱερῶν, τὸ δὲ ἔτερον ἐξω κατὰ τὴν ἑστέραν. Jos.
Bell. vi. 2, 7; vi. 4, 1.

2142. The Jews burn the most western of
the two galleries or cloisters running out north-
ward from the Temple, and connecting the
Temple with Antonia. Jos. Bell. vi. 2, 9.

2143. Two days after, the Romans burn the
eastern gallery or cloister running between the
Temple and Antonia. This was on 24 Tam-
muz, or Paneemus (21 July). Μερὶ δὲ ἡμέρας
δύο τερτῆρ καὶ εἰκόσι τοῦ προηγουμένου μηνός
(Paneemus) τὴν πλῆσιν πύλιν ἐπομπρῶσι
Ρωμαῖοι. Jos. Bell. vi. 2, 9.

2144. The Jews entice the Romans on to
the western cloister, and then set fire to it, and
the whole is destroyed. This was on 27
Tammuz, or Paneemus (24 July). Τοῦ προ-
ηγουμένου μηνός (Paneemus) ἐξέστη καὶ εἰκόσι
ὅλον ἐπικηρῶνται τοῖς ἰσίοις. Jos. Bell. vi.
4, 1.

2145. The Romans burn the northern clois-
ter of the Temple. Jos. Bell. vi. 3, 2. The
northern cloister being now destroyed, and the
Jews having no means of mounting and man-
ning the wall, the Romans are in possession
of the outer Temple, and proceed against
the inner Temple, which, being a square ele-
vated platform, with a wall and porticoes, was
a strong citadel.

2146 Two mounds are completed on 8 Ab or Lous (3 August) and the inner Temple is battered, but without effect "Ἰδὼν δὲ τῶν ἰσοταγμάτων συντελεσθῶν τὰ χώματα Λαῶν μὴ οὐκ ὄντων, etc. Jos Bell vi 1, 1

2147 Titus the same day gives orders to set fire to the gates of the inner Temple "ὁ δὲ Τίτος, ὥς ἔωρε τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱεροῖς φεῖδ' πρὸς βλάβης τοῖς στρατιώταις γινόμενῃ καὶ φ. ου, τὰς πύλας προσέταξεν ἐφάπτεν Jos Bell vi 1, 1 Bell vi 4, 2

2148. The next day 9 Ab or Lous (Saturday, 4 August), Titus enters our view in vain, to extinguish the fire, which had not only enveloped the gates but the cloisters also Τῇ δ' ἐπομένῃ Τίτος σβενδύνει κλεῖσαι, etc. τῶς αὐτῶν σπειρῶν ἐπιλεῖκτοις ὀδοποιεῖν τῶν ἐρείπτῳ προστάζει καὶ τὸ πῦρ σβενδύνει Jos Bell vi 4, 3

2149. The Temple itself is burnt on 10 Ab, or Lous (Sunday, 5 August) Παρὴν δὲ ἡ εἰρημνίη χρονίῳ περιόδῳ, ἡμερᾶ δεκάτῃ Λαῶν μὴ οὐκ ἔν τῳ καὶ το προτερον ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως ἐκπρήσθη Jos Bell vi 4, 5. Dion, lxxvi 6 As 10 Ab was the day on which the first destruction of the Temple followed to by Josephus had occurred, Jozevi in 12, it is clear that Josephus by 10 Lous means 10 Ab, i.e. Josephus calls the Hebrew months by the Syro-Macedonian names. According to the Talmud the Temple was destroyed by Titus on 9 Ab. See Wieseler's Chron. Synop. p. 142. The Talmud, therefore, dates the event from the configuration of the colonnades round the Temple.

2150. Titus holds a palley with the Jews of the High Town, now called Sion across the bridge communicating between the southern end of the great western cloister of the outer Temple and the upper city Jos Bell vi 6, 2

2151. The Jews refuse to surrender, and Titus in revenge burns the public buildings round the Temple, viz. Ophla and Aera and the Archive Bell vi 6, 3

2152. Titus makes mounds against the High Town on the north-west over against the Prætorium or Herod's Palace, near the castle of David, and on the east at the Xyst and the Bridge. This was on 20 Ab, or Lous (15 August) Λαῶν μὴ οὐκ ἐν ταῖς Bell vi 8, 1

2153 The mounds are completed in eighteen days, on 7 Elul

Συντελεσμεναι δ' ἦν τῶν χώματων ἔλκειν Πορταίου μὴ οὐκ ἐν ἑπταμῆναι ἡμέραις etc. Jos Bell vi 8, 1 From 20 Ab, or 15 August (inclusive), when the works were commenced, to 7 Elul, or 1 September when they were completed, would be just eighteen days but only on one hypothesis, viz. that Ab was a month of thirty days. It has been seen under 20 66 that Tishri was also a month of thirty days and thus, as the Jewish months were alternately of thirty days and twenty-nine days, we have the following Table —

Nisan	= 30 days	Tishri	= 30 days
Iyar	= 29 "	Marthesani	= 29 "
Sivan	= 30 "	Chisleu	= 30 "
Tammuz	= 29 "	Tebeth	= 29 "
Ab	= 30 "	Sebat	= 30 "
Elul	= 29 "	Adar	= 29 "

Greswell reverses the order and makes Nisan a month of twenty-nine days, Iyar of thirty, etc., and we have in the Tables adopted for convenience in other years the calendar of Greswell. As the second day of the Passover and the first day of the Feast of Tabernacles were *always* on the days of full moon, and the lunations vary in length from month to month, it is not improbable that all the months had thirty or twenty-nine days, not according to any established order but according to circumstances, so as to keep the two great feasts on the days of the full moon.

2154. The High Town is taken on 8 Elul or Gorpæis (2 September) Φελαγόμενοι δ' ἐκπατεῖν τερροσλήμους ἡμερᾶ Πορταίου μὴ οὐκ ὄντων Jos Bell vi 8 5 Εἰλω μὲν οὕτως τερροσλήμῳ ἐπὶ τῷ κέντρῳ τῆς Οὐρεσπασίῳ οὐ ἡγεμονίας Πορταίου μὴ οὐκ ὄντων, Bell vi 10, 1, and according to Dion, on a Saturday Ὁδῶν μὲν τὰ τερροσλήμῳ ἐπὶ τῷ κέντρῳ οὐκ ὄντων, ἢ μάλιστα ἐπὶ καὶ τῷ Ἰουδαίῳ σείδωναι, ἐξάλετο Dion, lxxvi 7 But Josephus does not mention this, and it is observable that Dion makes a point of placing every capture of Jerusalem on a Saturday, as that of A.D. 63, by Pompey, Dion, xxxviii 16, and that in the 37, by Herod, Dion, clix 22

2155. Titus rests three days upon the ruins of Jerusalem and then proceeds to Caesarea Ἀντὶς δὲ τοῖς ἐν πόλει τρεῖς ἡμέρας συντορτάσας καὶ ἀταβύς ἡμέρᾳ τῇ στρατῷ πρὸς τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ Ἰουδαίᾳ, etc. Jos Bell vii 1, 3

I S P D D cui populus eius con
ficio . . . immunit perpet
x centuram decrevit
Ex S C

On another side —

Ponend Cui C Nymphidius Chrestus uen
L Octavius L F Iacvndus uen Ti Trib
Claud Dedic aen K Dec L Anno Bossa
C Caeina Pato Cos. (Romae)

Id 306, 3

Pax aeterna domus Imp Vespasiani Caeina
Aug Liberoiunigae eius sacrum Trib Suc

Junon Dedic re Kal Dec L Anno Bossa,
C Caeina Pato Cos (Romae)

Grutei, 250, 3

Victoriae Augusti Sacrum Proscitu Imp Cas
T Ilari Vespasiani Aug Pont Max Trib
Pot Cos u P P stalunio ci cese mdo spol
conloc (Romae)

Inscriptio ad calcem Suetonii

First year of the Sabbatic cycle

Passover, April 18

Pentecost, June 4

Tabernacles, October 8

APPENDIX.



The following pages, down to the Index, contain no novel matter, and are inserted merely for the reader's greater convenience in consulting and verifying the Chronological Tables. In pursuing the chronology of the period comprised in this volume, reference must perpetually be had to certain fundamental *data* (such as the ancient calendars, &c.), without a knowledge of which the reader would be constantly at a loss. The necessary information might no

doubt be found in various standard works: but the right book is not always ready at hand, and search must then be made for the particular matter. It was therefore thought desirable to collect together such of these *desiderata* as are most frequently wanted, and print them together with the Tables. They can be but surplusage to any one, and, to judge from the Author's own experience, will be treated as saving time and trouble to a great number.

THE JEWISH YEAR.

This consisted of twelve lunar months, of thirty days and twenty-nine days alternately, making together 354 days, and thus falling short of the solar year by eleven days and a quarter annually: so that in a cycle of eight years there was a *deficit* of ninety days, or three months of thirty days each. To compensate for this loss, three months, of thirty days each, were intercalated in the course of every cycle of eight years. The intercalations were not fixed to any particular years, but were avoided in the seventh, or *Sabbatic* year, and also in the following year, and were often made in the sixth year; and intercalations were not made in two consecutive years. Auger, 32.

The Jewish *fædæra* were regulated by the seasons, but not without reference to the sun's course, as will be seen by the following canon:—The first day of the year was the 1st of Nisan, which was that day, from sunset to sunset, on which the moon was at the full, when the sun was in Aries; that is (as computed by the ancients), between 17 March, when the sun entered Aries, and 17 April, when it entered Taurus; and the two extreme days, 17 March and 17 April, even to have been excluded, so that 15 Nisan could never be earlier than 18 March, or later than 16 April. The fourteenth day previous to the day of this full moon would be the time of new moon according to the *phasis*, and was the commencement of the Jewish year.

The *Paschæ*, or day of Paschal sacrifices, was on

14 Nisan, that is, on the fourteenth day, from sunset to sunset, reckoned from the day of the *phasis*; and the seven following days were the Feast of Unleavened Bread, so that the Paschæ, in a large sense, was a feast of eight days, beginning on 14 Nisan, and ending on 21 Nisan. The 16 Nisan was also specially the Feast of the Sheaf-offering, as well as one of the days of Unleavened Bread.

The fifth day from the Sheaf-offering (on 20 Nisan) was the Feast of Pentecost.

The Feast of *Tabernacles*, or 15 Tisri, was the day, reckoned from sunset to sunset, on which fell the sixth full moon next after the full moon of the Paschæ (exclusive); and the *Fest*, or great Day of Atonement, was the fifth day before the Feast of Tabernacles, that is, 10 Tisri.

It is evident from this outline that the times of the Jewish Feasts for any year may be determined without much difficulty by looking at the eclipses of the moon for that year; or should there happen to be no eclipse in that year, then at the eclipse next before or next after it in the preceding or following year. As an eclipse of the moon can occur only when the moon is at the full, the preceding and following full moons may be calculated in a general way, by taking the mean longitude at 29d. 12m. 44" 8".

As 1 Nisan, or New Year's Day, was the fourteenth day (exclusive) from that on which the sun was in Aries, i. e., between 17 March and 17 April, it is almost

needless to remark that the Jewish months did not correspond to the months of the Julian year. The Jewish months (called by Josephus sometimes by their Jewish names, and sometimes by the names of the Syro-Macedonian months) were proximately as follows:—

Jewish Names	Syro-Macedonian Names	No. of Days	Corresponding Months
Nisan, or Abib	Xanthicus	30	March and April
Ijar	Artamnus	29	April and May
Sivan	Dasius	30	May and June
Tammuz	Panemus	29	June and July
Ab	Loos	30	July and August
Elul	Gorpæus	29	August and September
Tisri	Hyperbæus	30	September and October
Marchesvan	Dus	29	October and November
Chisleu	Apellæus	30	November and December
Tebeth	Adarnus	29	December and January
Shebat	Pentrus	30	January and February
Adar	Dysmnus	29	February and March

The intercalary month was called *Veadar*, and was intercalated between *Shebat* and *Idar* (see further, as to the Jewish year, A D 66, no 2003 A D 70 no 2152)

SYRO-MACEDONIAN YEAR

This began from the autumnal equinox. Before the reformation of the calendar by Julius Cæsar, it was a lunar year, the course of the moon being adapted to that of the sun by means of intercalations. After the reformation of the calendar, the Syro-Macedonian year became a solar year, but still commenced from the autumnal equinox. The months were proximately as follows:—

Δῖος	= September and October
Ἀπὲλλαῖος	= October and November
Αὐθιναῖος	= 28 November and December
Πεσῖτιος	= 25 December and January
Δυστρίαιος	= January and February
Ξανθικός	= February and March
Ἀρτεμῖσιος	= March and April
Δαῖσιος	= April and May
Πανεμῖος	= May and June
Λῶος	= June and July
Γορπύσιος	= July and August
Ἰππερβεταῖος	= August and September

The intercalary month, while the Syro-Macedonian year was a lunar year, appears to have been *Διδεκαῖος*, and to have followed *Hyperbæus* (see *Ideler's Handb.* 193)

THE ATTIC YEAR

This was a lunar year, and consisted of twelve months, of thirty days and twenty-nine days alternately, the lunar year being kept in harmony with the solar year by means of intercalations. The commencement of the year was from the autumnal solstice. The months varied of course, from those of the Julian year, but were proximately as follows:—

Ἑκατομβαιών	= June and July
Μεταγεττιών	= July and August
Βοηδρομιών	= August and September
Πωανέσιον	= September and October
Μαιαιναγριών	= October and November
Ποσειδεών	= November and December
Γαυλιών	= December and January
Ἰανθεστηριών	= January and February
Ἐλεφθβολιών	= February and March
Μουνιχιών	= March and April
Θαργηλιών	= April and May
Σεροφοριών	= May and June

The intercalary month was a second *Ἑκατομβαιών*, and was intercalated in the middle of the year.

THE ROMAN CALENDAR

NOTE. The authorities are chiefly Ovid *Fasti*, and Columella, which are quoted respectively by the letters O P C.

JANUARIUS		6	idus
		7	iii
1	Kalends	8	ii
	Festas	9	i
	Hoc die ultio citroque sternit	10	nonæ
	missæ Dies auspiciatus	11	vi
2	id	12	v
3	iii	13	iiii
4	iv	14	iii
5	v	15	ii
	Nonæ	16	i
		17	idus
		18	iii
		19	ii
		20	i
		21	nonæ
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124. *Bac. N. 552* (1944).
125. *Bac. N. 553* (1944).
126. *Bac. N. 554* (1944).
127. *Bac. N. 555* (1944).
128. *Bac. N. 556* (1944).
129. *Bac. N. 557* (1944).
130. *Bac. N. 558* (1944).
131. *Bac. N. 559* (1944).
132. *Bac. N. 560* (1944).
133. *Bac. N. 561* (1944).
134. *Bac. N. 562* (1944).
135. *Bac. N. 563* (1944).
136. *Bac. N. 564* (1944).
137. *Bac. N. 565* (1944).
138. *Bac. N. 566* (1944).
139. *Bac. N. 567* (1944).
140. *Bac. N. 568* (1944).
141. *Bac. N. 569* (1944).
142. *Bac. N. 570* (1944).
143. *Bac. N. 571* (1944).
144. *Bac. N. 572* (1944).
145. *Bac. N. 573* (1944).
146. *Bac. N. 574* (1944).
147. *Bac. N. 575* (1944).
148. *Bac. N. 576* (1944).
149. *Bac. N. 577* (1944).
150. *Bac. N. 578* (1944).
151. *Bac. N. 579* (1944).
152. *Bac. N. 580* (1944).
153. *Bac. N. 581* (1944).
154. *Bac. N. 582* (1944).
155. *Bac. N. 583* (1944).
156. *Bac. N. 584* (1944).
157. *Bac. N. 585* (1944).
158. *Bac. N. 586* (1944).
159. *Bac. N. 587* (1944).
160. *Bac. N. 588* (1944).
161. *Bac. N. 589* (1944).

 $\frac{d}{dt} \left(\frac{\partial L}{\partial \dot{x}} \right) = \frac{\partial L}{\partial x}$

- | | |
|--|---|
| 2. <i>K. d. Nefestus</i> . <i>Polyporus impunctatus</i> . C. | 24. <i>K. d. Nefestus</i> . <i>Polyporus impunctatus</i> . C. |
| 3. <i>K. d. Nefestus</i> . <i>Polyporus impunctatus</i> . C. | 25. <i>K. d. Nefestus</i> . <i>Polyporus impunctatus</i> . C. |
| 4. <i>K. d. Nefestus</i> . <i>Polyporus impunctatus</i> . C. | 26. <i>K. d. Nefestus</i> . <i>Polyporus impunctatus</i> . C. |
| 5. <i>K. d. Nefestus</i> . <i>Polyporus impunctatus</i> . C. | 27. <i>K. d. Nefestus</i> . <i>Polyporus impunctatus</i> . C. |
| 6. <i>K. d. Nefestus</i> . <i>Polyporus impunctatus</i> . C. | 28. <i>K. d. Nefestus</i> . <i>Polyporus impunctatus</i> . C. |
| 7. <i>K. d. Nefestus</i> . <i>Polyporus impunctatus</i> . C. | 29. <i>K. d. Nefestus</i> . <i>Polyporus impunctatus</i> . C. |
| 8. <i>K. d. Nefestus</i> . <i>Polyporus impunctatus</i> . C. | 30. <i>K. d. Nefestus</i> . <i>Polyporus impunctatus</i> . C. |
| 9. <i>K. d. Nefestus</i> . <i>Polyporus impunctatus</i> . C. | 31. <i>K. d. Nefestus</i> . <i>Polyporus impunctatus</i> . C. |

APRILIS.

- [illegible]

MARTIN

1. *Art. Nid.* Nidus prope Anchusa per tres dies.
O. *Myiarchus* O.
2. *Art. Nid.*
3. *Art. Nid.* *Austrinus* piceo-aurum. O.
4. *Art. Nid.*

- 19 xii Nefast CEREALIA Iudi in Circo O
 20 xii Nefast Sol in Tauro O
 21 xi Nefast primo PARTIA oi PARTIA O
 22 x Nefast
 23 ix Nefast primo VINALIA P
 24 viii Comitalis
 25 vii Nefast primo ROMUALIA Medium Vel O
 Altes occidit O Canis ortus O
 26 vi Fastus Fideula mane ortus P
 27 v Comitalis Assyrius totus Orion absconditus P
 28 iv Nefast primo Ludi FLORALIA O
 29 iii Comitalis Ludi Mane Cypra exortur C
 30 Prædie kalendas Mm Comit Ludi Canis ex
 vesperti cilit C

MAIUS

- 1 Kalendæ Nefastus Capella ortus C
 2 vi Fastus COMITALIA Hyades ortuntur O
 (P
 3 v Comitalis Centaurus ortus O C
 4 iv Comit
 5 iii Comit Lyra ortus O C
 6 Prædie Comit Scorpis medius occidit O C
 7 Nonæ Nefastus Vergilæ exortuntur mane C
 8 viii Fastus Capella pluvialis ortus Cæsari
 Lægypto Canis vesperti occidit C
 9 vii Lemuria Æstatis initium C
 10 vi Comitalis Vergilæ totæ apparent C
 11 v Lemuria Orion occidit O Areturi occidit
 matutinus P
 12 iv Nefast primo Ludi MARTIS in Circo
 13 iii Nefastus LEVIROM dies ultimus Pleiades
 omnes ortuntur Æstatis initium O Ichnocla
 ortus P
 14 Prædie Comitalis Taurus ortus O
 15 Idus Nefast primo Fidis mane exortus C
 16 xiii Fastus
 17 xii Comitalis
 18 xi Comit
 19 x Comit Sol in Geminis O C
 20 viii Comit
 21 vii Nefast primo ACORATA oi ANCONALIA
 Canis ortus O Scutæ exortuntur C
 22 vi Nefast Hoc et sequenti die Arcturus mane
 occidit C
 23 v Nefast primo TURNUSSTRUM
 24 ix Quando Rex C i comitiavit
 25 viii Comitalis Aquila ortus O Hoc et se-
 quenti die Capte mane exortur C
 26 vii Comit Antophylæ ou Bootes occidit O
 27 vi Comit Hyades ortuntur O
 28 v Comit
 29 iv Comit
 30 iii Comit
 31 Prædie kalendas Junii Comit

IUNIUS

- 1 Kalendæ Nefast Aquila ortus O C
 2 vi Fastus Hyades ortuntur O Aquila ortus
 vesperti P

- 3 iii Comitalis Cæsari et Assyriæ Aquila ortus
 vesperti P
 4 Prædie Comit
 5 Nonæ
 6 viii Nefast
 7 vii Nefast Antophylæ occidit O Arcturus
 occidit C
 8 vi Nefast Delphinus vesperti exortus P
 9 v Nefast VESTA PUNA VESTA
 10 iv Nefast Delphinus vesperti ortus O O P
 11 iii Nefast MATI ALIA
 12 Prædie Nefast
 13 Idus Nefast QUINOCATULUS MINORES O
 14 xiii Nefast
 15 xvi Fastus Quando steræus delatam Hyades
 ortuntur O Gladius Orionis exortus P
 16 xvi Comitalis Orion ortus O
 17 xv Comit Delphinus totus apparet O
 18 xiv Comit Sol transit in Cancrum O
 19 xiii Comit MINERVA in Aventino Sol in Cancro
 O C
 20 xii Comit SUMMANO ad CIRCUM maximum
 Ophiucus ortus O
 21 xi Comit Solstitium Æstivum App B C v 97
 22 x Comit
 23 ix Comit
 24 viii Comit Hoc et bulno sequenti solstitium C
 25 vii Comit
 26 vi Comit Orionis zona emergit Solstitium
 Æstivum O Orion exortus Cæsari P
 27 v Comit
 28 iv Comit
 29 iii Fastus
 30 Prædie kalendas Junii

IULIUS

- 1 Kalendæ Nefastus
 2 vi Nefast
 3 v Nefast
 4 iv Nefast primo Corona occidit mane C
 5 iii Nefast PORTUICIA Atticæ Orion exortur
 Chaldeis Corona occidit matutine
 6 Prædie Nefast Ludi APOLLINARIUS Cancræ
 medius occidit C
 7 Nonæ Nefast Ludi
 8 viii Nefast Ludi Cypriæcanus medius occidit C
 9 vii Nefast Ludi Cypriæus vesperti exortus C
 10 vi Comitalis Ludi Prodrumi flare incipiunt
 C
 11 v Comit Ludi
 12 iv Nefast primo Ludi
 13 iii Comitalis Ludi in Circo
 14 Prædie Comit Mækedonius dies
 15 Idus Nefast primo Merk Procyon ortus
 mane C
 16 xvi Fastus Merk
 17 xvi Comitalis Merk
 18 xv Comit Merk
 19 xiv Nefast primo Merk LUCARIA
 20 xiii Comitalis Ludi VICTORIÆ CÆSARIS Sol
 Jovis in ingreditur C

21. vii. Comet. Iovis. P.
22. xi. Comit. Iudi.
23. x. NEPTUNIA. Iudi. Prodrori in Italia con-
- stant. P.
24. ix. Neft. Iudi.
25. viii. Neft. primo. FENNINATA. Iudi. Aqua-
- ritus exoritur. C.
26. vi. Comet. Iudi. Candelabrum. P.
27. xi. Comet. Iudicium. Aquila exoritur. C.
28. x. Comit. In Circo.
29. ix. Comit. In Circo.
30. viii. Comit. In Circo. Aquila occidit. C.
31. Prælie Kalendis Augusti. Comit.

AUGUSTUS.

1. Kalendas. Neftus. ETHEL PLANT. C.
2. ix. Comit. Ferie.
3. vii. Comit.
4. Prælie. Comit. Leo medius oritur. C.
5. Nonæ. Neftus.
6. viii. Neftus. Sacrificium publicum. Arcurus
- medius occidit. P.
7. vi. Comet. Iudi. Aquarius medius occidit. C.
8. v. Comet. Iudi. Iudex in colle Quirinale sacri-
- ficium publicum. Antoni inittum Filicula ce-
- cidit. P.
9. v. Neft. primo.
10. iv. Comet. Iudi. Arx Opie et Cereris in vico
- publico exoritur. C.
11. iii. Comet. Iudi. Iovis in Antium in loco
- Comit. P.
12. Prælie. Comit. Herculi Magno custodi in Circo
- Lamula. Eris occidit mane. C.
13. Idus. Neft. primo. Diane in Aventinus et Ver-
- gilio in Læto Mæne. Delphus occidit
- C.
14. xiv. Neft.
15. xiii. Comet. Iudi.
16. xii. Comit.
17. xvi. Neft. primo. PORTUNATA. Portuno ad
- portum Æmilium. Iano ad theatrum Mercelli.
18. xv. Comit. Iudi.
19. xiv. Neft. primo. VENTATA ATTERA. Veneri ad
- Circum maxium.
20. xiii. Comet. Iudi. In Virgilio tremor. C.
21. xii. Neft. primo. CORSTATA. Cælo in Atr-
- etio sacrificium.
22. xi. Violenator mane oritur. P.
23. x. Neft. primo. VOLCANATA. Volcano in Circo
- publico.
24. ix. Comit. Iudi.
25. viii. Neft. primo. ORIONATA. In capitulo.
26. vii. Comit. Iudi. Arcurus in helio occidit. C.
27. vi. Neft. primo. VOLTURATA.
28. v. Neft. primo. ETHEL DEFINITE. Sagittæ oc-
- cidit. P.
29. iv. Idus.
30. iii. Neftus. ETHEL DEFINIT. C.
31. Prælie Kalendis Septemb. Comit. Iudi. Andromeda
- in p. n. c. c. c.

SEPTEMBER.

1. Kalendas. Neftus.
2. vi. Neft. Hoc die Fortæ NEPTUNIA. Arcuri
- medius occidit. P.
3. v. Comet. Iudi.
4. Prælie. Comit. Iudi. Candelabrum.
5. Nonæ. Neftus. Iudi. Aquila exoritur.
6. vi. Idus. Iudi.
7. v. Comet. Iudi. Iovis in Antium in loco
- Comit. P.
8. iv. Comet. Iudi.
9. iii. Comet. Iudi. Iovis in Antium in loco
- Comit. P.
10. ii. Comet. Iudi. Virgo exoritur. C.
11. Prælie. Neft. Iudi. Arcurus medius occidit
- P.
12. Idus. Idus. primo.
13. xvi. Neftus. Eorum PROBATIO.
14. xvii. Neftus. Eorum PROBATIO.
15. xvi. Neftus. LECTI ROMANI IN CIRCO.
16. xv. Comet. Iudi. In Circo. ETHEL DEFINIT. C.
17. xiv. Comit. In Circo. Arcurus medius occidit
- C.
18. xiii. Comit. In Circo. Spica Virgo. Neftus
- Comit. P.
19. xii. Comit. In Circo. Iovis mane apparet. Sol
- in Læto tremor. C.
20. xi. Comit. Mercedonius dies.
21. x. Comit. Merk. Piscæ occidunt mane. C. P.
22. x. Comit. Merk. Argo navis occidit. C.
23. ix. Neft. primo. Merk. Centaurus in helio mane
- ocidit. Iudi. Cælo.
24. viii. Comit. Iudi. Equinoctium autumnale
- in helio. P. Hoc et Idus sequenti. C.
25. vii. Comit. Veneri Genetridi in foro Cæsaris.
26. vi. Comit.
27. v. Idus. exoritur. C.
28. iv. Virgo desinit oriri. C.
29. iii. Fumus. Idus oritur. P.
30. Prælie Kalendis Octobris. Comit. Iudi.

OCTOBER.

1. Kalendas. Neft.
2. vi. Neftus.
3. v. Comet. Iudi.
4. xv. Comit. Auriga occidit mane. Virgo desinit
- occidere. C.
5. iii. Comit. Comet. cepit oriri. C.
6. Prælie. Comit. Idus oritur vesperi. Aris
- medius occidit. C.
7. Nonæ. Neftus.
8. viii. Neftus. Corona clara stella exoritur. C.
9. vii. Neftus.
10. vi. Comit. Virgilia exoritur vesperi. C.
11. v. NEPTUNATA.
12. iv. Neft. primo. ARGENTATA.
13. iii. Neft. primo. FONTINATA. Hoc et sequenti
- die corona tota mane exoritur. C.
14. Prælie.
15. Idus. Neft. primo. Corona tota oritur. P.
16. x. P. Iovis.

- 17 xxi Comit
18 xv Comit
19 xiv Nefast primo Administratio
20 xiii Comitalis Sol in Nipam transit C Hoc
et sequenti die salis exortu Vergilæ incipit
occidere C
21 xii Comit
22 xi Comit Tauri cauda occidit C
23 x Comit
24 ix Comit
25 viii Comit Centaurus exortu mane desinit C
26 vii Comit Nepe frons exortu C
27 vi Comit Ludi victorie Saeculae vespere exor-
minatur P
28 v Comit Ludi Vergilæ occidunt C
29 iv Comit Ludi Areturus vespere occidit C
30 iii Comit Ludi Hoc et sequenti die Cassiope
incipit occidere

- 31 Pridie Kalendas Novembriis Comit Ludi

NOVEMBRIS

- 1 Kalendæ Nefastus Hoc die et postero caput
Tauri occidit P
2 iv Areturus occidit vespere P
3 iii Indicula mane exortu C
4 Pridie
5 Nonæ Fastus
6 vii Fastus Ludi Indicta tota oritur C
7 vii Comitalis Ludi Stella elusa Scorpionis
exortu C
8 vi Comit Ludi Vergilæ mane occidunt C
9 v Comit Ludi Hiemis initium C
10 iv Comit Ludi
11 iii Comit Ludi Vergilæ occidunt P MALLA
CAUDINIFUS
12 Pridie Comit Ludi
13 Idus Nefastus primo Lepule indicit
14 xiiii Fastus Eborum Probitio
15 xiii Comitalis Ludi Plumbæ in Circo
16 xii Comit In Circo Fides exortu mane C
17 xi Comit In Circo Sol in Sagittarium transit
C Saeculae mene oritur C
18 xii Comit Mercedonius dies
19 xiii Comit Merx
20 xii Comit Merx
21 xi Comit

- 22 x Comit Lepus mane occidit C
23 ix Comit
24 viii Comit
25 vii Comit Canicula occidit C
26 vi Comit
27 v Comit
28 iv Comit
29 iii Comit
30 Pridie Kalendas Decembris Comit Tota sa-
culæ occidunt C

DECEMBRIS

- 1 Kalendæ Nefastus
2 iv
3 iii
4 Pridie
5 Nonæ Fastus
6 vii Sagittarius melius occidit C Scorpions totus
mane exortu C
7 vii Comitalis Aquila mane oritur C
8 vi Comit
9 v Comit
10 iv Comit
11 iii Nativus primo AGONATIA
12 Pridie
13 Idus Nefast primo Scorpio totus exortu C
14 xix Fastus
15 xiiii Nefast primo CONSTELLIA
16 xiii Comitalis
17 xii Nefast primo SATURNIA Sol in Capri-
cornium transit C
18 xi Comitalis
19 x Nefast primo OPALIA
20 xiii Comitalis
21 xii Nefast primo DIVALIA
22 xi Comitalis Fene Laribus consecrate
23 x Nefast primo LAURENTIA, OF LAURENTIALIA
Capri occidit mane C
24 ix Comitalis
25 viii Comit JUVENILES Ludi Solstitium hiemal
26 vii Comit
27 v Comit Delphinus incipit oriri mane C
28 iv Comit
29 iii Fastus Aquila occidit vespere C
30 ii Fastus Canicula vespere occidit C
31 Pridie Kalend Januæ Comit

PARALLEL YEARS

In the following Tables the parallel years of the different Eras are placed in juxtaposition with that year *b c* or *a d* in which the *parallel years of such different Eras* commence. Thus the year *b c* 70 contains only the first eight months and ten days of *v c* 681, and the first six months only of the third year of the 177th Olympiad. The last three months and twenty days of *l c* 684 and the last six months of the third year of the 177th Olympiad fall under the year *b c* 69.

<i>b c</i> From 1 Jan of this year	<i>v c</i> From 21 April of this year	OLYMP From the first full moon after the Summer Solstice of this year	ERA OF NABONASSAR From 1 Nov of this year	SEPTIC ERA From 1 Oct of this year	ERA OF ANTIOCH From 1 Nov of this year	ACTIAN ERA From 2 Sept of this year	ALEXAN ERAN ERA From 29 Aug of this year	JULIAN PERIOD
70	684	177 3	679	243				4644
69	685	4	680	244				4645
68	686	178 1	681	245				4646
67	687	2	682	246				4647
66	688	3	683	247				4648
65	689	4	684	248				4649
64	690	179 1	685	249				4650
63	691	2	686	250				4651
62	692	3	687	251				4652
61	693	4	688	252				4653
60	694	180 1	689	253				4654
59	695	2	690	254				4655
58	696	3	691	255				4656
57	697	4	692	256				4657
56	698	181 1	693	257				4658
55	699	2	694	258				4659
54	700	3	695	259				4660
53	701	4	696	260				4661
52	702	182 1	697	261				4662
51	703	2	698	262				4663
50	704	3	699	263				4664
49	705	4	700	264	1			4665
48	706	183 1	701	265	2			4666
47	707	2	702	266	3			4667
46	708	3	703	267	4			4668
45	709	4	704	268	5			4669
44	710	184 1	705	269	6			4670
43	711	2	706	270	7			4671
42	712	3	707	271	8			4672
41	713	4	708	272	9			4673
40	714	185 1	709	273	10			4674
39	715	2	710	274	11			4675
38	716	3	711	275	12			4676
37	717	4	712	276	13			4677
36	718	186 1	713	277	14			4678
35	719	2	714	278	15			4679
34	720	3	715	279	16			4680
33	721	4	716	280	17			4681
32	722	187 1	717	281	18			4682
31	723	2	718	282	19	1		4683
30	724	3	719	283	20	2	1	4684
29	725	4	720	284	21	3	2	4685
28	726	188 1	721	285	22	4	3	4686
27	727	2	722	286	23	5	4	4687
26	728	3	723	287	24	6	5	4688
25	729	4	724	288	25	7	6	4689
24	730	189 1	725	289	26	8	7	4690
23	731	2	726	290	27	9	8	4691
22	732	3	727	291	28	10	9	4692
21	733	4	728	292	29	11	10	4693
20	734	190 1	729	293	30	12	11	4694
19	735	2	730	294	31	13	12	4695
18	736	3	731	295	32	14	13	4696
17	737	4	732	296	33	15	14	4697

PARALLEL YEARS—continued

B C From 1 Jan of this year	D C From 21 April of this year	OLYMP From the first full moon after the summer Solstice of this year	ERA OF NABONASSAR From 1 No. of this year	SELEUC ERA From 1 Oct of this year	ERA OF ANTIOCH From 1 Nov of this year	ACTIAN ERA From 1 Sept of this year	ALFAX DRAK. ERA From 23 Aug. of this year	JULIAN PERIOD
10	738	191 1	783	297	34	16	15	4698
15	739	2	784	298	35	17	16	4699
14	740	3	785	299	36	18	17	4700
13	741	4	786	300	37	19	18	4701
12	742	192 1	787	301	38	20	19	4702
11	743	2	788	302	39	21	20	4703
10	744	3	789	303	40	22	21	4704
9	745	4	790	304	41	23	22	4705
8	746	193 1	791	305	42	24	23	4706
7	747	2	792	306	43	25	24	4707
6	748	3	793	307	44	26	25	4708
5	749	4	794	308	45	27	26	4709
4	750	194 1	795	309	46	28	27	4710
3	751	2	796	310	47	29	28	4711
2	752	3	797	311	48	30	29	4712
1	753	4	798	312	49	31	30	4713
A D 1	754	195 1	799	313	50	32	31	4714
2	755	2	799	314	51	33	32	4715
3	756	3	799	315	52	34	33	4716
4	757	4	799	316	53	35	34	4717
5	758	196 1	799	317	54	36	35	4718
6	759	2	799	318	55	37	36	4719
7	760	3	799	319	56	38	37	4720
8	761	4	799	320	57	39	38	4721
9	762	197 1	799	321	58	40	39	4722
10	763	2	799	322	59	41	40	4723
11	764	3	799	323	60	42	41	4724
12	765	4	799	324	61	43	42	4725
13	766	198 1	799	325	62	44	43	4726
14	767	2	799	326	63	45	44	4727
15	768	3	799	327	64	46	45	4728
16	769	4	799	328	65	47	46	4729
17	770	199 1	799	329	66	48	47	4730
18	771	2	799	330	67	49	48	4731
19	772	3	799	331	68	50	49	4732
20	773	4	799	332	69	51	50	4733
21	774	200 1	799	333	70	52	51	4734
22	775	2	799	334	71	53	52	4735
23	776	3	799	335	72	54	53	4736
24	777	4	799	336	73	55	54	4737
25	778	201 1	799	337	74	56	55	4738
26	779	2	799	338	75	57	56	4739
27	780	3	799	339	76	58	57	4740
28	781	4	799	340	77	59	58	4741
29	782	202 1	799	341	78	60	59	4742
30	783	2	799	342	79	61	60	4743
31	784	3	799	343	80	62	61	4744
32	785	4	799	344	81	63	62	4745
33	786	203 1	799	345	82	64	63	4746
34	787	2	799	346	83	65	64	4747
35	788	3	799	347	84	66	65	4748
36	789	4	799	348	85	67	66	4749
37	790	204 1	799	349	86	68	67	4750
38	791	2	799	350	87	69	68	4751
39	792	3	799	351	88	70	69	4752
40	793	4	799	352	89	71	70	4753
41	794	205 1	799	353	90	72	71	4754
42	795	2	799	354	91	73	72	4755
43	796	3	799	355	92	74	73	4756
44	797	4	799	356	93	75	74	4757
45	798	206 1	799	357	94	76	75	4758
46	799	2	799	358	95	77	76	4759
47	800	3	799	359	96	78	77	4760
48	801	4	799	360	97	79	78	4761
49	802	207 1	799	361	98	80	79	4762

PARALLEL YEARS—continued

A D	U C	OF LAMP	END OF	PERIOD OF	PERIOD OF	PERIOD OF	PERIOD OF	JULIAN
From 1 Jan of this year	From 21 April of this year	from the first full moon after the summer Sol-tice of this year	NADON 4848 From 1 Nov of this year	From 1 Oct of this year	From 1 Nov of this year	From 2 Sept of this year	From 29 Aug of this year	PERIOD
50	803	2	798	362	99	81	80	4763
51	804	3	799	363	100	82	81	4764
52	805	4	800	364	101	83	82	4765
53	806	208 1	801	365	102	84	83	4766
54	807	2	802	366	103	85	84	4767
55	808	3	803	367	104	86	85	4768
56	809	4	804	368	105	87	86	4769
57	810	209 1	805	369	106	88	87	4770
58	811	2	806	370	107	89	88	4771
59	812	3	807	371	108	90	89	4772
60	813	4	808	372	109	91	90	4773
61	814	210 1	809	373	110	92	91	4774
62	815	2	810	374	111	93	92	4775
63	816	3	811	375	112	94	93	4776
64	817	4	812	376	113	95	94	4777
65	818	211 1	813	377	114	96	95	4778
66	819	2	814	378	115	97	96	4779
67	820	3	815	379	116	98	97	4780
68	821	4	816	380	117	99	98	4781
69	822	212 1	817	381	118	100	99	4782
70	823	2	818	382	119	101	100	4783

TABLE OF ECLIPSES

The following Table is taken from *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, vol. iv p. 51, and vol. i p. 87, and the Eclipses are calculated for the meridian of Paris. They would therefore occur 2° 12' later by the clock at Jerusalem.

PRÆMONITA

* Éclipse de soleil	tr gr très grande	pr presque
3 Éclipse partielle de lune	tr pet très petite	N Nord
● Éclipse totale de lune	extr extrêmement ou	S Sud
m matin, v. de midi à midi	extrême	E Est
s soir, v. de midi à minuit	tot éclipse	O Ouest
le chiffre, qui précède les lettres m et s	Eur Europe	V O Nord ouest, etc
l heure du jour	As Afrique	pen pénombre
centr centrale les chiffres qui suivent	As Asie	f pen forte pénombre
désignent les latitudes	Eg Egypte	b f pen très forte pénombre
alt altouvement extérieur des bords de	Arab Arabie	— ou signe précède les latitudes auxiliaires
la lune et du soleil.	d du pt ou doigt	+ cet autre signe tant il place d'une
A éclipse annulaire	et d et demi	latitude qui n'existe pas ou qui est
T éclipse totale	p partie	fort au-delà du cercle polaire, et qu'on
gr grandeur ou grande	qu quart	a on peut se dispenser de cal
pet petite	ent entier	culer

B C

- 70 * 8 Mars à 4 m As O et N att 25° 48' +
 ● 22 Mars à 1½ E
 ● 15 Sept à 4½
 * 30 Sept à 7 m As N att + 52° 23'
 69 * 26 Fevr à 4½ m As centr 14° 29' 61" A
 ● 11 Mars à 6 m gr 5 d et d
 ● 3 Sept à 4½ s gr 4½ d
 68 * 13 Fevr à 8½ m As SE centr — 26° 21'
 17" A
 * 10 Août à 0 et d m As E centr 32° 23'
 14" A
 67 ● 19 Janv à 2 s gr 9 d
 ● 15 Juillet à 4½ m gr 12 d

B C

- * 30 Juillet à 3½ m Eur N As N centr
 + 91° 49' A
 * 25 Décemb à 0½ m As NE att 33° 20' 44"
 66 ● 8 Janv à 1½ s
 ● 4 Juillet à 9½ s
 * 14 Décemb à 1½ s Eur pr centr SO Af
 centr 31° 12' 34" A
 ● 28 Décemb à 3 s gr 3 d 8 qu
 65 * 7 Jun à 10½ s centr — 20° 2' 18" F
 * 2 Decemb à 9 s centr — 3° 27' 8" A
 64 ● 14 Mai à 8 m gr 1 d
 * 23 Mai à 1 s Eur Af As O centr 19°
 44' 27" T

- B C
- 63 ● 7 Novemb à 3 m gr 8 d et d
 - 3 Mai à 3½
 - * 16 Mai à 6½ m Fur As N att 28° 57' 47'
 - * 12 Octob à 1½ m As N E att -59° 47'
 - 27 Octob à 7½ s
 - 62 ● 22 Avril à 9½ m gr 8 d 1 qu
 - * 1 Octob à 3 s 1 m Af centr 02° 43' 27" T
 - 17 Octob à 3½ m gr 4½ d
 - 61 * 27 Mars à 4½ s Eur SO Af O centr -16° 3' 21" A
 - * 20 Sept à 6½ m Eur SE As SO centr 17° 1' 19" T
 - 60 ● 2 Mars à 6½ m gr 0½ d
 - * 16 Mars à 4½ s centr 36° 50' + A
 - * 26 Aout à 1 s gr 6 d
 - 69 ● 19 Févr à 7½ s
 - * 5 Mars à 7½ m pet att 52° 68' +
 - * 31 Juillet à 9½ s att 61° 66' 30"
 - 13 Aout à 9½ s
 - 58 ● 9 Févr à 2½ m gr 2 d
 - * 20 Juillet à 1½ s As E centr 36° 53' 27" A
 - 1 Aout à 0½ s gr 6½ d
 - 57 * 14 Janv à 10 m Inde centr 4° 18' 9" T
 - 21 Janv à 9 s pén
 - * 9 Juillet à 0½ m Inde centr -11° 9' 12" A
 - 18 Décemb à 1½ m gr 7 d
 - 56 * 3 Janv à 1 m As E centr 50° 43' 48"
 - 14 Janv à 9 m
 - 7 Décemb à 0½ s
 - 55 * 19 Mai à 1½ s Eur Af NE As NO centr 38° 80' 70" T
 - 3 Junv à 1½ s gr 1½ d
 - 27 Novemb à 0½ s gr 6½ d
 - 51 * 9 Mars à 6½ m As SE centr -14° 24' 30" T
 - 1 Novemb à 4½ s centr 22° 15' 24" A
 - 63 ● 12 Avril à 7½ m gr 4½ d
 - 6 Octob à 1½ s gr 6½ d
 - * 21 Octob à 1 m As N E centr 67° 33' 14"
 - 32 * 18 Mars à 1½ m pet Eur N att 31° 69' -
 - 1 Avril à 9½ s
 - 26 Sept à 12 s
 - * 10 Octob à 3½ s Eur O Af O att -40° 22'
 - 61 * 7 Mars à midi Eur Af As O centr 16° 37' 71" A
 - 22 Mars à 2½ s gr 6½ d
 - 15 Sept à 0½ m gr 5½ d
 - 50 * 24 Févr à 4 s Eur SO Af O centr -20° 16' 21" A
 - * 21 Aout à 7½ m Eur Af As SO centr 31° 18' 20" A
 - 19 ● 30 Janv à 10 s gr 8½ d
 - 26 Juillet à 0 s gr 10½ d
 - * 9 Aout à 0½ s Eur Af E As O centr +81° 37' A
 - 48 * 4 Janv à 9½ m Eur tr gr part. E Af As N att 30° 22' 48"
 - 16 Juillet à 1½ m
 - * 21 Décemb à 10½ s centr 27° 11' 38" A
 - 47 * 7 Janv à 10½ s gr 4 d
 - * 19 Janv à 1 m Eur centr -2° 2' 27" T

- B C
- 40 ● 4 Juillet à 6 s gr 0 d 1 qu
 - * 26 Mai à 0½ m pén
 - * 8 Junv à 8½ s centr 20° 42' 18" T
 - 18 Novemb à 1½ m gr 8½ d
 - 45 ● 13 Mai à 10½ m
 - * 28 Mai à 1½ s Eur NE As NO att 26° 34' 37"
 - * 22 Octob à 0½ s pet Eur N att +57° 30'
 - 7 Novemb à 2½ m
 - 44 ● 2 Mai à 1½ s gr 10 d
 - * 11 Octob à 1½ s As NE centr 63° 39' 29" T
 - 27 Octob à 1½ m gr 4½ d
 - 43 * 7 Avril à 1½ s centr -17° 4' 10" A
 - * 1 Octob à 2½ s centr 18° 1' 17" T
 - 12 ● 13 Mars à 1½ s gr 8½ d
 - * 27 Mars à 1½ s As L centr 30° 50' + A
 - * 5 Sept à 8½ s gr 6 d
 - 41 ● 2 Mars à 3½ m
 - * 16 Mars à 2½ m pet As NE att 44° 51' +
 - * 11 Aout à 4½ m As N att 60° 71' 30"
 - 23 Aout à 5 m centr
 - 40 ● 19 Févr à 10½ m gr 2½ d
 - * 31 Juillet à 6½ m Eur E As centr 44° 56' 29" A
 - 14 Aout à 8 s gr 6½ d
 - 39 * 24 Janv à 6½ s centr 0° 14' 12" T
 - * 20 Juillet à 7½ m As gr part. SO centr -3° 12' 12" A
 - 29 Décemb à 7½ s gr 6½ d
 - 38 * 14 Janv à 9½ s Eur Af As centr 47° 33' 51'
 - 23 Junv à 3½ s gr 13 d
 - 19 Decemb à 6½ m
 - 37 * 29 Mai à 8½ s centr 49° 48' 71" T
 - 13 Junv à 8½ s
 - 7 Decemb à 0½ s gr 6½ d
 - 36 * 19 Mai à 1½ s Eur Af As NO centr -6° 31' 30" T
 - * 12 Novemb à 0½ m As E centr 18° 19' 21" A
 - 35 ● 23 Avril à 2½ s gr 3½ d
 - 18 Octob à 6½ m gr 5½ d
 - * 1 Novemb à 10 m Eur Af As O centr 62° 28' 14"
 - 34 * 29 Mars à 6½ s pet att 42° 70' +
 - 18 Avril à 5 m
 - 7 Octob à 7½ m
 - * 21 Octob à 12 s att +41° 22'
 - 33 * 17 Mars à 7 s centr 19° 45' + A
 - 1 Avril à 10 s gr 7½ d
 - 26 Sept à 8 m gr 6½ d
 - 32 * 6 Mars à 12 s centr -27° 9' 25" A
 - * 31 Aout à 3½ s centr 30° 11' 24" A
 - 31 ● 10 Févr à 6½ m gr 7½ d
 - 6 Aout à 7½ s gr 3½ d
 - * 20 Aout à 7½ s centr -69° 29' A
 - 30 * 15 Janv à 6 s att 28° 24' 62"
 - 30 Janv à 6½ m
 - 26 Juillet à 0½ s

	*	0 Août 16 s tr pet att +81° 19'
29	*	5 Juin 17 m Eur E Af L As centr 24° 13' 12" A
	●	19 Janv à 7½ m gr 1½ d
	●	15 Juillet à 1 m gr 1½ d
	*	24 Décemb à 1½ m Af L centr -10° 29' O A
23	*	19 Juin à 3½ m As centr 20° 38' 10" T
	●	28 Novemb à 5½ s gr 3½ d
27	●	24 Mai à 4½ s
	*	8 Juin à 9½ s att 26° 31' 27"
	*	2 Novemb 19 s tr pet att +59° 52'
	●	18 Novemb à 10½ m
26	●	13 Mai à 11½ s gr 12 d
*	23 Octob à 8 m Eur E Af E As centr 61° 38' 32" T	
	●	7 Novemb à 7½ s gr 6d
25	*	18 Avril à 6 m As S F centr -20° 11' A
*	11 Octob à 11½ s As S E centr 19° 4' 10" T	
24	●	23 Mars à 9½ s gr 7½ d
*	7 Avril à 6½ m Eur E Af E As centr 25° 49' 64" A	
	●	16 Sept -4 m gr 4½ d
23	●	13 Mars à 11 m
*	27 Mars à 10½ m Eur NE att 38° 58' +	
*	22 Août à 11½ m pet Eur NE As N att +75° 43'	
	●	5 Sept à 1 s
22	●	2 Mars à 6 s gr 3½ d
*	11 Août à 1 s Eur Af As O centr 52° 55' 32" A	
	●	26 Août à 4 m gr 7½ d
21	*	5 Févr à 3 m Inde centr -4° 13' 14" T
*	30 Juillet à 2 s Eur SO Af O centr 4° 13' 11" A	
20	●	9 Janv à 4 m gr 6½ d
*	24 Janv à 6 s centr 13° 31' 54"	
	●	5 Juillet à 10½ s gr 11½ d
	●	29 Decemb à 3 s
19	*	10 Juin à 4 m Eur L Af E As N att 10° 49' 38"
	●	25 Juin à 2½ m
	●	19 Decemb à 6½ m gr 6½ d
18	*	30 Mai à 9 s centr 1° 38' 30" T
*	23 Novemb à 9 m Eur SO Af O centr 14° 13' 18" A	
17	●	3 Mai à 9½ s gr 1½ d
*	19 Mai à 10½ m Inde centr -45° 9' 9'	
	●	28 Octob à 8 s gr 5½ d
	●	11 Novemb à 10½ s centr 57° 24' 16"
16	●	23 Avril à 0½ s
	●	17 Octob à 3½ s
*	1 Novemb à 9 m As gr part NE att +36° 22'	
15	*	29 Mars à 2½ m As E centr 24° 54' -A
	●	13 Avril à 6½ m gr 9 d
	●	6 Octob à 4 s gr 7½ d
14	*	18 Mars à 7½ m As gr part SE centr -21° 2' 30" A
*	11 Septemb à 11 s As E centr 29° 5' 28" A	

14	●	21 Févr à 1½ s gr 7 d
	●	16 Août à 3½ m gr 8 d
	*	31 Août à 2½ m As NE centr +62° 23' A
12	*	26 Janv à 3 m As gr part NE att 26° 27 37"
	●	9 Févr à 1 s
	●	6 Août à 8½ s
	*	20 Août à 1 m tr pet att +79° 12'
11	*	15 Janv à 3 s Eur O Af O centr 21° 15' 18" A
	●	29 Janv à 3½ s gr 5 d
	●	26 Juillet à 5½ m gr 3 d
10	*	4 Janv à 9½ s centr -14° 28' 3" A
	*	30 Juin à 11½ m Eur Af As SO centr 20° 33' 2" I
	●	10 Decemb à 6½ m gr 8½ d
9	●	3 Juin à 11½ s gr 13 d
*		19 Juin à 1½ m Eur N L Af E As N centr 67° 183' 63" T
	*	13 Novemb à 10½ m tr pet ent N att +53° 55'
	●	23 Novemb à 7½ s
8	●	21 Mai à 6½ m
*		2 Novemb à 4½ s Af O centr 58° 33' 35" T
	●	18 Novemb à 3½ m gr 8½ d
7	*	29 Avril à 0½ s Eur SE Af As SO centr -24° 4' 5" A
	*	23 Octob à 6 m Eur SE Af E As SO centr 18° 7' 13" T
6	●	4 Avril à 6½ m gr 6 d
*		18 Avril à 1½ s Eur Af As NO centr 21° 48' 57" A
	●	27 Sept à 11½ m gr 3½ d
5	●	23 Mars à 6½ s
*		6 Avril à 5½ s att 32° 56' +
*		1 Sept à 6½ s pet att +78° 49'
	●	15 Sept à 9 s
4	●	13 Mars à 1 m gr 1½ d
*		21 Août à 8 s centr 58° 58' 36" A
	●	5 Sept à 0 s gr 8½ d
3	*	15 Févr à 11½ m As SO centr -8° 11' 10" T
	*	10 Août à 9½ s As SE centr 11° 14' 10" A
2	●	20 Janv à 0½ s gr 6 d
*		5 Févr à 2 m As E centr 39° 35' 67"
	●	17 Juillet à 5½ m gr 9½ d
1	●	9 Janv à 11½ s
*		25 Janv à 10 m extr pet Eur N
*		20 Juin à 11½ m Eur N As N O att 24° 55' 38"
	●	5 Juillet à 9½ m
●		20 Decemb à 3½ s gr 6½ d
A D		
1	*	10 Juin à 4½ m part d'Eur au NE As centr 18° (43) 11' T
	●	21 Juin à 9½ m gr 0½ d
2	●	15 Mai à 5 m gr 0½ d
	●	9 Novemb à 0 m gr 6 d
*		23 Novemb à 2½ m gr part d'As et l'E centr 46° 20'

A.D.		A.D.	
3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 1 Mai à 8$\frac{1}{2}$ s ● 28 Octob à 11$\frac{1}{2}$ s 	20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * 15 Decemb à 2 m As au SE centr 3 s * A ● 25 Mai à midi pén
4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * 8 Avril à 9 m Eur Af As centr 44° (69) 84° 33' A ■ 23 Avril à 1$\frac{1}{2}$ s gr 10$\frac{1}{2}$ d ■ 17 Octob 0 m gr 7$\frac{1}{2}$ d 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * 10 Janv à 0$\frac{1}{2}$ m As au SE ● 19 Novemb à 8 m gr 4$\frac{1}{2}$ d * 3 Decemb à 11 m Eur Af As à 10 centr 21° (17) 15' 30"
5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * 28 Mars à 3 s Eur Af centr 24° 27' * 22 Sept à 6$\frac{1}{2}$ m Eur au SD Af et 1 E As au S centr 20° N (0) 18° S A 	21	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 15 Mai à 4 m ● 8 Novemb à 7$\frac{1}{2}$ m * 23 Novemb à 2 m As au NE
6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 3 Mars à 8 s gr 6 d ■ 27 Aout à 11$\frac{1}{2}$ m gr 7$\frac{1}{2}$ d * 11 Sept à 6$\frac{1}{2}$ m Eur Af pr toute l'As centr 66° 70' (51) 27' A 	22	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * 19 Avril à 4 s Eur au N centr vers le pôle A ● 4 Mai à 9 s gr 12$\frac{1}{2}$ d ● 28 Octob à 8 m gr 7$\frac{1}{2}$ d
7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * 6 Fevr à 11 m pr toute l'Eur au N pet écl ● 20 Fevr à 8 s centr * 31 Aout à 8 m As au NE 	23	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Point d'eclipse ● 11 Mars à 0$\frac{1}{2}$ m gr 5 d ● 6 Sept à 8 s gr 6$\frac{1}{2}$ d * 21 Sept à 4 s Eur à l'O Af à l'O centr 24° A
8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * 26 Janv à 12 s part d'As à l'E centr 25° 22' A ■ 9 Fevr à 11 s gr 6 d ● 5 Aout à 3$\frac{1}{2}$ s gr 4$\frac{1}{2}$ d 	24	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * 10 Sept à 3$\frac{1}{2}$ s Eur pr ent diminuant du N E au S O
9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * 15 Janv à 6 m très pet ecl au SE de l'As A * 10 Juillet à 7 s le commence ou plus à 10 de l'As centr 1° T 	25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 3 Mars à 3$\frac{1}{2}$ m pr centr ● 27 Aout à midi pr centr * 10 Sept à 3$\frac{1}{2}$ s Eur pr ent diminuant du N E au S O
10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 15 Juin à 6 m gr 11 d * 30 Janv à midi Eur As au N et O centr (80) 60° T * 21 Novemb à 2 s pet part d'Eur au N O ● 10 Decemb à 4$\frac{1}{2}$ m pr centr 	26	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * 6 Fevr à 8 m Eur à l'E Af As centr 26° 19 (24) 52" A ● 20 Fevr à 7 m gr 6$\frac{1}{2}$ d ● 16 Aout à 11 s gr 5$\frac{1}{2}$ d
11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 4 Juin à 1$\frac{1}{2}$ s * 14 Novemb à 1 m As à l'E centr 60° 51' T ● 29 Nov à midi et d gr 5 d 	27	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * 22 Juillet à 2$\frac{1}{2}$ m As au S et à l'E centr 10° 26 T ● 31 Decemb à 11$\frac{1}{2}$ s gr 8 d ● 25 Juin à midi et d gr 9$\frac{1}{2}$ d * 10 Juillet à 7$\frac{1}{2}$ s Eur au N O centr 46° 7 ● 20 Decemb à 1 s pr centr
12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * 9 Mai à 7 s commence ou plus au S O de l'Espagne et à l'O de l'As centr 5 A ● 24 Mai à 3$\frac{1}{2}$ m gr 0$\frac{1}{2}$ d 	28	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 14 Juin à 8$\frac{1}{2}$ s * 21 Novemb à 9$\frac{1}{2}$ m Eur Af As à l'O centr 57° (30) 25' 32" T ● 9 Decemb à 8$\frac{1}{2}$ s gr 5$\frac{1}{2}$ d
13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 14 Avril à 1$\frac{1}{2}$ s gr 6$\frac{1}{2}$ d * 28 Avril à 7$\frac{1}{2}$ s pet part d'Eur à l'O et au N O centr 52 A ■ 7 Octob à 7$\frac{1}{2}$ s gr 3$\frac{1}{2}$ d 	29	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 21 Mai à 1$\frac{1}{2}$ m As au SE pet A ● 4 Juin à 11 m gr 2 d * 14 Novemb à 1$\frac{1}{2}$ m As au SE centr 20° 7' T
14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 4 Avril à 2$\frac{1}{2}$ m * 18 Avril à 0$\frac{1}{2}$ m As au N et au NE ■ 27 Sept à 0 m 	30	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 25 Avril à 9 s gr 4 d * 10 Mai à 2 m As à l'E centr 6° 45' A ● 19 Octob à 4 m gr 3 d
15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 24 Mars à 8 m gr 5 d * 2 Sept à 3$\frac{1}{2}$ m As centr 73° 78' (82) A ■ 16 Sept à 8 s gr 9$\frac{1}{2}$ 	31	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 14 Avril à 9$\frac{1}{2}$ m * 28 Avril à 7$\frac{1}{2}$ m Eur dimm au N au S As à l'O et au N ● 7 Octob à 1$\frac{1}{2}$ s
16	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * 21 Aout à 4 m As au S O centr 27° 31' (16) 12" A ● 30 Janv à 8 s gr 6 d * 15 Fevr à 10 m Eur Af As à l'O centr 23° (37) 67' 	32	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * 14 Novemb à 1$\frac{1}{2}$ m As au SE centr 26° (15) * A ● 11 Fevr à 4 m gr 3$\frac{1}{2}$ d ● 7 Aout à 7$\frac{1}{2}$ s gr 6$\frac{1}{2}$ d
17	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 27 Juillet à midi et d gr 6$\frac{1}{2}$ d ● 20 Janv à 8 m centr * 1 Juillet à 7$\frac{1}{2}$ s Eur au N O et au N ● 16 Juillet à 3$\frac{1}{2}$ s 	33	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 31 Janv à 4$\frac{1}{2}$ s centr * 16 Fevr à 1$\frac{1}{2}$ m pet ecl au NE de l'As
18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 9 Janv à 11$\frac{1}{2}$ s gr 7 d * 21 Janv à midi Eur Af As à l'O centr 48° (19) 20' 7 ● 5 Juillet à 4 s gr 2 d 	34	
19		35	
		36	

A D		A D	
	* 12 Juillet à 3 m pet ecl au NE de l'Eur et au NO de l'As très-pet au NE		* 9 Mars à 2 m As à l'E centr 17° 16' 35"
	● 26 Juillet à 10 s	● 18 Aout à 3 m gr 6 d	
37	● 20 Janv à 8½ m gr 7½ d	● 11 Févr à 1 m	54
	* 1 Juillet à 7½ s Eur au NO centr 22° 1	* 26 Févr à 9 m pet ecl Eur au NO et au N	
	● 16 Juillet à 11 s gr 4 d	* 23 Juillet à 10½ m As pet au NO plus gr au NE	
	● 25 Décemb à 10 m Indes, centr 6° A	● 7 Aout à 5 m centr	
38	* 21 Juin à 7½ m pet en Af plus grande en As au S centr * (8°) *	● 31 Janv à 5 s gr 7½	65
	● 30 Novemb à 4 s gr 1½ d	* 13 Juillet à 3 m Eur au NE As centr 43° 69' (58) T	
39	● 26 Mai à 11½ m	● 27 Juillet à 5½ m gr 6½ d	
	● 10 Novemb à 3½ s	56	* 1 Juillet à 2½ s pet ecl au SO de l'Eur Af centr 10° +A
	* 4 Décemb à 11 m Eur p. ent au N As au NO	● 10 Décemb à 12 s gr 4½ d	
40	* 29 Avril à 10½ s As au NE	* 25 Décemb à 5 m As centr 31° (15) 22' T.	
	● 16 Mai à 4½ m gr 14 d	57	● 5 Juin à 7 s gr 13 d
	● 7 Novemb à 5 s gr 8 d	● 29 Novemb à 11½ s	
41	* 19 Avril à 5½ m pet à l'E de l'Af As au S centr 8° 5 (21) 33'	58	* 11 Mai à 5 m gr p d'Eur au NE As au N tr pet au NE
	* 13 Octob à 10½ s extrém d'As au SE centr 16° A	● 26 Mai à midi	
42	● 25 Mars à 10½ m gr 3½ d	● 19 Novemb à 0½ m gr 8½ d	
	● 18 Sept à 4½ m gr 6½ d	59	* 30 Avril à 1 s Eur Af As à l'O centr (36°) 40° 32' T
	* 2 Octob à 11½ s extrém d'As au NF centr 92° A	* 26 Octob à 7½ m Eur au SE Af à l'E As au S centr 12° (16 S) *A	
43	* 28 Févr à 3½ m As au N	60	● 4 Avril à 5½ s gr 2 d
	● 14 Mars à 10½ m	● 28 Sept à 1 s gr 6 d	
	● 7 Sept à 8 s	* 13 Octob à 7 m Eur à l'E Af à l'E As centr 58° (32) 22' A	
44	* 17 Févr à 1 s Eur à l'O Af à l'O centr 56° A	61	* 10 Mars à 11½ m part d'Eur au N
	● 2 Mars à 2½ s gr 7½ d	● 24 Mars à 6½ s	
	● 27 Aout à 6½ m gr 6½ d	● 18 Sept à 1 m	
45	* 1 Aout à 10 m Eur au S Af As au S centr 22° (19) 14' S T	* 2 Octob à 7 m As au N et au NE	
46	● 11 Janv à 5 m gr 7½ d	62	* 28 Févr à 0 m extrém de l'As à l'E centr 26° 34' A
	● 6 Juillet à 7½ s gr 7½ d	● 13 Mars à 10½ s gr 9 d	
	* 22 Juillet à 3 m Eur au NE As centr 53° (72) T	● 7 Sept à 2 s gr 7½ d	
	* 16 Décemb à 7 m pet part d'Eur au NE As au N	63	* 17 Févr à 5 m extrém de l'As au SE A
	● 31 Decemb à 0½ s centr	64	● 22 Janv à 4½ s gr 7½ d
47	● 26 Juin à 3½ m	● 17 Juillet à 2½ m gr 6 d	
	● 21 Décemb à 4½ m gr 5½ d	* 1 Aout à 11 m Eur Af As à l'O centr 68 (64) 30' T	
48	* 21 Mars à 8 m pet ecl vers l'Indes A	65	● 11 Janv à 6 m centr
	* 14 Juin à 6 s gr 3½ d	● 6 Juillet à 11 m	
	* 24 Novemb à 10½ m pet ecl Eur au SO Af à l'O centr 6° * (16 S) T	* 16 Décemb à 3½ m As à l'E centr 40° (27) T	
49	● 6 Mai à 4½ m gr 2½	● 31 Decemb à 1 s gr 5½ d	
	* 20 Mai à 8½ m Eur au S et à l'E Af As centr 4° S (11) 45' 35" A	66	● 26 Juin à 1½ m gr 5 d
	● 29 Octob à midi gr 2½ d	67	● 17 Mai à midi gr 0½ d
50	● 23 Avril à 5 s	* 31 Mai à 3 s Eur Af As au SO centr 40° 28' A	
	* 9 Mai à 2½ s Eur au N As au NO	● 9 Novemb à 8½ s gr 2½ d	
	● 18 Octob à 10 s	68	● 6 Mai à 0 m
51	● 14 Avril à 10 s gr 9 d	* 19 Mai à 9½ s As au NE	
	* 23 Sept à 6 s comm à l'O de l'Eur et de l'Af centr 38° A	● 29 Octob à 0½ m	
	● 8 Octob à 1 s gr 10½ d	69	● 26 Avril à 4½ m gr 10½ d
52	* 19 Mars à midi pet part d'Eur au SE Af As au SO centr * (6 S) 23° 1	* 4 Octob à 1½ m As au NE centr 84° A	
53	● 21 Févr à midi gr 5 d	● 18 Octob à 10 s gr 11 d	
		70	* 23 Sept à 3 m As à l'E centr 38° (11') A

CENOTAPHIUM CAII CÆSARIS AUGUSTI F

NB The smaller capitals indicate the letters supplied by conjecture

Desunt dies ac menses. P[er] in uero in Augusto scrib. ad

PER Q[ui] SP[eci]ORIS Q[ui] F[aci]l[is] AL[bi]us FACIUS F[aci]l[is] BASINUS L[ucius] BASIVS L[ucius] LAPPINVS
F[aci]l[is] TRALLVS Q[ui] SP[eci]ORIS Q[ui] F[aci]l[is] AL[bi]us PICA C[on] VETIVS L[ucius] VIRCVLA M[arcus] HERIVS
M[arcus] F[aci]l[is] PRISQV A[lexander] ALBIUS A[lexander] F[aci]l[is] GVTTA TI[berius] PITRONIVS TI[berius] F[aci]l[is] POLLIO L[ucius] FABIVS L[ucius] BASIVS
SILV APONIVS SILV T[iberius] CRETICVS C[on] CANTVS C[on] F[aci]l[is] SATVRNINVS L[ucius] ACILIVS Q[ui] F[aci]l[is] PANTHERA

QVOD ADVNT CVM IN COLONIA NOSTRA PROPTER CONTENTIONEM CANDIDATO
RVN MAGISTRVS NVN PVSENT ET EA ACTA ESSENT QVAE INFRA SCRIPTA SVNT
CVM AD III NONAS APRILES ALLATVS ESSET NVNTIVS CAIVM CÆSAREM AVGVSTI PATRIS PATRI
AE PONTIV MAXVM CYSIODIS IMPERI ROMANI SOLIVSQVE ORBIS IERLARIVM PRÆ
SIDIE ELIVM DIVI NEPOTIV POST CONSVLATVM QVEM VITRA FINIS EXTREMA POPV
LI ROMANI BELLVM GERENS ILLICITER PERPVHRAIT BENE GESTA RE PVBLICA DEVICTVS AVT
IN IDEM RECEP[ti]s RETIVCOSISIMIS AC MAXIMIS GLORIIV IPSVM VOLNERIBVS PRO L[ucius]
PVBLICA DEXCEP[ti]s EA EO CASV CRVDELIVS TATIS CREPIVM POPVLO ROMANO IAM DESIGNA
TVM IVSTISIVMVM AC SIMILIVMVM PARENTIS SVI VIRTVTIVS PRINCIVM COLONIAEQVE
NOSTRAE VNIVM PRÆSIDIVM BAQVL RFS NVN DVN QVIZO LVOTV QVEM EX DECES
SV L[ucius] CÆSARIS FRATRIS RVN CONSVLES DESIGNAVI AVGVSTVS PRONI NVSTRI PRINCI
PIS IVVENTIVS COLONIA VNIVERSA SVSCEPTIVT RENOVASSET MILITIVASALIVQE
MOMORIVM OMNIVM SVNGVLORVM VIVIBSORIVMQVE OB HAS RES VNIVERSI DICV
RIVNVS COLONIQVE QVANDO EO CASV IN COLONIA NVQE NVIR NVQVE PRÆFECTI
ERANT NVQVE QVIVQVAM IVRL DICVNDO PRÆFATV NVTR SESE CONSVNTIVPVNT PRO
MANTIVDINE PATRIA AC TAM INPROVISA CALAMITATIS OPORIERE IX EA DV
QVA NVS DICVSVS NVNTIATVS FRSIT VSVQV AD EAM DIEM QVA OSSA RELATA ATQVE
CONVITA IVSTAQVE NVS MANIVS PERICTA ESSENT CVNCTOS VESTE NVATA TEMP[or]is
QVE SPORIVM IMMORTALIVM BIVNIVSQUE PVBLICIS ET IADERNIS OMNIBVS CLAVSIS
CONVICTIVS SVSE APSTINERE MATRONAS QVAE IN COLONIA NOSTRA SVNT SVBIVGLRE
DIEVQVE EVM QVO DIT C[on] CÆSAR ORIT QVI DIES EST A D VITI A MARTIAS PRO ALLENFISI
LVGBREM MEMORIVT PRODI NOTARIQVE IN PRÆSENTIA OMNIVM IVSV AC
VOLVNTATE CVMQV NVQVOD SACRIVM PVBLICVM NVQE QVAE SVPLI
CAEONES NVTV SPONSALLA NVTE CONVIVIA PVBLICA PONTIA IN EVM DILM
RIVN DIE QVI DIES ERIT A D VITI A MART IVNI CONCVPIANTVR INDICAN
TVNT NVTE QVI LVDI SCALNICI CIRCVENSESV DO DII FIANT SPECTENTIVR
VIVQVE EO LIE QVOD ANXIE PVBLICI MANIVS NVS PER MAGISTRALIS ROSE
QVI NVS IVRE DICVNDO PRÆFATV NVDEM LOCO MODVMQVE MODO QVO
L[ucius] CÆSARI PARENTIARI INSVITIVM LST PARENTIVT

VIVQVE NVTVS CVLLEBRRIMO COLONIAL NOSTRAE LOCO CONSVITIVT ORNA
TVS SPOLIS DEVICTARVM AVT IN TIDEM RECEP[ti]arVM AB EO GENIVM SVTER
EVM STATVA PFDESTIVS IPSIVS INVIVTHALI ORNAL CIRCAQVE EAM DVAD
EQVESTIVS INAVRALIAI GAI ET LVCI CÆSARVM STATVÆ PONANTVR
VIVQVE CVM PRIMVM PER LEGEM COLONIAI DVO VIRO CREARE ET HABERE PO
TVNTIVS II DVO VIRI QVI PVMI CREATI ERVNT HOC QVOD DECVRIONIBVS
ET VNIVERSIS COLONIS PLACVIT AD DECVRIONES REFERANT BORTV PV
BLICA AVCTORITATE ADHIBITA LEGITVMK ID CAVTIVR AVCTORIVBIVQE
IVS IN TABVLAS PVBLICAS RETIVTIVR INTVREA T STATVENS IVNCVS
FLAMEN AVGVSTALR PONTIV MINOR PVBLICORVM P R SACRORVM ROGARE
TVR NV CVM LEGATIS EXCVBATA FRALSANT COLONIAL NVCESSITATE HOC
OPVIVM PVBLICVM ET VOLVNTATEM VNIVERSORVM LIBELLO REDDITO
IMC CÆSARI AVGVSTO PATRI PATRIAE PONTI MAXIMO TRIBVNICIAL
POTEST XXVI INDICET

IDQVE 1 STATVENS IVNCVS PRINCIPS COLONIAI NOSTRAE FLAMEN AVGVST
PONTIV MINOR PVBLICORVM P R SACRORVM LIBELLO ITA VII SVPERA SCRIPTVM
EST IMPERATORI CÆSARI AVGVSTO PONTIFICI MAXIMO TRIBVNT POTEST XXVI PATRI
PARENTI REDDITO FELICIT PLACERE CONSVPTVS QVAE A D III NONAS APRILES
QVAE SVX AMLIO CATO C[on] NVNTO SATVRNINO COS FVERVNT FACTI ACTA CON
SVITTA SVNT PER CONSENSVM OMNIVM ORDINVM EA OMNIA ITA FIENI AGI HA
BENI OBSERVARIQVE AB I. TITIO A P ET T ALLIO T F NVTO NVTRIS ET AB EIS QVIVM
QVA NVTE IN COLONIA NVSTRA NVIR PRÆFICTI SVT QVI ALI MAGISTRATVS
DITVNT OMNIA IN PERPETVOM ITA FIENI AGI HABENI OBSERVARIQVE NVTE L TITIVS
A P 1 ALLIVS T F NVTVS NVTRIS BA OMNIA QVAE SVTRASCRIPTA SVNT EX DECIVTO
NOSTRO CORAM PRO QVABETORIBVS PRIMO QVOQVE TEMPORE PER SCRIBAM PV
BLICVM IN TABVLAS PVBLICAS RITERENDA CVRENT

CJ N. 1111

CLNOTAPHIUM LUCH CAESARIS AUGUSTI F

ANNO 1 OCTOBR NISIS IN TORO IN AVGVSTILO SORIE ADPVIR
 Q PPTILIVS Q F P RABINIVS L P BABIVS A PPTIVS M P
 Q SERTIORIS Q F PICI CN OCTAVIVS CN T RIVS A ALBIVS
 A P GVTTA

QVOD C CANIVS C T SATVRNINVS NVIR V T DE AVGVNDIS HONORIBVS
 L CAESARIS AVGVSTI CAESARIS PATRIS PATRIAE PONTIFICIS MAXIMI
 TRIBVNICIAE POTESTATIS XV PLII AVGVSTI CONSVLIS DESIGNATI PRINCIPIS
 IVVENTVTIS PATRONI COLONIAE NOSTRAE Q D E R F P D E R I C
 CVM SENATVS POPVLI ROMANI INTER CETEROS PLVRIMOS AC MAXIMOS
 HONORES L CAESARIS AVGVSTI CAESARIS PATRIS PATRIAE PONTIFICIS MAXIMI TRIBV
 NICIAE POTESTATIS XV PLIO AVGVSTI CONSVLIS DESIGNATO PER
 CONSENSV OMNIVM ORDINVM

Hic lacuna, in qua nonnulla. lines
 perierit, hodie oramento et calce. explicita est

TEIVR DATA CVRA. O CANIO SATVRNINO NVIRO ET DLCEM PRIMIS ELIGENDI
 ASPICIENDIQVE VTER DORVM LOCVS MAGIS IDONEVS VIDEATVR PVIENDVS
 PVBLICA PECVNIA A PRIVATIS. EIVS LOCI QVTVM MAGIS PROBATERIAE VTIQVE
 APVD EAM ARAM QVOD ANNIS A D XII K KEMPI PVBLICIS MANIVS EIVS PER MAGIS
 TRATVS LOSVE QVI IBI IVBI DICENDI PRABERENT TOGIS PVBLICIS ADICTOS
 QVIBVS EORVM IVS PASQVE ERIT DO DIE EIVS VLSIS HABENDAE INFERIAE MIT
 TVNTVR BOSQVE ET OVIS ALRI INFLVIS CAPSVLS INFLVATI DUS MANIVS EIVS
 MACTENTVR EAEQVE HOSTIAE EO LOCO ADOLLEANTVR SVPER QVE EIS.
 SINGVLAE VNNAE LACRIS MIIIS OLEI IVNDANTVR AC TVM DENTVM FACTAM
 CETERIS POTESTATEM SI QVI PRIVATVM VELINT MANIVS. EIVS INTERIAS MITTERE
 NIVE QVS AMPLIVS VNO CLREO VNAVE FACE OORONAVE MITTAL DVM II QVI IM
 MOLAVRENT CINCITI CABINO RIVY SIVTEM LIGNORVM SVCCENDANT ADQVE
 PVNDI HABEANT

VTI LOCVS ANTE EAM ARAM QVO EA STRVTS CONGERANTVR COMPONANTVR PATREAT
 QVOQVE VTRVSV PEDES XL STIPITIBVSQVE ROBVSIS SAEPITATVR LIGNORVMQVE
 AGRIS EIVS REI GRATIA QVOD ANNIS IBI CONSTITTATVR CITPOQVE GRANDI
 SIGNVM ARAM DEFIXO HOC DECRETVM CVM SVPERIORIBVS DECRETIS AD EIVS
 HONORES PERTINENTIBVS INCIDATVR INSVLPATVRVT NAM QVOD AD CETERA
 SOLI VNIA QVAE EODEM ILLO DIE VITARE CAEBRIQVE PLACVSSENT PLACIRENT
 QVE ID SEQVENDVM QVOD DD IIS SENATVS P R CENSVISSET VTIQVE PRIZO
 QVOQVE TEMPORE LEGAMI EX NOSTRO ORDINE IMPER CAESAREM AVGVSTVM
 PATREM PATRIAE PONTIFICEM MAXIMVM TRIBVNICIAE POTESTATIS XV
 ADEANT PETANIQVE AB LO VLI COLONIS IVLIVSIBVS COLONIAE OBSEQVENDI
 IVLIAE PISANVS EX HOC DECRETO EA OMIA FACERE EXSEQVQVE PERMITTAT

MONUMENTUM ANCYRANVM EX RECOGNITIONE EDM CHISHULLI

[Ex Editione Wolfino, Lips 1802 8vo]

RERVVM GESTARVM DIVI AVGVSTI QVIBVS ORBEM TERRARVM IMPERIO POPVLI
 ROM SVBIECIT ET IMPENSARVM QVAN IN REMPVBLICAM POPVLMQVE ROMANVM
 EECIT INCISARVM IN DVABVS AHENTIS PILIS QVAE SVNT ROMAE POSITAE
 EXEMPLAR SVBIECTVM

Tabula prima intrantibus a laeva

ANNOS VNDEVICINII	NATVS	EXERCITVM	PRIVATO CONSVLIO ET	PRIVATI IMPENSA
COMPARATI PIR	QTEM REMPVBLICAM	ORINATIONE FACTONIS	OPPRESSAM	
IN LIBERIAM	VINDICAVI	SENATVS	DECRETIS HONORIFICIS	ornatus IN
ORDINEM SVI	adiectus a CONSVLIBVS	inter consulares ut sententiam dico		etiam

REMI	LOUVMque	et IMPERIVM	MIHI	DEDIT	REPUBLICA	VI	PRAEIORI	REMYL	CVM
CONSVLITIS	IRIO et PANIS	ILlic AVTVM	FODVM	ANNO	ME	affectum			
CONSVLEM	cum	adDIBSET	ET	TRIVMVRVM	REIPUBLICAE	CONSVLITEndae			
QVI	PAPVTVM	coNIVra	ocedissent	IN	REIVVM	EVAVTI	IVDITIS	LEOI	
TIME	VLTVS	POSTEA	BELLVM	INFERENTIS	REIPUBLICAE				
ARMA	TERRA	MARIQUE	agda IQVE	TOTO	ORBE	TERRARVM	circumdu		
VICTORQUE	OMNIBVS	supplicatVS	CIVIBVS	PEPERCI	et in	EXILIO	spon e sua de		
GENTE	QVIBVS	TVIO	libet	SEIVARI	QVAM	PLACIDERE	Maius		
MILLIA	CIVIVM	ROMANORVM	adnata	SACRAMENTO	MEU	FVERVNT	CIRCITER	quingen	
TA	BY	QVIBVS	DEDVM	in colonias	ATT	RPVMSI	IN	MYNICIPIA	SIA
TIS	MILLIA	ALIQUANTO	plus	quadi	IRECLATA	ET	HS	OMNIBVS	ACROQ
AVI	PPVNIAM	PROT	eam	ex	VIS	DPID?	Iungas	NAVIS	CEPI
AS	SIQVAE	MINORIS	quam	tre	EMES	FVERVNT			
BIS	OVANS	LETAPHVM	tra	egi	CIVILES	TRIVMPOS	ET	APPELLANS	sum
AMEL	IMPERATO	cumque	pluris	TRIVMPOS	MIHI	SEnatus	decretisset,	us	tamen
agenis	SUPPERDI	et	tantummodo	laui	VS	DFOSVI	IN	CAPITOLIO	Delmatia
in	gVOQVE	BELLO	NVNC	pa	domITIS	OB	RFS	Aut	duetu
TOS	ALPICIIS	MEIS	TERRA	MARIQUE	PROCEDE	CESTAS	QVantiamque	bello	re-
QIEM	DICREUIT	SENAVVS	SYPPLICANDVM	LISE	DI	INNO	tabulae		
QVO	ex	SENAVVS	CONSULTO	SYPPLICATVM	EST	IN	DEORUM		
		VO		VM	RIO	AVT	II		
AM	TER	DECIENS							
AE	POIES								
ML	IA								

Cetera hinc Tabulae unscripta et nota penult. evanuerunt

Tabula secunda a laea

PATRIORVM	NUMERVM	AVI	CONFVL	QVINTVM	IVSSV	POPVL	ET	SENATVS	SENA
IVM	IER	LEGI	ET	IN	CONSVLATV	SEKTO	CENSEVM	POPVL	CONITGA
LYSTRVM	POST	ANAVM	ALIBVM	ET	QVADRAGENVM	PROT	QVO	IVSTRO	CIVI
VM	ROMANORVM	CENSA	SINT	CAPITA	QVADRAGEN	CENTVM	MILLIA	ET	
SEFAGINTA	LEIA	MILLIA	Adornm	CONSVLARI	CVM	IMPERIO	IVSTRVM		
consumptus	SOVIS	FECI	CENSORIO	et	ASINIO	COS	QVO	LVSLRO	CENSA
CIVIVM	ROMANORVM	capita	QVADRAGEN	CENTVM	MILLIA	ET	DVLEN		
T	FRIGINTA	TRIA	Milia	tertium	CONSILARI	CVM	IMPERIO	IVSTRVM	
COVLEGA	TIB	Chasare	fres	SEX	POMPEIO	ET	SEX	APPVLEIO	COS
QVO	LYSTRO	Etiam	censa	sunt	ANANOPVM	CAPIVM	QVADPAGENS		
CENTVM	MILIA	triginta	ET	SEPTVM	MILLIA				
LEGIVS	NOVIA	laeta	EXEMPLA	VIORVM	EXOLPONENTIA	severati,	et	fugientia	
IAM	EX	NOVIO	conspetu	AVITARVM	REIVM	EXEMPLA	INILANDA	proposit	
		ATVS	ET	SACERDOTES					
		V	IR	FFRO					
		QVAVTOR	AMPLISSIMA	COLLEGIA					
		MPTLAMI	ET	MYNICIPI	ALUNI				
		APVD	OMNIA	PVLNARIA	PRO	VALENTINE			
		IVM	ES	IN	PATIARE	CARMEN	FI	SACROFAN	
		VO	PREA	TRIVNITIA	POTESTAS	MIHI			
		MVS	IFER	U	IN				
populo	SACERDOTIVM	DEPERENTE	MIHI	QVOD	PATER	MEVS	procurant		
auscpi	id	SACERDOIVM	LIQVOD	POST	ANNOR	EO	MORINO	qui	post
numm	stibus	proCVRAVTRAI	CYNOTA	EX	ITALIA				
		valleVINE	QVANTA	ROMAE	AN	Nguam			
		P	SUPICIO	C	VALGIO	CONSVLIBVS			
		adis	HONORIS	ET	VRTVTIS	AD	memORIAM		
		acNATVS	CONVAVIT	IN	QVA	PON			
		annIVERSARIVM	PACIFICVM	PACERS					
		R	T	IN	VRBEM	EX			
		AVII							
		PAR							
		ET	ERIN	A	MIHI				
		ONOS	RAL						
res	in	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2

APPENDIX

89

NIP QV ARAM
pro REDITV MEO CONsecrati ut AD RAM
MAGISTRATVS ET SAC
IVM U P
CIVITVM EBS
pedi TOTVM Impetum POPVLI ROMANI pedita est terra
marique PAX CIVITVM a condita urbs Iunum Quiritium BIS QVINIO CIVITVM
fuisse PRODITV EVM Senatus PFR ME PRINCIPVM ter clAUDENDVM LSED tunc
Inter ALIOs MEOS QVOS SINISTRA TOIS MIHI ELIPVIT EORVM CIVITVM ET LVCIVM CAPSAM
ES

Tabula tertia a lava

HONORIS MEI CAUSA SENATVS POPVLSQVE ROMANVS ANNYM QVINTVM ET DLCI
MVM AGENTIS CONSVLES DESIGNAVIT VT EVM MAGISTRATVM INIRENT POST QVIN
QVINTVM IT EX EO DIE QVO DEFVCI SVNT IN FORVM IT INTRESSENT CONSILIS
PVBLCIS DLGREVIT SENATVS EQVIVS AVTEM ROMANI VNIVERSI PRINCIPVM
IVVENTVVS VTRAMQVE EORVM PARVAS ET HASTIS ARGENTEIS DONATVM AD
PELLAVERVNT
PLEBEM ROMANAM VIRITVM SS TRECEXOS NVMERARI EX TESTAMENTO PATRIS
MEI ET NOMINE MEO QVADRINGENOS EX BELLOVM MANIBVS CONSVL
QVINTVM DEDI ITERVM AVTVM IN CONSVIATV DECIMO EX PATRIMONIO
MEO HIS QVADRINGENOS CONGLIARI VIRITVM PERNVMERAVI PT CONSVT
VNDICIMVM DVODECIM FRUMENTATIONES FAVMENTO PRIVATVM COEMPTO
EMENSIS SVM ET TRIBVNTIA POFSIATV DVODECIMVM QVADRINGEVOS
NVMEROS TERITVM VIRITVM DEDI QVAE MEA CONGLIARIA PLVRESERVNT
ul sesterIVM MILLIA NVNQVAM MINVS QVINQVAGINTA ET DVCENTAZ
TRIBVNTIAE POTESTATIS DVODEVICINIMVM CONSVL XII TRECENTIS ET VIGINTI
MILLIVS PLEBEM VRBANAE SVXAGENOS DENARIOS VIRITVM DEDI
ET QVOIVS MILITVM MORTVVM CONSVL QVINTVM IX MANIBVS VIRITVM
MILLIA NVNQVAM SINGVLA DEDI ACCEPERVNT ID TRIVPHVRE CONGLIARIVM
IN CONGLIIS HOMINVM CIRCVTER CENTVM ET VIGINTI MILLIA CONSVL TER
ITVM DELIVM SVXAGENOS DENARIOS PLADFI QVAE TTM FRVMENTVM PVBLCVM
ACCEPERVNT DEDI EA MILLIA HOMINVM PAVTO PVTRA QVAM DVONAM FVERVNT
PECVNIAM pro AGNIS QVOS IN CONSVLATV MEO QVARTO ET POSTEA CONSVLIVS
M CERRAS ET CN LEXTILO AVGIRE ADSIGNAVI MILITIBVS SOLVI INCIPISV LA
SESTERIVM CIRCVTER SESSIENTS MILLIENS IVTI QVLM ex COLLATIONIBVS pro
PRAEDIAS NVMPRAVI ET CIRCVTER BIS MILLIENS ET SESECTIENS QVOD PRO AGNIS
PROVINCIALIBVS SOLVI ID PRIMVS ET SOLVS OMNIVM QVI DEDVCTVNI
COIVNAS MILITVM IN ITALIA AVT IN PROVINCIIS AD MEMORIAM ARTATIS
MEAE PECI ET POSTEA P NERONI ET CN PROVI CONSVLIBVS ITEMQVE O ANTISTIO
ET D ILELIO COS ET C CALVISIO ET L PASIPNO CONSVLIBVS LT Lentulo et MESSALINO
CONSVLIBVS ET L CANINIO ET Q FABRICIO CONSVLIBVS veterans quOS EME
RITIBS STIPENDIS IN SVA MVNCIPIA sulari PRAEMIA aere numerato
PERSONV QVLM IN REM SESTERIVM MILL
IMPVNDV
QVATER PECVNTIA MEA IVVI AERAPIVM ITA VT SESTERIVM MILIENS ET
QVINQVIENTS AD EOS QVI PRAERANT ALIARIO DEIVIRVM ET M Aemilio
ET L ARVNTIO COS IN AERARIVM MILITARE QVOD EX CONSVLIO
COASTVTVM EST FX quo PRAEMIA DARENTVR MILITIBVS QVI Vigi
dependia EMERVISSENT HS MILLIENS ET S PINGVILIENS TIB Caesaris
nomine ei MEO DITVLI
quo CN ET P IMPVIVS CONSVLES PVBLVNT CVM D CERENT
CENTVM MILLIVS HOMINVM INVVS O TRV

Tabula prima a dextra

CVRIAM ET CONTINENS ET CHALCIDIVM TEMPLVMQVE APOLLINIS IN
PALATIO CVM PORTICIBVS AEDEM DIVI IVLI LVBICAL POETIVM AD CIR
CVM PLACINIVM QVAM SVM APPELLARI PASSVS IVC NOMINE ITVS QVI PRI
OREM BODEVM IN SOLO DECERAT OCTAVIAM PVLTINAR AD CIRCVL MAXIMVM
ANDES IN CAPITOLIO IOVIS FETTVI ET IOVIS TORANVS AEDEM QVIRINI
ANDES MIKERVAE ET TVNONIS REGINAE ET IOVIS LIBERTATIS IN AVENTINO
AEDEM LARVM IN SVMA SACRA VIA AEDEM DEVM PENATVVM IN VELIA
AEDEM IVVENTVVS AEDEM MATRIS MAGNAE IN PALATIO PECI

MARI QVISQVAM ROMANORVM ANTE ID TEMPVS ADIT7 CIMBRQVE ET CHARINDES
 ET SEMINOS ET LIVSDEM TRACTVS AIII GERMANORVM POPVL PER LLOGAPOS AMICI
 ILLAM MEAM ET POPVLI ROMANI PELIVVN1/ MHO IVSSV ET AVSPICIO DVCL1 SVNT
 duo EXERCITVS DODEM PERE TEMPORI IN AETHIOPIAM ET IN Arabiam QVA EA uni
 pestale
 RoAL SVNT IN SICILI SAL FI IN ET II VS
 DV NI B
 NES ADAM
 FIIVM MAN AD A menIAM maiOREM INTER
 PECTO REGE LIVS AITAXa M POSSE MA
 NO-IRORVM FVEMPO REGI M. ID . . . in potate
 TEM . TIGRANIS REGIS PER . Zi NoRonem diademata eius capiti impoito transuli Ar
 menIAM GENTEM POSTEA Inguistam GENTEM ET BELLILANEM Domiam PER CA
 IVM FIIVM MEVM REGI ARIobarsum gubernandam et frenan
 DAM TRADIDI KI POST . Bui MorTEM FILO EIVS ARTAVASDI QVodam sure Arobarsa
 NE QVI IRAT EX REGIO GLNFRD . ARMENIORVM . ORIVNDVS IN ID IUPGnum delicta? PRO
 VINCIAS OMNIS QVAS TRANS MADRIANVM MARE VERGVNT et Ponticas Asia
 N1sQVE IAM EX PARTE MAGNA RFGIBVS IAS POSIDENTIVS accessit? Siciliam et
 SARDINIAM OCCVPTATIS . BELLO ELRVILI RECIPERAVIT
 COLONIAS IN AFRICA . SICILIA MacEDONIA VIRAGVL Hispania in Gritia Comata et
 GALLIA NARDONENSE PRaelis grovordia MUITVM DFDVAV ITALIA ATTEM coloni
 AS QVAL VIVO ME CELEBRERIMAD EI IREQVENTESIMAD IVERVNT . MARE
 DEDVCIAS HABIT7
 SIGNA . MITITABIA COMPLVRA per nostros duces AMBUSA DEVICTIS legionibus recogi
 EX HISPANIA ET GENIBUS DelmALIB7 PARTHOS TRIVM EXERCITVVM ROMANO
 RVN SPOLIA ET SIGNA reddidere MIHI SVPPlicesQVE AMICITIAM POPVLI ROMANI
 PETERE VOLGI EA AVIEM SIGNA IN PENINSALI QVOD EST IN TEMPIO MARTIS VI
 TORIS REPOSIV
 PANNONIORVM GENTES QVAS ANTE ME PRINCIPIM POPVLI ROMANI EXERCITVS NVN
 QIAM ADIT DEVICTIS PER TI CAESAREM QVI IVM PHAEERat exoratoVVS
 IMPPRIO POPVLI ROMANI SVBIICI PROTIVLQVE FINIS imperii ad Iui FIVMINIS
 IVSQVE QVOD A V VS EXERCITVS EIS SPRO A
 IVSQVE POS VCIVS
 GENTES I
 AD ME EX IVNDra
 APVD QV Q M NOSTRAM
 PFR IEGalos DASTARNARVM N ET SalluataRVN
 IANAIMQVB VLTIA RFO DVLO RLA ET HIBER
 AD ME SVPPlices CONFVGLient REGES PARTHORVM THRIDAES

Tabula tertia a dextra

REGIS PHRATIS (ac) MEDORVM ARIA
 RES BERTIAN DAMNO BELLA ET TEM ORVM
 MAELO MAR OMANORVM SVTRO F RAZ PARTHORVM
 PHRAIBS (ac) ORODIS FILIVS FILIOS SVOS NCPtoque naci TN ITALIAM NON
 BELLO SVTERATVS SED AMICITIAM NOSTRAM PFR hac SVORVM PIGNORA
 PELENS PLVRIMAPQVE ALLAS GENTES EXPTas sunt Romanam FIDEM ME PRIN
 CIPE QUIBVS ANTEA QVM POPVLO ROMANO . nullum omnino fuit REGATIONVM
 ET AMICITIAE COMMERCIVM
 A ME OVENTES PARTHORVM ET MEDORVM petierunt per PRINCIPES EARVM GENTI
 VM REGIQVE PLR BOS ACCEPERVNT Parthi Venonem regis PhratIS FILIVM
 REGIS ORODIS XEPOLIM MED1 Ariabanum REGIS ARIASDIS FI
 LIVM REGIS ARIOBARZANIS NCPto
 IN CONSVATV SEXTO ET SEPTIMO postquam bella civita EXTINVERAM
 PER CONSENSVM VNIVERSORVM Romanorum civVM REMVPLICAM
 ES MEA POTESSTATE IN SENATVS et populi Romani ARBITRVUM TRANSVILI
 QVO PRO MERITO MIO SENatus me appellavit AugustVM ET LAVREIS
 POSTES ADDIVM MEARVM Vozit IVI CASV R
 INVAM MEAM FI QVA sl R IN VILA POEI
 VS QVEN . SC R M ET VIRIVIS OLE
 FI P VS CLVPEI
 POSI D

ἐμῇ οἰκίᾳ ἀνέστη "Οπ[λ]ον τε χρυσούν ἐν τῷ βο[υ]λ[ε]ν
τηρίῳ ἀνατε[ύ]χον ὑπὸ τε τῆς συνκλητῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου
τῶν 'Ρω[μ]αίων διὰ τῆς ἐνγραφῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ ἐπιεικείας
καὶ [δ]ικαιοσύνης καὶ εὐσεβείας ἐμοὶ μαρτυρεῖ, ἀξιῶν τι
πάντων δινεῖν καὶ ἐξουσίαν δὲ οὐδέν τι πλεόν ἔσχον
τῶν συναρξάντων μοι

Τριακαδικῶν ἡμετέραν ἔχοντες μου ἡ τε συνκλητὸς
καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν τάγμα ὃ τε σύντας δῆμος τῶν 'Ρωμαίων
προσηγγόμενος με πατέρα πατριδος, καὶ τοῦτο [ἐ]ν τοῦ προ-
πύλου τῆς αἰκίας μου καὶ ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ
ἀγορᾷ τῇ σβαστῇ ὑπὸ τῷ ἡματι, [δ]ύμο[ς] δόγματι συν-
κλήτου ἀνετέθη, ἐπιγραφῆσθαι ἐψηφισατο ὅτε ἐγγραφὸν
ταῦτα ἦγον ἔτος ἐβδομηκοστὴν ἔκτον

Συνκεφαλαιώσας ἡρωικῶς χρήματ' εἰς τὸ αἰράριον
ἡ εἰς τὸν δῆμον τῶν 'Ρ[ωμαίων] ἡ εἰς τοὺς ἀπολλευμένους

στρατιώτας ἔξ μυριάδων μυριάδων ἔργα καιρὰ ἐγένετο
ἐκείνου νοσ[τ]ῆ[ι] μὲν 'Αρεως, διδὸς Βροντησίῳ καὶ Τροπαυ-
φόρῳ Πανδῆ, 'Απόλλωνος, θεοῦ 'Ιουλείου, Ἡυρένου,
'Α[θη]νῆς, 'Ηρας Βασιλίδος, Διὸς 'Ελευθερίου, ἡρώων
π[α]τρῶν, Νέεργτος, Μιτρηδῆ Θεῶν σὺν Ὑαλινθικῷ,
ἀγορᾷ σεβαστῇ, θέατρον Μαρκέλλῳ, Βασι[λ]ικῇ 'Ιουλίας,
ἑλκος Κασάρων, στοὰ ἐν Παλα[τ]ίῳ, στοὰ ἐν 'Ἰππο-
δρόμῳ Φλαμινίῳ ἐπεσκεύασα ἡ τὸ Κα[π]ιτώλιον, καὶ
ἐγδοήκοντα δύν, θέ[α]τρα[ν] Πο[υ]ππῆιου, ὅδον Φλαμινίαν,
ἀγωναὶ οὐδένων [Δα]ρ[σ]αί[α] εἰς θέας καὶ μονομάχους καὶ
ἀθλήται[ς] καὶ ναυμαχίαν καὶ θηρομαχίαν δωρεά [ταῖς]
ἀποικίαις πόλεσιν ἐν 'Ιταλίᾳ πόλεσιν ἐν ἑταρχεί[αις]
σεισμῶ καὶ ἐντυριμοῖς πεπονηκυίας, ἡ κατ' ἀνδρα φίλους
κ[αὶ] συνκλητικῶν, ἐν δὲ τεμήσεις προσετέθησαν
ἄπειρον πλήθος

THE PARTS OF THE FASTI CAPITOLINI

COMPILED WITHIN THE PERIOD OF THE CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES, WITH THE EMENDATIONS
AND CONJECTURAL ADDITIONS OF SIGONIUS

N D — The original fragments are in Roman characters and the emendations and additions in Italic

B C

- 61 M Papius M F Pao
M Valerius M F Massalla Niger
Cn Pompeius Sex N Magnus in Pro Cos et
Asia, Ponto, Paphlagonia, Cappadocia Cilicia,
Syria Armenia Pirates, Iberia Creta, de Ruy-
bus Mithridate et Dyane per biduum in pri-
K Otto An vindex
69 O Julius C I O N M Calpurnius
68 L Calpurnius L F L N Pao Casonum
A Calvius A F
67 P Cornelius P F Lentulus Spinter
Q Calvius Q F Q N Metellus Nepos
66 Cn Cornelius P F — N Lentulus Marcellinus
I Marius L F Q N Philippus
40 C Claudius M F M N Marcellus
I Cornelius P F Lentulus Eodem anno
C Julius C I C N Caesar Dict. sine mag. Eq
comit. hab. causam
48 C Julius C F C N Caesar in
P Servilius P F Cn N Vatia Isauricus
47 C Julius C F C N Caesar in Dict
M Antonius M F M N Mag. Eq
Q Fabius Q F C N Calvus
P Vatinus P F
M Aemilius M F Q N Lepidus Pro Pr ex
Hispania An pccxi
46 C Julius C F C N Caesar in
M Aemilius M F Q N Lepidus
C Julius C F C N Caesar Cos in de Gallis
An pccxi
C Julius C F C N Caesar in Cos in ex Ponto
de Pharnace Rege An pccxi

B C

- C Julius C F C N Caesar in Cos in ex
Egypto An pccxi
C Julius C F C N Caesar in Cos in ex Africa
de Iuba Rege An pccxi
45 C Julius C F C N Caesar in Dict
M Aemilius M F Q N Lepidus Mag. eq
Eodem anno,
C Julius C F C N Caesar in Sine collegd
Eodem anno,
Q Fabius Q F Q N Maximus in Mag. uirtutis
est In qus locum factus est C Camillus C F
C N Rebus
C Trebonius C F
C Julius C F C N Caesar in Cos in ex His-
pania An pccxi = Octob
Q Fabius Q F Q N Maximus Cos ex Hispania
An pccxi in Idus Oct
Q Pedius M F Pro Cos ex Hispania An
pccxi Idus Dec
44 C Julius C F C N Caesar in Dict
M Aemilius M F Q N Lepidus in Mag. Eq
ut quum M Aemilius Paludatus cecisset interit
Cn Domitius M F M N Calvus in me-
quentem annum designatus erat non inuit
C Julius C I C N Caesar in P Cornelius P F
Dolabella
M Antonius M F M N C Julius C F C N
Caesar in Dict in orans ex Monte Albano
An pccxi in Kal. Febr
43 Q Fabius C F C N Pansa In mag. pccxi F Ia
F for fact est
C Julius C F C N Caesar qui postea Impe-

B C

- ator *Cesar Augustus appell* est Abd In *ejus*
locum *fact* est *C Carrinus C F*
A Hortius A F In *mag oeris F* In *E loc* *fact*
est
Q Petrus M F In *mag mort* *est* In *ejus locum*
factus est
P Ventidius P F Qui *idem Prætor erat*
M Aemilius M F Q N Lepidus in *vir R P C*
aus } *ex A D V K*
M Antonius M F M N } *Dec A D Pr K*
Imp Caesar C F C N } *Jan Ser*
L Munius L F L N Plancus Pro Cos *ex*
Gallia An *decviii* *in K Jan*
M Aemilius M F Q N Lepidus in *vir R P*
C Pro Cos ex Hispania *Prætor K Jan*
 42 *L Mucius L F L N Plancus*
A Postumus Albinus Brutus *Anteq* *inret* *Damn*
In E loc *fact* *Est*
M Aemilius M F Q N Lepidus *vi*
Cens L Antonius M F N N P Sulpicius
P F Quirinus *Lust* *non fecer*
P Vatinius P F Pro Cos *de Illuroco* *prætor*
 41 *P Servilius P F C N* *Vatius Isauricus* *vi*
L Antonius M F M N
L Antonius M F M N Cos *ex Alpibus*
 40 *Cn Domitius M F M N* *Calvinus* *vi* *abdica*
In ejus loc *fact* *est* *L Cornelius P F* *Balbus*
C Aemius Cn F Pollio *abdica*
fact *est* *P Claudius P F* *Crassus*
Im Cæsar Divi F C N in *vir R P C* *ovans*
quod pacem cum M Antonio *fecit*
M Antonius M F M N in *vir R P C* *ovans*
quod pacem cum Imp Cesare *fecit*
 39 *L Marcus I P C N* *Censorinus*
C Calpurnius C F *Solanus*
L Marcus L F C N *Censorinus* Cos. *ex* *Mace-*
donia An *decviii* *K Jan*
C Aemius Cn F Pollio Pro Cos *ex* *Parthois*
An *decviii* *K Novemb*
 38 *Ap Claudius C F* *Pulcher*
C Norbanus C F *Flavus*
P Ventidius P F Pro Cos *ex* *Tiuro monte* *et*
Parthois An *decv* *v K Decem*
 37 *M Aemilius M F Q N Lepidus* in *vir R P*
M Antonius M F M N } *C * ad prid*
Imp Caesar Divi T C N } *K Quir*
M Agrippa L F
L Caninius L F *Gallus* *abdica*
fact *est*
T Statilius T F *Tharus*
 36 *L Gellius L F L N* *Poplicola* *abdica*
In ejus loc *fact* *est* *L Manacius L F L N*
Plancus
M Cocceus M F *abdica*
est *P Sulpicius P F* *Quirinus*
Bodem anno
M Aemilius M F M N *Lepidus* in *vir R P C*
vi *coactus a conlegâ Imp Cesare* *Divi*
abdica
Cn Domitius M F M N *Calvinus* Pro Cos *ex*
Hispania An *decviii* ** viii K* *Stat*

B C

- Imp Cæsar Divi F C N* in *vir R P C* in
ovans *Ex* *Sachâ* An *decviii* *Idib* *Novemb*
 34 *L Scribonius L F* *Libo* *abdica* *In ejus loc* *fact* *est*
** * * * **
M Antonius M F M N in *abdica* *In ejus loc*
fact *est*
L Sempronius L F L N *Atratinus*
Ex K *Julis*
Paulus Aemilius L F M N *Lepidus C*
Memmius
Ex K *Nov*
C Herennius
T Statilius T F *Taurus* Pro Cos *Ex* *Africa* *A*
decviii *Prætor K Jul*
C Sosius C F T N Pro Cos *Ex* *Judæa* An
decviii in *Nonas* *Sept*
C Norbanus C F *Flaccus* Pro Cos *Ex* *Hispania*
An *decviii* ** in* *Id* *Octob*
Bodem anno
 31 *Imp Caesar Divi F C N* *ex* *A D* in *Non* *Sept*
vielo *ad* *Actium* *M Antonius* in *vir R P C* in
solus *Romp* *tenus*
 29 *Imp Caesar Divi F C N* *v*
Sex Appuleius Sex F *Sex N*
Ex K *Julis*
Publius Valerius M F M N
Messalla
Ex K *Nov* *C* *Fortius*
C Julius
Imp Cæsar Divi F C N in *Cos* *v* *de* *Panno-*
nio *Dalmatæ* *Iapudibus* *et* *Gallies* *vi* *Id*
Sept *An* *decviii*
C Carrinas C F Pro Cos *de* *Morinæ* *Gallia*
et *Sueris* *An* *decviii* *vi* *Id* *Stat*
Imp Caesar D F C N in *Cos* *ex* *Macedonia*
An *decviii* *vi* *Id* *Stat*
Imp Caesar D F C N *V* *Cos* *v* *ex* *Egypto* *An*
decviii *vi* *Id* *Stat*
L Autronius P F *Cra-sus* *ex* *Africa* *An* *decviii*
xvii *K* *Septemb*
Imp Caesar Divi F C N *Augustus*
M Agrippa L F *Lastrum* *fecerunt* *lax*
 28 *Imp Caesar Divi F C N* *v*
M Agrippa L F
M Lælius M F M N *Crassus* Pro Cos *ex*
Træcia *et* *Gethes* *An* *decviii* *** *Non* *Jul*
 27 *Imp Caesar Divi F C N* *vi*
M Agrippa L F
M Valerius M F M N *Messalla* *Cornelius* Pro
Cos *ex* *Gallia* *An* *decviii* *vi* *K* *Oct*
 26 *Imp Caesar Divi F C N* *Augustus* *vi*
T Statilius T F *Tharus*
Sex Appuleius Sex F *Sex N* Pro Cos *ex* *His-*
pania *An* *decviii* *vi* *K* *Febr*
 25 *Imp Caesar Divi F C N* *Augustus* *vi*
M Junius D F M N
 24 *Imp Caesar Divi F C N* *Augustus* *vi*
C Norbanus C F C N *Flaccus*
 23 *Imp Cæsar Divi F C N* *Augustus* *vi* *abd* *In*
ejus loc *fact* *est* *L* *Sestius P F* *Vibi N*
A T *vi* *Id* *Mne* *na* *I* *mag* *mort* *est*

B C

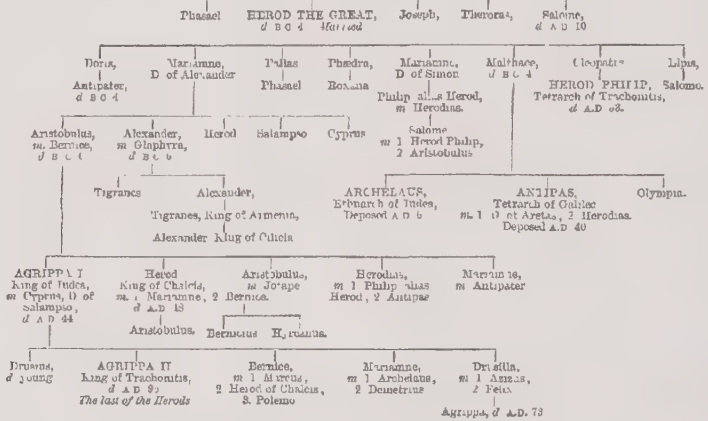
- In E L F E Cn Calpurnius Cn F Cn N
Piso
Imp Caesar Divi F August postq Dictator ap-
pellatus E Abdic Iribus Pot
22 M Claudius M F M N Marc'ell Cæcilian
L Arruntius I F I N
Imp Caesar Divi F Augustus Tribunic Potes-
tatis
Censor J. Munatius L F I N Plancus
Paulus Annulus L F M N Lepid Lust non
fuerunt
21 Imp Caesar Divi F Pont Max Trib Pot u
Imp Caesar Divi F Augustus xv In usq Ann
dusq erat Non erat In E L F E
Q Annius M F Lepidus
M Lollius M F
T. Sempronius T. F I N Atratinus Pro Cos ox
Africa A dcccxxxii iii Idus Octob
19 Imp Caesar Divi F Augustus Tribunic Pot vii
Imp Caesar Divi F Augustus In usq Ann
dusq erat Non erat In E L F E
Q Lucetius Q F I'espillo
C Sotius C F C N Saturninus c. K Julis
M I'nuvus P F
L Cornutus P F Galbus ex Africa An dcccxxxv
vi K April
12 Imp Caesar Divi F Augustus Pont Max Trib
Pot xi
M Valerius M F M N Messalla Barbatus Ami-
linus In Mag mortuus E In E L F E
C Valgius C F Rufus Abdic In D L F E
C Canninus C F C N Ribul In Mag M D

A D

- 8 Imp Cæsar Divi F Augustus Pont Max Trib
Pot xxx
Ti Cæsar Augusti F Divi N Trib Pot ix
M Furius P F P N Camil
Sex Nonius L F L N Quinctilian
Ea K Jul
L Apronius C F C N
A Vibius C F C N Habitus
9 Imp Caesar Divi F Augustus Pont Max Trib
Pot xxxi
Ti Cæsar Augusti F Divi N Trib Pot x

A D

- C Poppæus Q I' Q N Sabinus
Q Sulpicius Q F Q N Camerinus
Ea K Jul
M Pupius M F M N Mutlus
Q Poppæus Q F Q N Secund
10 Imp Cæsar Divi F Augustus Pont Max Ti
Pot xxxii
Ti Cæsar Augusti F Divi N Trib Pot xi
P Cornelius P F P N Dolabella
C Junius C F M N Silanus Flam Mart
Lx K Jul
Ser Cornelius Cn I
Cn N Lentul Malug Flam Dial
11 Imp Cæsar Divi F Augustus Pont Max Trib
Pot xxxiii
Ti Cæsar Augusti F Divi N Trib Pot xii
M Annulus Q F Q N Lepidus
T Statilius T F T N Taurus
Fa K Jul
L Cassius L F * N Longinus
12 Imp Cæsar Divi F Augustus Pont Max Trib
Pot xxxiiii
Ti Cæsar Augusti F Divi N Trib Pot xii
Germanicus Cæsar Ti F Augusti N
C Tonteus C F C N
Ea K Julis
C Vellius C F C N Vairo
Ti Cæsar Divi F Divi N Pro Cos de Ilariis
Pannoniis Dalmatis et Germanis An dcccxiv
13 Imp Caesar Divi F Augustus Pont Max Ti
Pot xxxi
Ti Cæsar Augusti F Divi N Trib Pot xiii
C Silius P F P N
L Munatius L F I N Plancus
14 Imp Caesar Divi F Augustus Pont Max Trib
Pot xxxvi
Ti Cæsar Augusti F Divi N Trib Pot xv
Sex Pompeius Sex F
Sex Appuleius Sex F
Imp Caesar Divi F Augustus Ti Cæsar Augusti
F Iustrum F lxxi
Hoc anno Imp Cæsar Augustus ante diem xii
K sept Mort D Ti Cæsar Augustus Im-
perium excoipit

Antipater, in C₁ prus, d B C 49

INDEX.

NE.—The Roman numbers refer to the pages of the Introduction The Arabic numbers refer to the Tables and Appendix, the first number, where there are two, denoting the page, and the second the paragraph, and a single number denoting the page

ABA

- ABAS, river of Albama, 6, 47
- Abdus and Sinnacus attempt to dethrone Artabanus, king of Parthia, 214, 1472
- Abia or Abyah, at what time the course of, began its office, 109, 836 115, 113 And xxviii
- Abias, king of Petra, 298, 1783
- Abyah, course of See Abia
- Ablene included in the kingdom of Tysanias, king of Chaldeis, 8, 68
- granted by Antony to Cleopatra, 84, 537
- not included in the grant by Augustus to Herod, 90, 730
- held by Tysanias the tetrarch, a descendant of Tysanias the king, 174, 1169
- conferred on King Agrippa, 250, 1503 271, 1619
- Actar, king of Arabia, 291, 1731
- Achaea, one of the Senate's or People's provinces, 80, 666
- transferred to the Emperor, 160, 1063
- Poppaeus Sabinus, prefect of, 216, 1361
- restored to the people, 281, 1682
- governed by a proconsul, questor, and legato, 110, 1009
- Achiabus a nephew of Herod, 126, 933
- Acra burnt, 360, 2151
- Acraea, chief city of one of the toparchies of Judaea, 147, 1413
- Acraeasene, a toparchy of Judaea, 147, 1013
- Acraus, a minion of Nero, 334, 1957 330, 1990
- Acra taken by Tigranes, 8, 14
- Acte, a mistress of Nero, 304, 1819
- Actiad, reference to, as a measure of time, 77, 641
- Actian games founded or extended, 77, 641
- Actium, date of battle of, 72, 609
- Adiabene, Monobazus I is king of, 265, 1525
- Isatay is king of, 16
- sends hostages to Claudius and Artabanus, 272, 1628
- restores Artabanus to his kingdom, 272, 1630
- succeeded by Monobazus II, 329 1935
- invaded by Tigranes, 16
- Adria, Sea of, what it was, 322, 1900
- Advocatus at Rome prohibited from taking fees, 96, 751
- retreated to tea aesteria, 286, 1713
- Ægea overthrown by an earthquake, 103, 1093
- Apollonius of Tyana is at, 160, 1072
- Ægea, Corulo and Quadratus met at, 305, 1824
- Ælia See Jerusalem
- Æneas See Aretas
- Ænon, where John baptized, site of, 181, 1209

AGR

- identified, 185 1209
- John the Baptist is at, 165, 1310
- Agababab, (n D), the father of Nero, accompanies Canus to the East, 136, 964
- Afer, Dom, the advocate, dies, 318, 1878
- Africanus commands in Armenia, 5, 38
- sent to Gordyene, 6, 50
- to Mount Amanus, 7, 59
- army of, surrenders in Syria to Caesar, 29, 248
- Agrippus Barabbus See Barabbus
- Africa a senatorial and consular province, 80, 666
- divided into two provinces, 263, 1572
- war in, against Tacfarinas ends, 171, 1151
- Agribus comes to Antioch, 278, 1665
- is at Cesarea, 314, 1857
- Agrippa, Marcus, sent by Augustus to Siphnus, 51, 449
- summoned from Gaul to command the fleet, 56, 495
- conducts the war against Antony, 50, 438
- defeats Q. Naudius, 72, 605
- despatched from Actium to Italy, 73, 612
- sent to command in Syria and the East, 86, 700
- marries Augustus's daughter Julia, 89, 718
- sent to Gaul and Spain, 93, 742
- despatched to Syria, 90, 765, 754
- visits Judaea, 97, 760
- his expedition to the Black Sea, 97, 761 *et seq*
- visits with Herod Ephesus and Samos, 98, 764
- grants privileges to the Jews, 99, 765
- writes to Silanus, proconsul of Asia, 98, 766
- takes Antipater, the son of Herod, to Rome, 99, 772 and 774
- proceeds to Pannonia, 99, 774 100, 776
- dies, 100, 776
- Agrippa, Herod, king, the elder, grandson of Herod, is born 103, 300
- ordered to leave Rome, 210, 1369
- retires to Malatha in Idumaea, 216, 1360
- appointed adile of Tiberias, 217, 1369
- his intimacy with Canus afterwards Caligula, 228, 1418
- convicted of corruption before Flaccus, prefect of Syria, 228, 1424
- sails to Rome, 245, 1482
- imprisoned by Tiberius, but released by Caligula, and made king of Trachonitis, 250, 1503
- how his reign is reckoned by Josephus, 280, 1678
- sails for Judaea, 268, 1534 257 1535
- mocked in effigy at Alexandria, 257, 1535

AGR

- returns from Judaea to Rome, 262, 1569
- follows Caligula to Gaul, 203, 1578
- intercedes with Caligula against the erection of his statue at Jerusalem, 266, 1599
- rewarded by Claudius with Abilene and other territory, 271, 1619
- sails for Judaea, 272, 1625
- arrives at Jerusalem, 275, 1642 *et seq*
- his usual residence there, 276, 1642
- begins the outer walls of Jerusalem, 277, 1661
- quarrels with Marsus, prefect of Syria, 277, 1662
- persecutes the Christians, 279, 1670
- beheads James, the brother of John, 279, 1671
- and arrests Peter, 279, 1671
- gives audience to the Syrians and Sidonians, 280, 1676 1677
- his death, *ibid* And 280, 1678
- Agrippa, king, the younger, educated at Rome, 281, 1678
- made king of Chalcis, 283, 1726
- becomes king of Tirochontis, &c., 299, 1788
- how his reign is reckoned by Josephus, 299, 1726
- levies forces against Parthia, 303, 1812 306, 1824 312, 1845
- receives from the Romans Tiberias, Tarichea, Julias, and Abila, 303, 1823
- ordered to attend on Corbulo, 303, 1824
- hears Paul's defence, 320, 1897
- raises his palace wall, 324, 1912
- goes to Egypt to congratulate Tiberius Alexander, 343 2004
- tries to appease the Jews at the outbreak of the Jewish war, 344, 2018
- goes with Tiberianus to Ptolemais, 346 2023
- proceeds to Rome to congratulate Galba, *ibid*, 2077
- returns to Syria, 351, 2093
- Agrippa, son of M. Agrippa and Julia, born, 100, 778
- adopted by Augustus, 113, 994
- thought to be mad and banished, 118, 1019
- put to death by Tiberius, 108, 1055
- Agrippa, Ponticus, prefect of Moesia, 349, 2071
- Agrippa, pseudo, appears in Gaul, 162, 1083
- Agrippina, wife of Germanicus, sails from Syria to Rome, 166, 1116
- enters Rome with the ashes of Germanicus, 167, 1124
- her death, 228 1431
- Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus, marries Domitian, 173, 1168
- marries Claudius, 289, 1728
- recalls Seneca from banishment, 286, 1729
- her influence at Rome, 303, 1808
- ejected by Nero from the palace, 304, 1821
- her life attempted by Nero her son, 317, 1808
- assassinated by him, 317, 1871
- games in honour of her memory, 317, 1875
- Agrippina, sister of Caligula, banished, 263, 1576
- restored, 272, 1626
- Ain-et-Tin, a fountain in Gennesaret, 180, 1230
- Ἀνδρόθεος, μὴ, souse of, in the Gospels, 180, 1190
- Alabarch, the governor of the Jews at Alexandria, so-called, 301 1801
- Alabanda reduced by L. Varius, 51, 441
- Alban, Oveses, king of, subdued by Pompey, 6, 46
- Zoben, king of, conquered by Caius Gracchus, 63, 535
- Albunum, a town to which Augustus resorted, 86, 704
- Albinus appointed procurator of Judaea, 327, 1929
- arrives at Alexandria, 328, 1933
- reaches Judaea, 329 1933
- succeeded by Gaius Tiberius 331, 1961

AMB

- Albus, a river of Germany, 146, 1004
- Alchadomus an Arabian chief, 39, 339
- Alchedamus, an Arabian chief, 39, 339
- Aletus M., sent to Proconsular Asia on the occasion of the great earthquake, 153, 1094
- Alexander, son of Aristobulus, sent to Rome, but escapes by the way, 10, 82
- prevails against Hyrcanus, 13, 113
- surrenders to Gabinius, 13, 115
- again disturbs Judaea, 15, 131
- again defeated by Gabinius on Mount Tabor, 15, 131
- put to death, 30, 256
- Alexander, son of Herod the Great, sent to be educated at Rome, 85, 695
- brought back from Rome 95, 747
- marries Glaphyra, 96, 752
- calumniated to Herod, 98, 768 99, 772
- invested with nominal royalty, 102, 795
- accused by Herod to Augustus, 110, 844
- tried before Herod, 114, 857
- put to death, 114, 863
- his children betrothed, 114, 866
- Alexander, Tiber, made procurator of Judaea, 286, 1701
- his character 287, 1719
- recalled, 287, 1719
- accompanies Corbulo to Parthia 332 1948
- becomes prefect of Egypt, 343, 2004
- Alexander, son of Cleopatra and Antony, 98, 570
- spared by Octavius, 76, 638
- Alexandra, king of Emesa and Arcthesa, 73 618
- Alexander, a pretended son of Herod, 132, 954
- Alexandra, queen of Judaea, sends an embassy to Tigranes, 1 5
- her death, 2 10
- Alexandra, daughter of Aristobulus, marries Ptolemy Menelaus, 30, 256
- Alexandra, daughter of Hyrcanus, asks the high-priesthood for her son, 64, 539
- meditates flight but discovered, 67, 568
- plots against Herod, 73, 613
- put to death, 78, 659
- Alexandria in Egypt, date of capture of, 76, 635
- mockery of king Agrippa at, 257, 1537
- outbreak against the Jews at, 257, 1537
- peace restored by Claudius at, 271, 1626
- Jews of, send embassy under Philo to Rome, 259, 1539
- the envoys follow Caligula to Campania, 260, 1557
- hear there of Caligula's despatch to Petronius, 260, 1559
- their first audience, 269 1551
- their final audience, 267, 1600
- Alexandria, by Isaac, subject to Antiochus, king of Commagene, 269, 1505
- Alexandrium 8, 72, 73
- Alexas sent by Antony on an embassy to Herod, 73, 616
- put to death, 75, 631
- Alova-, minister of Herod, liberates the chiefs imprisoned by Herod in the Hippodrome, 125, 916
- Alturus, an actor in time of Nero, 333, 1050
- Alphenus, A., sent by Dolabella to Egypt, 42, 363
- joins Cassius in Judaea, 46, 383
- Alphenus, same person as Cleopatra, 182, 1199
- Amman, Mount, is cleared of bandits, 26, 214
- Amman, or people of Amman, 10, 186 18, 149
- Ambrius, Marius, procurator of Judaea, 150, 1033
- succeeded by Annus Rufus, 153, 1047

AML

- Ambleteuse, one of Caesars ports, 10, 138
 Amiens, capital of the Ambiani, 15, 138
 Amisus visited by Pompey, 6, 51 10, 86
 Amphipolis visited by Paul and Silas 294, 1766
 Amphitheatre built by Herod at Jericho, 81, 672
 Amwas, the ancient Lamosus, one of the toparchies of Judea, 147 1013
 Amyntas deserts from Brutus to Octavius 48, 415
 — made king of Pisidia, 35, 480
 — and of Galatia, 63, 551
 — raises forces for Antony, 72, 607
 — confirmed king of Galatia by Octavius, 73, 618
 — his death 82, 675 83 676
 Ἀναλίστις, sense of, in Luke, 221, 1390
 Ananias, highpriest, 65, 541 67, 560
 Ananias and Sapphira, death of, 243, 1465
 Ananias (son of Nebadars), highpriest, 286, 1715
 — sent to Rome, 296, 1775
 — returns to Judea, 298, 1781
 — orders St Paul to be smitten, 315 1882
 — his great influence, 311, 1943
 — assassinated, 343, 2010
 Ananias of Damascus restores St Paul's sight, 37, 1517
 Ananus, son of Seth, highpriest 148, 1022
 — removed from the highpriesthood 161, 1074
 Annius, son of Annius, is sent to Rome bound, 296, 1775 298, 1781
 — returns to Jerusalem, *ib*
 — highpriest, 327, 1930
 — causes James the Just and other Christians to be stoned, 327, 1931
 — deposed, 328, 1932
 Anetta, Monument of, 377
 Andrews, St., a disciple of the Baptist, 170, 1174
 — tells Peter of the Messiah, 179, 1189
 — called to be an Apostle, 191 1235
 Annius, tetrarch of Bithynia, 164, 1007
 — poisons his brother Annius, 241, 1467
 — takes Mithridates prisoner and releases him, 241, 1467
 — dies in a battle with Mithridates, 243, 1464
 Anna, the aunt of Abi, 8 68
 Anus made highpriest 131 952 218, 1375
 — with Olympas, 174, 1170
 — Our Lord is brought before him, 233, 1440
 Annius Rufus, procurator of Judea, 160, 1073
 — succeeded by Valerius Gratus, *ib*
 Annunciation to the Blessed Virgin, *xxxv* And 109, 837
 Anteus, P., prefect of Syria, 304, 1822
 Antioch given by Octavius to Herod, 76, 639
 — laid in ruins 343 2011
 Ἀντιόχεια, the prefects of the people's or senate's provinces, so called, 80, 666
 Antigone, suggested by the Parthians 23 211
 Antigonus (son of Aristobulus) sent to Rome, 10 82
 — escapes from Rome, 14, 127
 — protected by Ptolemy Menne, 30, 255
 — swears himself to become king of Judea, 47, 403, 404
 — made king by the Parthians, 62, 453
 — cruelty of, to Herod, 52 454
 — opposed by Herod 55, 485 *et seq*
 — surrenders to Herod and deserts, 62, 528
 — put to death by Antony, 62, 528
 Antioch in Pisidia visited by St Paul 285, 1703
 Antioch in Mygdonia or Milyas taken by Lucullus, 4 22
 Antioch in Syria besieged by the Parthians, 25, 208
 — siege abandoned, 25, 210
 — taken by the Parthians, 61, 440

ANT

- the Gospel preached there, 278, 1632
 — Christians first so called at, 278, 1665
 — sends him to the Church at Jerusalem, 279, 1660
 — Olympic games instituted at, 282, 1685
 Antiochus Epiphanes besieges Bethsura in a sabbatic year 68, 525
 — relieves the Acra from the siege by Judas Macabeus, *xx*
 — makes peace with him, *ib*
 Antiochus Anabatus, last king of Syria, deposed by Pompey, 6, 52
 Antiochus Sidetes, campaign of, against the Parthians, *xxvii*
 — besieges Hyrcanus the elder in Jerusalem, 61, 525
 Antiochus I., king of Commagene, is subdued by Pompey, 6, 49
 — attacked by Ventidius, 57, 500
 Antiochus II., king of Commagene, put to death, 78, 653
 Antiochus III., king of Commagene, dies, 163, 1088
 Antiochus IV. king of Commagene, 250, 1505
 — deposed, 251 1505
 — restored to Commagene with Cilicia Aspera, 271, 1022
 — subdues the Chiti, 298, 1784
 — levies forces against Parthia, 303, 1812 305, 1824 312, 1845
 — invades Armenia, 312, 1847
 Antipater, father of Herod, marches against Aristobulus, 6, 40
 — sent to Pompey, 8, 65
 — assists Gabinus on his way to Egypt, 14, 128
 — has great influence at Jerusalem 15 131
 — joins Mithridates in succouring Caesar, 33, 286
 — accused at Antioch before Caesar 34 298
 Antipater, son of Herod, banished 85, 748
 — recalled, 98, 768
 — accompanies Herod to meet Agrippa, 90, 771
 — goes with Agrippa to Rome, 99, 772
 — invested with nominal royalty, 102, 795
 — is looked upon as Herod's heir, and tries to conciliate the people, 114, 865
 — begins a system of terror 118, 875
 — conspires against Herod, 119, 876
 — writes to his friends at Rome to summon him thither, 120, 888
 — sails to Rome 121, 890
 — nominated Herod's successor, *ib*
 — sends Bathyllus from Rome to poison Herod, 121, 891
 — his guilt discovered, 124, 894
 — returns to Judea, 122, 899
 — condemned in council, 123, 901
 — put in bonds, *ib*
 — attempts to escape and put to death, 125, 913
 Antipater Archon at Athens, 284 1697
 Antiphras, employed by Antipater to poison Herod, 122, 897
 Antisius accused, 326, 1918
 — besieges Bassus in Apamea, 39, 338
 Ἀντιστρατηγῶν the prefects of the imperial provinces so called, 80, 666
 Antonia educates Camus, 228, 1418
 — dies, 255, 1523
 Antonia, Fort, occupied by Antigonus, 62, 528
 — taken by the Jews, 343 2008
 — taken by Titus, 459, 2136
 — laid, 359 2138
 Antonius, Julius, proconsul of Asia, 98, 766
 Antonius C. appointed to Macedonia, 42, 360
 Antonius, Lucius, triumph of, 49 427

ANT

- Antomus, M., sent by Gabinius against Antigonus, 14, 127
- master of the horse to Cæsar, 33, 284
 - appointed to Macedonia, 42, 259
 - exchanges Macedonia for Cisalpine Gaul, 42, 360, 364
 - prepares for war against Octavius, 42, 361
 - opposed by the senate, 44, 368
 - besieges Decimus Brutus in Mutina, 44, 369
 - defeated at Mutina, 44, 370
 - joins Lepidus, 44, 371
 - forms a triumvirate with Octavius and Lepidus, 44, 376
 - proceeds to Asia, 43, 417
 - his favour to Herod and the Jews, 43, 418, 419
 - puts down the tyrannus of Cæsius in Syria, 49, 424
 - is in Greece, 49, 430
 - at Ephesus, 49, 430
 - in Cilicia with Cleopatra, 49, 431
 - at Antioch, 49, 433
 - in Egypt, 51, 443
 - sails to, and besieges, Brundisium, 51, 446 *et seq*
 - comes to terms with Octavius, 52, 457, 458
 - marries Octavia, the sister of Octavius, 53, 459
 - his unpopularity, 53, 460
 - changes the consuls, 54, 472
 - negotiates with S. Pompey at Bene, 54, 475, and Misenum, 54, 476
 - returns to Rome, 54, 478
 - proceeds to Greece, 54, 479
 - lingers at Athens, 56, 488
 - assumes title of Imp. Iterum, 56, 488 a
 - summoned by Octavius to Rome, 56, 492
 - besieges Samosata, 57, 501
 - leaves Samosata for Italy, 57, 505
 - aids Octavius in Italy against Sextus Pompey, 58, 512, 514
 - returns to Syria, 58, 515
 - sends for Cleopatra, 58, 516
 - invades her with dominions, 58, 527
 - invades against Media, 58, 543 *et seq*
 - makes a disastrous retreat, 58, 548
 - returns to Egypt, 58, 550
 - negotiates with the king of Armenia, 57, 556
 - invades Armenia, 57, 564
 - takes Artavasdes, king of Armenia, prisoner, 58, 568
 - returns to Egypt, 58, 569
 - joins the king of Media against Phraates, king of Parthia, 59, 574, *et seq*
 - goes to Greece, 59, 579
 - war between Antony and Octavius, 70, 583
 - at Ephesus, 70, 588
 - at Athens, 70, 589
 - at Corcyra, 70, 590
 - winters at Patre, 70, 590
 - advances to Actium, 71, 598
 - allies of, 71, 600
 - defeated at Actium, 72, 609
 - dies to Peloponnesus, and thence to Egypt, 73, 610
 - sends Alexas to Herod, 73, 616
 - sends embassies to Octavius in Asia, 75, 623 *et seq*
 - defeated by C. Gallus, 75, 628
 - advances to Alexandria, and defeated, 76, 634
 - his death, 76, 636
 - Antyllus, son of Antony, is sent by him to Octavius, 76, 625
 - put to death, 76, 636
 - Apamea razed by Pompey, 8, 68
 - occupied by Cassius, 10, 336

ARC

- taken by the Parthians, 51, 440
- Aspetia, wife of Scaurus, 213, 1358
- 'Ard, name of, as distinguished from 'Ek, 180, 1190, 217, 1370
- 'Arocragol, ordered by Augustus, 102, 796 *See* Census
- Apollo Temple of, dedicated at Rome, 78, 857
- Apollonia, in Macedonia, visited by Paul and Silas, 294, 1766
- Apollonia, in Illyricum, taken by Cæsar, 80, 261
- Apollonia Dia overthrown by an earthquake, 16d, 1093
- Apollonius (of Tyria) educated at Tarsus, 152, 1041
- at Egge, 160, 1072
- visits Greece, 322, 1904 324 1910, 1911
- visits Parthia, India, and Babylon, 282, 1880, 285, 1702
- comes to Rome, 341, 9000
- at Messene in Sicily, 350, 2078
- passes into Greece, *ib*
- sails to Egypt, 350, 2109
- visits Rhodius, 361, 2160
- congratulates Titus on capture of Jerusalem, *ib*
- Apostles, the Twelve, ordained, 198, 1266
- preach and work miracles, 208, 1289
- Appian, Lucullus's ambassador, arrives at Antioch, 1, 4
- wins over Zarbius, king of Gordyene, 1, 6
- Aquila, comes to Corinth *ib* 295, 1773 297, 1778
- meets St. Paul there, 297, 1778
- goes to Ephesus, 300, 1792, 1794
- Arabia *See* Petra
- visited and surveyed by Caius, son of Augustus, 186, 968
- extent of the word, 264, 1518
- Archelaus, given by Augustus to Calpurnia, 131, 851
- bequeathed by her to Livia, 177, 1179
- Archelus I., priest of Comana, 7, 56
- mimics Berenice of Egypt, 14, 110
- his death, 15, 139
- Archelus, II., the son, priest of Comana, 35, 305
- deprived of the priesthood, 35, 305
- Archelus, king of Cappadocia, son of Archelus II., priest of Comana, 7, 56
- made king of Cappadocia by Antony, 56, 551
- confirmed king of Cappadocia by Octavius, 73, 618
- invades with the Lesser Armenia, 90, 727
- escorts Herod to Zephyrium, 101, 792
- marries his daughter Glaphyra to Herod's son, Alexander, 96, 752
- reconciles Herod to his sons, 103, 815
- escorted by Herod to Antioch, where he is reconciled to M. Titus, 105, 816
- sends an embassy to Herod, 110, 842
- not summoned to the trial of Herod's sons, 113, 857
- receives back his daughter Glaphyra, 114, 864
- marries Pythodora, 137, 968 a
- summoned to Rome, 150, 1070
- his death, 162, 1067
- Archelus, son of Herod, recalled by Herod from Rome, 121, 891
- appointed Herod's successor, 125, 914
- greeted as king, 126, 917
- this circumstance referred to by St. Matthew, 128, 920
- goes up to the Temple, 126, 920
- his violence, 126, 922
- sails to Rome, 123, 927
- his audience before Augustus, 120, 941 *et seq*
- made ethnarch of Judæa, Samaria, and Idumæa, 130, 948
- returns to Jerusalem, 131, 952

AIRC

- how the years of his reign computed, x viii And 116, 1011
- appoints Elian high priest, *ib*
- subdues Ataronges, 120, 957
- accused and banished 146 1011
- Archelaus, son of Helias, marries Mariamne, sister of King Agrippa, ii 200, 1789
- Archive at Jerusalem burnt 360, 2151
- Archons of Athens, 11, 98 12, 102 231 1697 301, 1798 306, 1829 336, 1962
- Arctas I, king of Pella, 5 40 0 43
- attacked by Pompey, 8, 73 0, 75 10, 84
- Arctas II, 115, 840
- condemned king by Augustus, 111, 846
- receives Syllaeus at Rome, 121, 802
- sends auxiliaries to Varus, 128, 936
- daughter of, flies from her husband, Herod Antipas, to Aiabai, 185, 1213, 1214
- hostilities between him and Herod 226, 1414
- Vitellius ordered to make war upon, 249, 1498
- Vitellius abandons the war, 261 1507
- possession of Damascus by, 266 1533
- name of Greek form of the Arabic Harith, 175, 1173
- Arethusa, Jamblichus I king of, 25, 206
- who sends to Caesar in Egypt 33 286
- and is put to death by Antony 72, 606
- Alexander king of 73, 618
- Jamblichus II, 90, 727
- Sampsigeramus I, 90 727
- Sampsigeramus II, 271, 1624 277, 1662
- Azirus, 299, 1789 301, 1800
- Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, 49, 425
- deposed by Antony, 66, 551
- put to death, 66, 551
- Ariabazanes I, king of Cappadocia, dethroned by Tigranes 7, 57
- restored by Pompey, 7, 57
- Artabazanes II 7, 57 28, 239 31, 269
- put to death by Cassius 48 409 31, 269
- Artabazanes, king of Armenia 141, 984
- Aristarchus, king of Colchis, 7, 55
- Aristarchus, the companion of St Paul, 320, 1809
- Artabastus, brother of Hyrcanus defeats Hyrcanus, and sends him as high priest, 2, 11
- attacked by Hyrcanus and Antipater, 5, 40
- sends ambassadors to Scarpus, 5, 42
- besieged in Jerusalem, 6, 43
- sends ambassadors to Pompey, 8, 66, 71
- retires to Alexandrium, 8 73
- surrenders to Pompey 9, 76
- sent to Rome, 10, 82
- length of reign of, 10, 83
- escapes from Rome, 11, 127
- defeated, and sent again to Rome, 11 127
- liberated by Caesar, 29, 247
- taken off by poison *ib*
- Artabastus, son of Alexandria, is put forward by his mother for the high-priesthood, 84, 539
- sent for by Antony, 63, 541
- made high-priest by Herod, 65, 542
- drowned by Herod, 67, 560
- Artabastus, Herod's son, sent to be educated at Rome, 95, 595
- recalled from Rome 95 747
- marries Burennex 96, 752
- calumniated to Herod, 98, 768
- invested with nominal royalty 102 795
- Herod's charge against, 110, 844 *et seq*
- trial and death of, 118, 857 *et seq*
- betrothal of children of by Herod after his death, 114, 866

AII

- Artabastus, brother of King Agrippa, intercedes for the Jews concerning Caligula's statue 262, 1569
- Artabastus, son of Herod of Chalkis, appointed king of Armenia Minor, 305, 1823
- receives part of Armenia Proper, 319, 1887
- Armenia under Tigranes, 1, 4
- supervised by Artabanus, 5, 38
- under Artabastus, 2, 34 30, 239
- conquered by Antony, 68, 568
- by the Parthians 69 560
- conferred by Augustus on Ligurnes brother of Artavastus, 91, 734
- on his death is ruled by another Ligurnes, a nominee of the Parthians, 112 860 852
- ceded by the Parthians to the Romans, 140 975
- visited by Caius, son of Augustus, 141, 984
- who places Artobazanes on the throne, 141, 984
- subject to Fronto as queen, 162, 1078
- to Vonones, 162, 1078
- to Lucius or Artaxias, appointed by Germanicus, 164 1102
- to Artaxia, son of Artabanus, 242 1461
- invaded by the Ibexi, at the instigation of Tiberius, 244, 1474, 1475
- again invaded by the Ibexi under Mithradates, who is placed on the throne, 276, 1651 278 1664
- but who is defeated and put to death by Rhadamistus, 292, 1752 293 1754
- in possession of the Parthians, and Tiridates is king of 303, 1811
- under Tigranes, a nominee of the Romans, 319, 1886
- invaded by the Parthians, 320 1935
- conferred on Tiridates, 332, 1948 338 1987 *et seq*
- Armenia Minor subject to Decotarus, 7, 63
- to Polemo 69, 579
- to Medus, 90, 727
- to Archelaus, 90 727
- to Cotys, 256, 1533
- to Artabastus 305, 1823 219, 1867
- Arminius defeated by Germanicus, 109, 1064 162, 1079
- Arruntius, L., detained at Rome from his province of Spain, 241, 1456
- Artabanus succeeds Artaxias as king of Armenia, 227, 1414 242 1461
- Artame, daughter of Ptolemy Ankltes, 24, 188
- opposes Caesar, 33 290
- death of 49, 432
- Artabanus, king of Media, becomes king of Parthia, 161, 1077
- conciliates Amneus and Amleus, 165, 1105
- places his son Arsaces on the throne of Armenia, 227, 1414 242, 1461
- conspiracy against, 244, 1472 *et seq*
- difficulties of, 244 1474 *et seq*
- flies to Hyrcania, 244, 1478
- returns to Parthia, 246, 1486
- comes to terms with Vellus, 246, 1487 *et seq*
- submits himself to Caligula, 261 1519
- ejected and flies to Izren, 272, 1630
- restored by Lucius 272 1630
- death of, 275 1648
- Artabanus II, son of Artabanus I, is assassinated, 275, 1648
- Artabazanes as aspirant to the throne of Parthia, 139, 974
- Artabazus See Artaxias
- Artagira, a town of Armenia, where Caius Caesar was wounded, 112, 988
- Artavastus succeeds Tigranes as king of Armenia, 6, 34 28, 239

APR

- Artavasdes an ally of Antony against Partina, 65 543
 — taken prisoner by Antony, 68, 568
 — put to death, 68 569
 Artaxias taken by the Iberi, 244, 1475
 — by Corbulo, 312, 1849
 Artaxerxes, decree of for the restoration of Jerusalem, 311
 — And 238, 1444
 Artaxerxes *See* Artaxias
 Artaxias, son of Artavasdes is king of Armenia, 69, 580
 — otherwise called Artaxerxes, Artibazus, and Artavasdes, 91, 734
 — assassinated 91, 734
 Artaxias, alias Zeno son of Polemo I, 137, 966
 — becomes king of Armenia, 164, 1102
 — death of, 212, 1461
 Attocres, king of the Iberi, 6, 46
 Asander, king of Bosphorus, 35, 304
 — death of, 96, 766
 Ascension of Our Lord, 239, 1448
 Aesefela laws of, abolished 270, 1618
 Asia, what so called by the Romans, 11 95
 — a senatorial and also a consular province, 60, 666
 — meaning of, in Luke, 234, 1763
 — cartilaginous, 100, 779 163, 1093
 — proconsuls of, Flaccus, 11, 95 Quintus Cicero, 12, 105 Thermus, *ib* Silinus, 98, 760 C Norbanus Flaccus, *ib* Julius Antonius *ib* C Marcius Censorinus, *ib* M Lepidus 169, 1131 C Silanus, 169, 1140 Lucius Capito, 169, 1137 Ponticus Capito, 171, 1133 M Lepidus, 172, 1158 C Cassius, 267, 1602 Junius Silanus, 302, 1806 Publius Celsi, 307, 1832 310, 1838 Publ Silinus, 312, 1850 Marcus Acilius Aviola, *ib* Lucius Vetus, 336 1975 Barea Soranus, 336, 1977 Ponticus Agrippa, 349, 2071
 'Atraxepel, the presidents at the Ephesian games so called 309, 1838
 Asinanes and Antiane set up for themselves in Babilonia, 164 1097
 — the former made Satrap of Babilonia, by Artabanus, 165, 1105
 — and poisoned by the wife of Amileus, 211 1457
 Asmon in process, duration of dynasty of, 62, 523
 Aspin, Pompey unites at, 8, 66
 Aspurian capture Polemo I king of Pontus, 137, 966
 Asuras in the Rom in provinces, 27, 219 *et seq*
 Astrologers expelled from Rome, 68, 571 162 1080 280 1774
 Astrology, Titinius devoted to, 228, 1419
 Asturi Augustus taken ill at, 107, 1052
 Astures in Spain rebel, 52, 674
 — subdued, 84, 685
 Ategiu taken by C. C. 38 328
 Athenion treacherously attacks Herod, 70, 593
 Athens taken by Cassius and C. Cassius, 42 358
 — visited by Brutus and Cassius, 42 358
 — favoured by Antony, 49, 420 161, 1090
 — receives an increase of territory from him, 48 422
 — milited by Octavius, 69, 720
 — visited by St. Paul, 204, 1762-72
 Athronges sets himself up as king on death of Herod, 129, 935
 — subdued by Archelaus, 135, 957
 Atreulates, the people of Arria, 15, 126
 Attilla, St Paul embarked at, 285 1706
 Attalus, king of Paphlagonia, 7, 55
 — death of, 50 435
 Attalus king of Pergamus, bequest of his kingdom by, to Rome, 11, 95

AUG

- Audiences, public, heard by Augustus, and then by consular presidents, 115 1010
 August, why the month so called, 106, 824
 Augusta, Laphos so called, 97, 759
 Augustalia, the games so called, 93 743 101, 785 109, 823
 Augustus, Nero's bond of adulterers so called, 318, 1877
 Augustus, Gaius Octavius Caesar, birth of, 10, 88 37 321
 — accompanies Caesar to Spain, 37, 321
 — educated at Apollonia, 11, 354
 — hastens on death of Caesar to Rome, 42, 355
 — defeats Antony and saluted Imperator I, 44, 370
 — thwarted by the senate, but prevails against them, 44, 372, 373
 — enters into the Triumvirate, 44, 376
 — present at the battle of Philippi, 48, 414
 — returns to Italy, 48, 417
 — repulsed from Narsia and Sentinum, 49, 428
 — master of Italy, 50 436
 — proceeds to Gaul, 50, 438
 — returns to Italy, 51 448
 — comes to terms with Antony at Brundisium, 52, 457
 — returns to Rome, 53, 459 *et seq*
 — captivated by Livia, and divorces Scribonia, 51 473
 — comes to terms with Pompey in Campani, 54, 476 *et seq*
 — returns to Rome, 54, 478
 — proceeds to Gaul, 54, 479
 — marries Livia, 55, 491
 — at war with S Pompey, 56, 492
 — goes to Rhegium, 56 494
 — renews the triumvirate, 58, 513
 — prosecutes the war against S Pompey, 63, 531
 — promotes Maecius, 63, 532
 — dictates S Pompey 63, 533
 — ejects Lepidus from the triumvirate, 53, 534
 — sails to Sicily, 57, 557
 — intends to invade Britain, but prevented, 67, 563
 — consul for a few hours only, 69, 573
 — prepares for war with Antony, 70, 587
 — consul for part of the year, 71, 594
 — sails to Coreysa, 71, 588
 — to Actium, 71 598
 — battle of Actium, 72, 609
 — styled Imperator VI, 73 609
 — sails to Athens and Asia, 73, 612
 — winters at Samos, 73, 612
 — settles various states, 73, 618
 — consul for part of the year, 71, 620
 — crosses to Brundisium, 74, 621
 — returns to Asia, *ib*
 — sails along the coast of Asia, 75, 623
 — has an interview with Herod at Rhodes, 75 629
 — passes by way of Syria to Egypt, 75 631
 — takes Jerusalem, 76 633
 — master of Alexandria, 76, 635
 — reduces Egypt to a province, 76, 640
 — hands Nicosia in Egypt, 76 641
 — institutes the Aetian games, 77, 641
 — returns to Antioch in Syria, 77, 642
 — winters in Asia, 77, 643
 — makes terms with Phraotes, king of Parthia, 77, 644
 — returns to Italy, 77, 647
 — celebrates the triumphs, 77 648
 — shuts the temple of Janus, 77, 649

AUG

- settles the Roman constitution, and assumes the title of Emperor, 78, 851
- consul for the whole year, 78, 856
- dedicates the Temple of Apollo, 78, 857.
- completes a census, 78, 868
- assumes the title of Augustus, 79, 861
- accepts the supreme power for ten years, 79, 862
- divides the Roman provinces between himself and the senate, 79, 866
- again intends passing into Britain, but prevented, 81, 867
- consul for the whole year, 81, 868
- at Tarracon in Spain, 81, 868
- consul for the whole year, 82, 873
- again meditates an expedition to Britain, but prevented, and goes to Spain, 82, 874
- shuts the Temple of Jove the second time, 83, 878
- marries his daughter Julia to Marcellus, 83, 879
- returns from Spain to Rome, 84, 884
- recovers from an illness, 85, 898
- receives the tribunician power for life, 86, 899
- returns to Albanum, 86, 704
- conspired against by Muren, 88, 711
- dedicates the Temple of Jupiter Tonans, 88, 712 a
- visits Sicily, 88, 713
- Greece, 89, 720
- crosses to Samos, 89, 721
- traverses Asia and Bithynia, 89, 724
- visits Syria, xvi And 90, 726
- regulates the subject countries, 90, 727 *et seq*
- sails to Samos, where he winters, 92, 739
- proceeds to Rome, 93, 741, 743
- receives a renewal of the supreme power for five years more, 93, 744
- adopts Caius and Lucius as his sons, 95, 749
- sets out for Gaul, 96, 753
- returns to Rome, 99, 770
- succeeds Lepidus as Pontifex Maximus, 99, 775
- is at Milan Ravenna, and Aquileia, 101, 787
- hears Herod's accusation against his sons, and reconciles them, 101, 790
- gives Julia in marriage to Tiberius, 102, 798
- visits Gaul, 103, 801
- returns to Rome, 103, 802
- absent from Rome on New-year's Day, 106, 811
- pronounces funeral oration over Drusus, 105, 813
- enters Rome, 106, 819, 820
- receives supreme power for ten years more, 106, 820
- proceeds to Gaul, 106, 821
- returns to Rome, 107, 827
- refuses Herod's envoy an audience, 108, 835
- threatens to treat Herod as a subject, *ib et seq* See 111, 847
- authorises Herod to try his sons, 110, 846
- whether he made a general census of the Roman empire, 116, 871
- hears Archelaus and his opponents on the death of Herod, 129, 941 *et seq*
- distributes Herod's dominions, 130, 948
- styled Pater Patriæ, 138, 960
- celebrates a naval fight and games, 136, 961
- dedicates the Temple of Mars, 136, 961
- receives supreme power for ten years more, 142, 966 *et seq*
- makes a census of Italy, 144, 986
- conspiracy against, 144, 987
- hears envoys personally, 145, 1010
- at Arminum, 149, 1024
- orders all Gauls to quit Rome, 150, 1032
- accepts the empire for five years more, 156, 1048
- death of, 157, 1053

BAT

- duration of reign of, 158, 1053
- Antioch, the plain of the Jordan between the Lake of Tiberias and Dead Sea, 173, 1171 178, 1182
- Auruntius formerly belonged to Ptolemy Menneis and his son Lysanias, 64, 537
- included in the grant by Antony to Cleopatra, *ib*
- farmed out to Zenon, or Zenodorus, *ib*
- confound by Augustus on Herod, 85, 698
- and on his death on Herod Philip, 130, 950
- and on his death attached to the province of Syria, 240, 1454
- Aviola, M. Aulus, proconsul of Asia, 312, 1850
- Azizus marries Drusilla, 239, 1789
- wife of, elopes, 301, 1800
- succeeded by Sohemus, 305, 1823
- Azotus given, on death of Herod, to Salome, 131, 951
- taken by the Caspian, 347, 2051

- B**ABAS, sons of, betrayed to and slain by Herod, 81, 671
- Babylon, flight of Jews from, 243, 1464
- insurrection in, 267, 1603
 - still a city A.D. 40, *ib*
- Babua, one of the people's or senate's provinces, 80, 666
- governed by a propraetor, quaestor, and legate, 143, 1009
- Bagoas, one of Herod's eunuchs, 119, 884
- Balaithus, C. prefect of Egypt, 301, 1822
- Banán, a recluse like John the Baptist, 303, 1814 174, 1171
- Baptism of Our Lord, date of, *ib*
- Barabbas, an insurrectionist against the Romans, and in prison, 226, 1407
- released, 235, 1441 237, 1441
- Barnabas sent by the Apostles to Antioch, 276, 1653
- seeks Paul in Tarsus, 278, 1665
 - with Paul takes the aims of the Antiochian Church to Jerusalem, 279, 1669
 - returns to Antioch, 279, 1673
 - makes a circuit with Paul, 281, 1696
 - at Lystra, &c, 286, 1703 *et seq*
 - returns to Antioch, 285, 1706
 - sojourns there, 287, 1721
 - sent with Paul to Jerusalem on the question of the circumcision, 288, 1722
 - commences a second circuit with Silas, 290, 1738
 - goes up again with Paul to Jerusalem, 301, 1795
- Barabas See Judas.
- Bartholomew, a disciple of the Baptist, 176, 1174
- Barzaphernes, the Parthian general invades Syria, 51, 440
- Bartholomew of Capernaum, 139, 1227
- Basus, Caeli, hit by Caesar in Syria with one legion, 35, 302
- attempts to possess himself of Syria, 38, 325 326
 - takes Tyre, 38, 326
 - promotes the assassination of Jul. S. Caesar, *ib*
 - besieged in Apamea, 30, 338 33, 366
 - refuses to join Cassius, 45, 382
- Batanea included in the grant by Antony to Cleopatra, 64, 537
- farmed out to Zenon, or Zenodorus, *ib*
 - granted to Herod, 85, 696
 - on his death to Herod Philip, 130, 950
 - annexed to Syria, 240, 1454
- Bathitis sent from Rome by Artapher to poison Herod, 721, 881
- arrives at Jerusalem, 122, 897
- Bathura, a town on the borders of Batanea and Trachonitis, 117, 874

DAU

- Baulos, the palace of Nero in Campania, 317, 1869
 Beautiful gate of the Temple, what it was, 240, 1452
 Bibractum, battle of, 303, 2088
 Bellonaci, a people of Gaul 13 136
 Berytus, a faction of Antioch, 263, 1578
 Barmes, queen of Egypt, marries Selenus, and then
 Archelus priest of Comana, 14, 110 14 128
 — who is slain, 15, 130
 Bercus *See* Vercus
 Bernice, daughter of Salome, marries Aristobulus, son
 of Herod 96, 752
 Bernice, daughter of King Agrippa, 281, 1678
 — marries Ptolemy II, 301, 1801
 — de-arts him, *ib*
 — pays a visit of ceremony to Pectus, 320, 1807
 — hears St Paul's defence, 320 1899
 Bethabara, situation of, 179, 1185
 Bethany, etymology of, 217, 1371
 Bethanath, identical with Fulus in Perra, 204,
 1295
 Bethed., miracle at the Pool of, 196 1256
 — situation of, 197, 1258
 Bethoron, defeat of Cassius at, 311, 2022
 Bethlehem, the Nativity at, 115, 869
 — visit of the Magi to, 119, 881
 — murder of the Innocents at, 119, 885
 — population of, 120, 886
 — not the domicile of Joseph, 128, 926
 Bethleptephany, one of the Toparchies of Judea 147,
 1013
 Bethesda, or Julius, founded by Herod Philip, *see*
 situation of, 191 1231 206, 1311
 Bethsura besieged by Antiochus Eupator in a Sabbath
 year, *xx* And 60, 525
 Bibulus, Marcus prefect of Syria, 23, 190
 — at Ephesus, 23, 201
 — arrives in Syria, 25 201, 204
 — suffers losses at Mount Amanus, 26, 215
 Bibulus, L. Calpurnius, prefect of Syria, 67, 555
 Billing, presence of, by the Romans, 26, 218
 Bithynia, what comprised in the province of 160, 1068
 — one of the people's or senator's provinces, 80, 666
 — Calvus Rufus proconsul of, 290, 1734
 — Tarquinius Priscus, proconsul of, 324, 1907
 Boudicca, revolt of, in Britain, 323, 1905
 Bosphorus, kingdom of under Pharnaces, 7, 55
 — Alexander, 30 304
 — Ser bonus, 96, 755
 — Ptolemy I, 97, 761
 — subject to kings appointed by the Romans, 137,
 966 a
 — conferred on Ptolemy II, 236, 1533
 — on Mithridates, 271, 1623
 — who is dethroned, 289, 1733
 Boukai, number of, at Tiburtus, 147, 1013
 Bouligne, the Portus Itius or Ictus of Caesar, 16, 137
 Brithon of Our Lord, who were, 181, 1196
 — at what time converted, 239, 1449
 Bruttium of the empire kept by Augustus, 117,
 871
 Britain invaded by Caesar, 16, 134 *et seq* 10, 162
 et seq
 — thrice intended to be invaded by Augustus 67,
 563 81, 697 82, 674
 — conquered by Claudius, 274 1641 277, 1650,
 1660
 — death of King Agrippa at the first for celebrating
 the conquest of, by Claudius *lxx* And 260 1676
 — under Suetonius Paulinus is propraetor, and Cetsus
 Dremonius is procurator, 323, 1905
 — under Petronius Lupus is prefect, and Julius
 Classianus is procurator, *et al*, 1906

CAES

- revolt of, under Bonduca, 323, 1905
 Britannicus, son of Claudius born, 270, 1616
 — poisoned by Nero, 303, 1820
 Britannicus, a title assumed by Claudius, 270, 1608
 Buxellum, battle of, 354, 2088
 Brutus, M. Jun., appointed by Caesar to the province
 of Macedonia, 42, 356
 — leaves Rome for Campania, and thence proceeds to
 Athens, 42, 357
 — quits Athens for Macedonia, 45, 379
 — visits Euboea, Thessaly, and Epidaurum, 15,
 380
 — proceeds to Asia, *ib*
 — meets Cassius at Smyrna, and proceeds to Lycia,
 17, 407
 — conquests of, in Lycia, 48, 410
 — meets Cassius in Asia, when both hasten to Mace-
 donia, 48, 411
 — they advance to Philipp, and are defeated, 48,
 413
 — death of, 48 416
 Burril, time of, in India, 126 918 218, 1374 238,
 1445
 Burning of the dead prohibited with fifteen furlongs
 from Rome 66, 490
 — of the Rubens at the sinka by Herod, 124, 905
 Burchus Afranius is appointed sole prefect of the
 Pretorium, 292, 1750
 — tries to check Nero, 303, 1808
 — summoned by Nero to Campania, 317, 1870
 — obliged to attend the Juvenalia, 317, 1876
 — has charge of St Paul when prisoner at Rome,
 325, 1916
 — death of, 326, 1919
 — error of Dionys as to time of death of, 327, 1928
 Duribus, secretary for Greece 320, 1894
 Hyblus freed from Cinyras, the tyrant, by Pompey 8,
 69

- C**ÆSAR, CAIUS JULIUS, elected Pont. Max., 10,
 89
 — made praetor, 11, 96
 — employed in Spain, 11, 100
 — in Gaul, 13, 112
 — appointed to the province for five years, 14 124
 — prepares for an expedition against Britain 13, 134
 et seq
 — marches in Moravia 16 136
 — assembles his forces at Portus Itius or Ictus, 16,
 137
 — departs for and arrives off Britain 16, 139 *et seq*
 — landing of, 16, 143 *et seq*
 — returns to Gaul, 17, 148
 — proceeds to Cisalpine Gaul, and thence to Illudrum,
 18 158
 — returns to Cisalpine Gaul *ib*
 — orders the forces in Gaul to rendezvous at Portus
 Itius or Ictus, 19, 159
 — marches against the Eburaci, 19, 160
 — returns to Portus Itius or Ictus, 19, 161
 — leaves Labienus to defend the port, and sets sail
 again for Britain, 19, 162 *et seq*
 — encounters the Britons at Wyt, 20, 166
 — crosses the Thames 21, 174
 — takes the capital of Cassivelaunus, 21 176
 — camp of, on the sea-shore assaulted, 21 177
 — quits Britain and sails to Gaul, 21, 178
 — holds a council at Amiens, 21, 170
 — date of departure of, from Britain, 22, 180
 — at Ravenna 23, 242
 — Lucius Rubellius, *et al*, 24 243

CÆS

- pursues Pompey to Brundisium, 29, 244
- left Rome, when 29, 245
- returns to Rome 29, 246
- despatches Aristobulus to Syria, 29, 247
- threatens to Spain and reduces Pompey's generals, 29, 248
- returns from Spain, 29, 249
- created Dictator, *ib*
- arrives at Rome, 29, 250
- starts for Brundisium, 29, 250
- for Illyricum 29, 251
- wins Onium and Apollonia, 30, 261
- shuts up Pompey in Dyrrhachium, 30, 263
- marches to Thessaly, 30, 264, 265 31, 267
- battle of Pharsala, 31, 269
- crosses to Asia, 31, 275, 276
- sails to Rhodus and Alexandria, 32, 276
- intrenches himself in the palace in Egypt 32, 279
- swims to his ship, 32, 280
- creates Dictator, 32, 284
- releases Ptolemy, who is slain in a skirmish, 32, 289
- confers kingdom of Egypt on Cleopatra, 32, 290
- recovers Alexandria, 32, 291
- sails about Egypt with Cleopatra, 32, 292
- length of stay of, in Egypt, 32, 293
- proceeds to Syria 32, 294
- at Antioch 32, 296, 298
- confirms Hyrcanus as high-priest, 32, 298
- appoints Julius Sextus Cæsar governor of Syria, 32, 302
- defeats Pharnaces at Zela, 32, 303
- returns to Italy, 32, 306, 307
- appoints ten pretors 32, 308
- crosses into Africa, 32, 309
- created Dictator, 32, 311
- gains battle of Thapsus, 32, 312
- returns to Rome, 32, 313
- appointed Dictator for ten years, 32, 314
- reforms the calendar, 32, 316
- lives with Cleopatra at Rome, 32, 319
- passes into Spain against Cn. Pompey, 32, 321
- Dictator, 32, 327
- takes Atreba in Spain 32, 328
- gains the battle of Munda, 32, 329
- returns to Rome and triumphs, 32, 330, 331
- appointed Dictator for life, and Consul for ten years, 32, 332
- resigns the sole consulship, 32, 334
- Dictator, 32, 340
- restores Carthage and Corinth, 32, 344
- allows the walls of Jerusalem to be rebuilt, 32, 345
- proposes to drain the Pontine marshes, 32, 346
- appointed to conduct the Parthian war, 32, 347
- resigns the consulship in favour of Dolabella, 32, 348
- is deified, 32, 349
- assassinated, 32, 350
- CÆSAR, Caius Octavius See Octavius
- Cæsar, Julius Sextus, appointed governor of Syria, 32, 302
- appoints Herod captain-general of Syria and Samaria 32, 323
- assassinated by Bassus, 32, 326
- Cæsar, Cn. Cn. Agrippa born, 32, 740
- adopted by Augustus, 93, 749
- introduced to the army, 106, 822
- consul designatus, 111, 848
- receives the toga virilis, 120, 889
- present at the hearing of Archelaus before Augustus, 120, 894

CÆS

- appointed to the command of the East, 126, 962
- *et seq*
- visits Greece 136, 966
- visits Egypt, the Red Sea, and Arabia, 138, 967, 968
- sails along the coast of Syria, and refuses to worship at Jerusalem 138, 969
- winters at Samos, 138, 970
- enters upon his consulship at Samos, 138, 978
- advances into Syria, 139, 973
- makes peace with Phrates, 139, 975
- reconciled to Tiberius, 140, 979
- permits Tiberius to return to Rome, 140, 980
- victories of in Armenia, 141, 984
- hears of the death of Lucius, 142, 985
- wounded at Artagera, 142, 988
- loses his energy, 142, 989
- recalled by Augustus, 142, 990
- dies en route at Lymyra in Lycia, 142, 991
- Cæsar, Luc., birth of, 95, 749
- assumes toga virilis, 130, 959
- death of, 111, 962
- Cæsar, Tiberius See Tiberius
- Cæsar, Cn. Cn. Calpurnius See Calpurnius
- Cæsar, Claudius See Claudius
- Cæsar, Nero See Nero
- Cæsar, built by Herod 83, 681
- date of completion of, 103, 805
- outbreak at against the Jews, 343, 2006
- feast at, for the conquest of Britain by Claudius, 279, 1674
- Cæsar, Philip, built by Herod Philip, 131, 953
- Cæsarion, son of C. J. Cæsar by Cleopatra, 68, 870
- put to death 76, 838
- Cæsar, Cordus proconsul, 169, 1182
- Cæsar, Marcus Calpurnius, 263, 1577
- Cæsar appointed high-priest, 163, 1096
- spoken of as high-priest with Anna, 171, 1170
- counsels the death of Jesus, 218, 1375
- meeting at the house of, against Jesus, 231, 1438
- has custody of Jesus during the night which preceded the Crucifixion, 233, 1440
- removed, 249, 1496
- Calendar—
- Jewish, 363 and 341, 2003
- Jewish calendar for A.D. 70, 358, 2117
- Syro-Macedonian, 361, Attic, *ib* Roman, *ib*
- reformation of by Cæsar 36, 316 *et seq*
- Calenus, general of Cæsar, takes Athens, 32, 282
- Calpurnia, Caius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus born, 155, 1045
- pronounces the funeral oration over Lucius, 176, 1176
- reads with Tiberius at Caprea, 228, 1418
- appointed quaestor, 228, 1422
- marries Claudia, daughter of M. Silanus, 214, 1470
- becomes emperor, 200, 1501
- follows the body of Tiberius from Campania to Rome, 230, 1502
- releases Agrippa, and appoints him king of Trachonitis, 200, 1503
- consul 254, 1520
- suffers from illness, 254, 1521
- marries Cornelia Octavia, 255, 1526
- restores old form of electing magistrates, 255, 1529
- makes a voyage to Sicily 256, 1531a
- drives Macro and his wife to commit suicide, 256, 1530
- marries Lollii Paulina 256, 1531
- divorces her *ib*
- redistributes the eastern provinces, 256, 1533

CAT

- titles assumed by, 259, 1548
- consul for thirty days, 259, 1549
- returns to Campania, 259, 1550
- receives the Alexandrian embassy, 259, 1551
- revokes the senate, 259, 1552
- altar of, demolished by the Jews at Jamnia, 259, 1553
- visits Mevania, and designs to invade Germany and Britain, 260, 1558
- returns to Campania, 260, 1557
- enraged at the insult to his altar by the Jews, and resolves to erect his statue in the Temple at Jerusalem, 260, 1558
- constructs a bridge from Baulos to Futoli, 260, 1560
- gives audience to Herod Antipas at Barea, 260, 1561
- banishes Herod Antipas, 261, 1561, 265, 1562
- puts him to death, 261, 1562
- is at Rome on his birthday, 262, 1570
- does away with popular elections, 263, 1571
- starts for Gaul, 263, 1573
- marches beyond the Rhine and to the coast opposite Britain, 263, 1574
- exhibits games at Lyons, 263, 1575
- banishes Agrippina and Julia, 263, 1576
- marries Caesonia, 263, 1577
- at Lyons on 1 January, A.D. 40, 260, 1588, 1589
- consul for twelve days, 265, 1591
- designs visiting Egypt, 266, 1594
- puts Ptolemy (Julia's son) to death, 266, 1595
- marches to the coast opposite Britain, 266, 1596
- returns to Rome, 266, 1598
- orders a colossal statue of himself to be made at Rome for erection in the Temple at Jerusalem, 267, 1599
- dismisses the Alexandrian embassy, 267, 1600
- plans the construction of a port at Rhegium, 268, 1604
- consul till 7 January, A.D. 41, 269, 1611
- not at Rome on 1 January, A.D. 41, 269, 1612
- writes to Petronius to make away with himself, 269, 1613
- assassinated, 269, 1614
- Callithroë, now Zerkā Ma'in, hot spring at, 123, 907
- Calvary, site of, 237, 1441
- Camulodunum, now Colchester, 274, 1641
- taken by Claudius, 277, 1660
- Cana of Galilee, site of, 181, 1193
- marriage feast at, 181 And 180, 1191
- Cananite, meaning of the word, 181, 1192
- Canthia Herod defeated by the Arabians at, 70, 593
- Chondace invades Egypt, 84, 690
- Cnidus Crassus conquers the Iberi and Albani, 63, 535
- Caminius, a consul suffectus, 136, 961
- Cantabri, in Spain, revolt of, 82, 673, 84, 686
- Capernaum, etymology and site of, 190, 1230
- the home of Our Lord at, 193, 1243, 200, 1276
- Capito, Co-sutinius, accusation against as prefect of Cilicia, 307, 1832
- Capito, Fronto, procurator of Jamnia, 245, 1482
- hostility of, to the Jews, 248, 1553
- Capito, Frontinus, proconsul of Asia, 171, 1152
- accused for maladministration and acquitted, 171, 1155
- Capito, Lucilius, proconsul of Asia, 169, 1137
- accused for maladministration and acquitted, 171, 1149
- Capitol, the new, commenced, 337, 2114
- Cappadocia given by Pompey to Ariobarzanes I, 6, 35
- who is succeeded by Ariobarzanes II, 7, 57
- subject to Artabazus, 40, 425
- to Archelaus, 66, 551

CERN

- supervised by the proprietor of Cilicia, 24, 191
- becomes a Roman province, 162, 1087
- Q. Verminius is legate of, 163, 1103
- Julius Pelagius is legate of, 293, 1768
- Caprinus Secundus sent to Asia by Nero, 334, 1967
- Cassius, son of Cunebelus, is dikated by A. Plautius in Britain, 274, 1641
- sent to Rome, 291, 1744
- Carthage restored by Caesar, 10, 344
- Carni put to death by Herod, 119, 884
- Cassius, the son of the death of Pompey, 31, 273
- Cassius, a Roman centurion in Armenia, 292, 1753
- Cassius, C., saves Syria from the Parthians, 23, 185
- surprises the Parthians by an ambush, 25, 211
- takes Larchae, 26, 213
- superseded by Bibulus as governor of Syria, 23, 186
- appointed by Caesar to the province of Syria, 42, 356
- takes part in the assassination of Caesar, 41, 350
- quits Rome for Campania, 42, 356
- sails to Greece and visits Athens, 42, 358
- quits Athens for Syria, 43, 379
- wins over Tarcondimotus, king of the Cilician Highlands, and is master of Tarsus, 43, 381
- wins over seven legions in Syria, 43, 383
- enters Judaea, 43, 383
- obliges Allicurus to join him, 43, 383
- imposes tribute on Judaea, 43, 384
- blocks Delabella in Laodicea, 46, 395
- crosses over to Cyprus, 46, 395
- takes Laodicea, 46, 397
- proceeds to Tarsus and thence to Smyrna, where he has an interview with Brutus, 46, 400
- proceeds to Rhodes, 47, 407
- defeats the Rhodians, 48, 408
- puts Ariobarzanes II to death, 48, 409
- meets Brutus in Asia, 48, 411
- advances with Brutus to Philippa, 48, 413
- death of, 48, 414
- Cassius, C., proconsul of Asia, 267, 1602
- Cassivelaunus, generalissimo of the Britons against Caesar, 21, 171
- a patrol of, taken, 21, 176
- makes terms with Caesar, 21, 178
- Castor, a king of Paphlagonia, 30, 435
- Cassia Seleucia, so called from the death of Drusus, 105, 813
- Cathio, conspiracy of, 10, 87
- slain, 11, 90
- Cato sent to Cyprus to eject Ptolemy, 12, 107
- at Rhodes, 12, 108
- has an interview there with Ptolemy Auletes, ex-king of Egypt, 13, 110
- returns from Cyprus to Rome, 14, 123
- Cathion in embassy to Rome, 291, 1742
- Cattle, when stalled and when turned out, in Judaea, 115, 869
- Cikander in Cilicia, fortified by Cn. Piso, 166, 1117
- Celer, Domitius, sent to Syria by Piso, 165, 1114, 1115
- Jews at Laodicea, but has no success, 165, 1115
- Celer, the tribune ordered to Rome, 296, 1775
- condemned, 298, 1781
- Celer, Publius, assassinates Junius Silanus, 302, 1806
- accusation against, 307, 1832
- Celts ordered to leave Rome, 150, 1032
- Cenchrea St. Paul shaves his head at, 300, 1792
- Cenotia, a city subject to Polemo, 55, 480
- Cenotaphium Pisaurum, 376
- Censorinus left by Antony to command in Greece, 49, 430
- Censorinus, C. M., proconsul of Asia, 28, 766
- prefect of Syria, 134, 956
- death of, 134, 977

CIN

- Census commonly led to disturbances, 115, 867
 — of Herod's dominions ordered, 109, 835
 — at the birth of Christ xxv And 115, 869, 870, 871
 — of Cynanus, 148, 1021
 — of Roman empire generally at the birth of Christ, 116, 871
 — in Italy, 144, 896
 — of Roman citizens *See* Lustrum
 Cereals slaughters Samaritans on Mount Gerizim, 310, 2037
 Cernus, river, crossed and recovered by Pompey, 6, 46, 47
 Cestius Gallus is prefect of Syria, 334, 1962
 — advances to Judea, 341, 2013
 — attacked by the Jews, 344, 2014
 — occupies part of Jerusalem, 344, 2018
 — assaults the Temple, 344, 2020
 — retires to Scopus, *ib*
 — and thence to Gubao, 344, 2021
 — and thence to Bethhoron where he suffers a loss, 344, 2022
 Chereas assassinates Calpula, 269, 1614
 Chiron of St Paul, 325, 1916
 Choleas, now called Amari, 8, 88
 — subject in time of Pompey to Ptolemy Menneas, *ib*
 — then to his son Lyranus, 51, 489
 — then to Cleopatra, 63, 537
 — conferred on Herod, the brother of King Agrippa, 271, 1621
 — and after his death on Agrippa II., 287, 1720, 288, 1726
 Chaldei, Jews so called by the Romans, 296, 1774
 Chapters, the division of New Testament into, the cause of confusion, 198, 1267, 106, 1370, 218, 1376
 Chatti subdued by Drusus, 103, 802
 Cherna. *See* Gergesa
 Chersusa defeated by Germanicus, 162, 1079
 Chioe, a member of the Constantinian Church, 308, 1835
 Chulham said to be a corruption of Julian, or Julius Town, 21, 172
 Chomazin site of, now called Kerazch, 191, 1232
 Christianity makes an impression at Rome, 286, 1714
 — confounded with magic and Statilius Taurus perhaps a convert, 299, 1786
 — and perhaps Petrus and Soreans, 330, 1990
 — Pompeian Chreana's convert to, 307, 1831
 Christians hold their meetings in an upper room, 289, 1449
 — small number of at Jerusalem, 210, 1450
 — 5,000 convicted at one time, 240, 1452
 — persecution of in the time of Stephen, 232, 1513
 — Samaritans become, 238, 1543
 — persecuted by King Agrippa, 279, 1670
 — have lost, 269, 1607, 270, 1618
 — when first called Christians, 275, 1665
 — persecuted by Annas at Jerusalem, 277, 1931
 — by Nero, after the fire at Rome, 333, 1956
 — adults at Rome against, 341, 2000
 Cicero, M. T. (the orator), banished, 12, 106
 — recalled, 13, 119
 — appointed proconsul of Cilicia, 23, 189 *cf seq*
 — journey of to and from Cilicia, and operations there, 23, 191—28, 240
 — promulgates a code of laws for the province, 24, 200
 — saluted Imperator, 26, 214
 — death of, 44, 377
 Cicero, Quintus, brother of the orator, is proconsul of Asia, 11, 95
 — enters third year of proconsulship of Asia, 12, 105

CIA

- a legate in Caesar's army, 18, 158
 Cicero Quintus, the orator's son, has an interview with Caesar at Antioch, 34, 297
 Cicero M., the orator's son, is consul suffectus, 70, 637
 — prefect of Syria, 70, 660
 Cilicia subject to Iugurtha but taken from him by Lucullus, 3, 18
 — what it comprised in the time of Cicero, 23, 191
 — afterwards dismembered *ib*
 Cilicia Amamensis subject to Tarcondimotus I., 25, 206
 — to Tarcondimotus II. his son, 90, 727
 — to Philopater, 184, 1088
 — to Polonius II., 271, 1623
 Cilicia Aspera, part of, given to Polonius, 24, 191, 53, 480
 — and part to Cleopatra, 63, 537
 — and then to Amyntas, 73, 618, 52, 675
 — and on his death to Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, 82, 675
 — on his death incorporated with the Roman province of Cilicia, 160, 1103
 — afterwards annexed to the kingdom of Commagene, 260, 1505
 — restored to Antiochus king of Commagene, 271, 1627
 Cilicia Campestris, of which Tarsus was the capital, was formerly held jointly with Cyprus, 58, 712
 — then annexed to Syria, but governed by a separate procurator, 24, 191, 132, 955, 160, 1071, 307, 1832
 Cilo, Junius, is procurator of Pontus, 200, 1734
 Cimber, Tullius, proconsul of Bithynia, and a partisan of Cassius, marches by way of Tarsus to Syria, 46, 396
 Cincius has the civil government of Syria, 331, 1946
 Cinnaeus, sedition of, against Ariabianus in Parthia, 272, 1680
 Cinyras, tyrant of Byblus, decapitated by Pompey, 8, 69
 Circumcision the question of, as to heathen converts, 287, 1721 *cf seq*
 — of Christ, 117, 672
 Circumvallation of Jerusalem by Titus, 359, 2129
 Circus deprived of its liberty by the Romans, 171, 1154
 Claudiarius, Jul., is procurator of Britain, 324, 1906
 Claudu, island of, now Gozo, 322, 1809
 Claudia daughter of M. Silvanus marries Calpula, 244, 1470
 — death of, 255, 1526
 Claudius, Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus, birth of, 103, 803
 — consul with Calpula, 251, 1520
 — succeeds Calpula, 270, 1615
 — enters the senate on the thirtieth day after, 270, 1617
 — abolishes the laws of *Aes Beia*, or *Impietas*, 270, 1618
 — assumption by, of large judicial powers, 303, 1810
 — restores the Jews to their privileges, 271, 1625
 — consul for two months, 274, 1635
 — builds Ostia, 274, 1639
 — conspired against by Vindex and Sabinianus, 274, 1640
 — consul for two months, 276, 1654
 — orders all prefects of provinces to quit Rome by the middle of April, 276, 1655
 — goes to Britain, 277, 1659, 1660
 — takes Camulodunum, or Colchester, 277, 1660
 — returns from Britain, 279, 1667, 1668

- called Britannicus, 279, 1668
 — feast at Cæsarea for safe return of, when King Agrippa is smitten by the hand of death, 279, 1674
 — restores Achaia and Macedonia to the people, 281, 1682
 — exiled many times Imperator, 283
 — orders prefects of provinces not to hold two prefectures continuously, 283, 1689
 — forewarns Rome of an eclipse of the sun, 284, 1696
 — Gallus conspires against, 285, 1699
 — intrigues of Messalina, the wife of 285 1700
 — consul for two months, 286, 1708
 — concludes a census, 287, 1716
 — puts Messalina to death, 287, 37 1717
 — marries Agrippina, 289, 1728
 — recalls Seneca, 289, 1729
 — adopts Nero, 291 1740
 — consul for six months, 292, 1748
 — orders all Jews to quit Rome, 293, 1773
 — illness of, 302 1802
 — death of, 302
 Cleon, priest of Comana, 73, 618
 Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Anulet, is queen of Egypt jointly with her brother Ptolemy, 23, 188
 — greeted by her brother from Egypt, 31, 266
 — introduces herself to Cæsar, 32 277
 — restored by Cæsar, 33 290
 — sails about Egypt with him, 33, 292
 — has a child by him, 34, 293 68, 570
 — lives in Cæsar's palace at Rome, 37, 319
 — meets Antony at Tarsus, 49, 431
 — puts her sister Arsinoë to death, 49, 433
 — tries to detain Herod on his way to Rome, 52, 456
 — influences of over Antony, 53 538
 — invested by Antony with Phœnicia, Chalcis, part of Arabia, the palm grove of Jericho, Cyprus, Cyrene, and Cilicia Aspera, 63, 537
 — accompanies Antony to the Euphrates, 65, 544
 — aids Antony on his retreat, 65, 549
 — invested by Antony with Coele-Syria, 68, 565
 — children of, by Cæsar and Antony, 68, 570
 — induces Antony to postpone his expedition to Media, 69, 576
 — accompanies Antony to Ephesus in the war against Octavius, 70 589
 — induces Antony to send Herod against Malchus, 70, 591
 — general of defeats Herod, 70, 593
 — is with Antony at the battle of Actium, 72, 609
 — flight of, 73, 610
 — death of, advised by Herod, 73 615
 — sends embassies to Octavius in Asia, 74 623
 — death of, 76, 636
 Cleopatra, daughter of Cleopatra by Antony, is invested nominally with Libya and Cyrene, 68, 570
 — married by Octavius, 76, 638
 — marries Julia II, 76, 638
 Cleophas, the same name as Alphæus, 192, 1198
 Clitus rebel against the Romans, 246 1485
 — revolt of from Antiochus, king of Commagene, 298, 1794
 Cocceius, Luc, a friend and envoy of Antony, 52, 458
 Coele-Syria placed under Herod's command, 49, 355
 — given to Cleopatra, 66, 566
 Calpurn appointed by Cicero to command in his absence in Cilicia, 27, 223

- Coins of
 — Agrippa Herod, king of Judæa, 255, 1528 264, 1587 273, 1633 338, 1988 315, 2026 345, 2091 306 2111
 — Alexandria, 110, 978 a 118, 1016 a 146, 1022 a 149, 1026 a 160, 1035 a 161 1038 a 162, 1041 a 159, 1047 a 106, 1050 a 159 1062 a 173, 1163 a 210, 1361 a 241 1457 a 273, 1632 a 276, 1653 a 278, 1663 282, 1887 a 264, 1698 a 286, 1707 a 290, 1772 a 298, 1784 a 301, 1798 a 301 1817 a 307, 1829 a 311, 1843 a 316, 1867 a 330, 1938 a 332, 1948 a 335, 1963 a 338, 1983 a 2026 348, 2061 351, 2078 a 367, 2111 361, 2161
 — Antioch, 110 and 120, 898 a 123 902 a 131, 956 133, 958 a 137, 968 b 139, 973 a 140, 978 a 145, 1003 a 145, 1016 a 155 1047 a 156, 1050 a 159, 1062 a 161, 1076 a 164, 1097 a 241, 1457 a 270, 1653 a 284 1698 a 285, 1725 a 307 1829 a 311 1843 a 316 1867 a 318, 1881 a 323 1904 a 323, 1917 a 330 1938 a 332 1948 a 345, 2028 348, 2061 361, 2078 a 361, 2161
 — Antony, M., 47 401 a 50, 435 b 54, 472 a 56, 488 a 63, 530 a 66, 553 a 67, 562 69, 572 a 74, 619 a
 — Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, 148, 1016 a
 — Archelaus, Ethnarch of Judæa, 131, 956
 — Augustus, 81, 867 a 82, 872 a 83, 683 a 748 a 709 88, 717 a 89, 723 a 93, 740 a 748 a 96, 748 a 96, 752 a 757 a 100, 763 a 103, 800 a 104, 810 a 103, 832 a 111, 847 a 137, 868 b 144 997 a 147, 1016 a 148, 1022 b 152, 1041 a 150, 1050 a
 — M. I. Brutus, 43, 367 a
 — Cæsar, C. J., 35, 326 a 40, 339 a 43, 367 a
 — Caligula, 255, 1528 259 1648 261, 1564 a 268, 1610 a 273, 1632 a
 — Cassius C., 43 367 a
 — Claudius, 273, 1632 a 278, 1666 282, 1687 a 284, 1698 286, 1707 a 287, 1715 a 290, 1739 a 292, 1747 a 295, 1772 a
 — Cotys, king of Bosphorus, 300, 1825 a 318, 1881 a 361 2078 a
 — Cyprus under Cominus Procius, 284, 1695
 — Dimasæus, 259 1548
 — Galba, 330, 2078 a 336, 2111
 — Herod the Great, 67, 598
 — Herod Antipas, 194, 1249 202, 1264 264 1586, 1586 268, 1610, and p. 3
 — Herod Philip, 170, 1143 194 1250
 — Herod of Chalcis, 273, 1634 270, 1666 284, 1698
 — Judæa, 139, 972 a 142, 990 a 145, 1003 a 150, 1035 a 151, 1038 a 162, 1041 a 159, 1062 a 161 1076 a 162 1085 a 167 1123 a 168, 1128 a 169 1134 b 170, 1143 171, 1152 a 173, 1163 a 293, 1772 a 304, 1817 a 317, 1867 a
 — Nero, 304, 1817 a 306, 1825 a 307, 1829 a 311 1843 a 316, 1867 a 318, 1881 a 823, 1904 a 325, 1917 a 330, 1938 a 332, 1948 a 336, 1963 a 340, 1996 340, 2026
 — Otho 366, 2111
 — Polemo I., 50 435 a 74, 619 a
 — Polemo II., 284 1725 a 290, 1784 a 306, 1825 a 307 1829 a 323, 1904 a 326, 1917 a 330, 1963 a 340, 1996 340, 2026
 — Rhescuporus, king of Bosphorus, 194, 1250 a 243, 1469 a
 — Saluana, 164, 1097 a
 — Simeon, 57, 709 97, 760 a 105, 810 a 269, 1548 111, 1643 115 1861 a 361 2078 a

COI

Coins of

- Titianus, 151, 1038 a 156 1050 a 159, 1062 a 161, 1076 a 162 1085 a 164, 1097 a 165, 1105 a 168, 1128 a 169, 1134 b 170, 1142 171, 1149 a 172, 1160 a 176, 1175 a 194 1250 a 202, 1284 216, 1361 a 143, 1469 a 244 1493 a

- Vitellian, 356, 2111 301, 2161

- Vitellius, 306, 2111

Coins, note concerning inscriptions on, as to the title of consuls and imperators, 79 (note.)

Colechester, the ancient Camulodunum, 274, 1641

Colems invaded by Pompey 6, 47

- under Antiochus as king, 7, 55

- under Ptolemy I, 65, 545

- under Pythodorus, 137, 966 a

Cold-water cure practised by Augustus, 55, 698

Colossians, date of the Epistle to, 330, 1936

Comana, Archelaus, priest of, 7, 50

- then Archelaus, his son, 7b

- Lycornides, 31, 305

- Medeus, 78, 618

- Cliton, 7b

- Dyteutus, 7b

Comitatus, 44 41, 351

- BC 43 44, 374

- AC 12 100, 777

- AD 14 202 1804

- AD 60 410, 1884

- AD 64 334, 1959

- AD 69 505, 2100

Comitia usually held in latter half of the year, 11, 92

- transferred from the people to the senate, 158, 1057

- restored to the people, 253, 1529

- transferred to the senate, 263, 1571

Commagene, Antiochus, king of, 6, 49

- Seleucia added to, 7, 54

- invaded by Ventidius, 57, 500

- Mithridates is king of, 57, 500

- who was one of the allies of Antony at the battle of Actium, 71 600

- Antiochus II king of, is put to death by Augustus 78, 853

- bestowed on Mithridates II, 90, 728

- under Antiochus III, 163, 1088

- made a Roman province, 165 1104

- given to Antiochus IV, 260, 1606

- who is ejected by Caligula, but restored by Claudius, 271, 1622

- and is entertained by King Agrippa, 277, 1662

- and, subdues the Chite, 295, 1784

- and aids Corbulo against the Parthians, 305, 1824

- and reigned till a D 72 251, 1505

Confusion, year of, at the reformation of the calendar, 36, 316

Conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in Pisces, 108, 834

- 110, 839 118, 878

Conon archon at Athens, 306, 1930

Consular provinces, meaning of, 13, 114

- distributed by lot, 33, 283

Consuls appointed for first time for fragments of years, 54, 474

- the emperors designated as, in coins and inscriptions, 70

- how appointed in time of liberum, 216, 1367

Coponius, the first procurator of Judea, 146, 1012

- succeeded by M. Ambrius, 150, 1033

Coptus, a town visited by Julius Gallus in his retreat from Aethiopia, 87, 706

CRE

Corban applied to relieve poor widows, 245, 1480

See Temple Tax

Corbulo in Gaul and Germany, 286 1709

- appointed to conduct the Parthian war, 303, 1813

- meets Quadratus at A'gea, 303, 1824

- carries on the Parthian war with vigour, 312 1845 *et seq*

- takes Artaban 312, 1849

- takes Tigranocerta, 319, 1886

- succeeds Quadratus as prince of Syria, 319 1892

- comes to terms with Volagases, 329, 1925

- has the military command in the East, 331, 1946

et seq

- advances to the Euphrates, 332, 1947

- obliges Tiridates to hold Armenia as feudatory of Rome, 332, 1948

- put to death by Nero, 347 2052

Cordus, Cornelius proconsul of Crete, 169, 1132

Cordus, Crenatus, accused, 171, 1153

Cocce, the border town of Judaea, 8, 73

Corinth restored by Caesar, 40, 344

- Isthmus of, proposed to be cut through by Caesar, 41, 346

- won over by Agrippa to the side of Octavius, 72, 805

- length of voyage from Rome to, 295, 1773

- the common route to and from Rome to and from the east in winter, 338, 1981

- Nero tries to cut through the Isthmus of, 347 2055

- evangelized by St Paul, 297, 1778

- ravaged by him, 311, 1843

- and again, 331, 1963 338, 1981

Corinthians, date of the first Epistle to, 309, 1936

- date of the second Epistle to, 310, 1841

Corinthus, a conspirator against Herod, 113, 855

Cornelius, Cnaeus, conspires against Augustus, 144, 997

Cornelius, the centurion called, 268, 1608

Cornificius, Q., has charge of Syria, 39, 337

Corsus, C., makes a campaign against the Gætili, 114, 1002

Costobari appointed governor of Idumæa and Gaza, 63, 530

- marries Salome, the sister of Herod, 68, 567

- divorced from her, 81, 671

Cotys, king of Southern Thracia, put to death, 106, 1120

- children of, receive Southern Thracia, 167, 1122

Cotys, king of part of Arabia, 256, 1533

Cotys, king of Bosphorus, 289, 1733

Cuneli at Jerusalem, 288, 1723

Courses of priests, 109, 836

Coway stakes, the place where Cæsar crossed the Rhamus, 21, 174

Crassus appointed to the province of Syria, 14, 124

- leaves Rome for Syria, 15, 133

- sends his lieutenant forward, 18, 159

- has an interview with Dejotarus, king of Galatia, 18, 153

- arrives in Syria, 18, 154

- crosses the Euphrates against the Parthians, 18, 155

- returns to Syria and leaves money, 18, 156

- receives an embassy from Orodes, 22 151

- again crosses the Euphrates, 22, 182

- defeated and slain at Carræ, 22, 184

Cræsus the son slain, 22, 183

Crassus, Marcus, wars against the Dacæ and Bactaræ, 77, 645

- and Goro and Artaban, 78 650

Crassus Claudius See Claudius

Cremona, battle of, 303, 2088

- destruction of, 351, 2097 a

CRE

- Crete, was committed to Metellus, 3, 12
 — subdued 4, 28
 — one of the people's or senate's provinces, 80, 806
 — governed by a proconsul, quaestor, and legate, 160, 1067
 Cripinus, prefect of the Praetorian guard, 286, 1712
 — removed, 292, 1750
 — marries Poppaea, 312, 1851
 — banished, 335, 1970
 — put to death, 338, 1985
 Crucifixion, date of, xvii
 Cumanius, procurator of Judaea, 287, 1719
 — date of appointment of, according to Orosius, 290, 1738
 — commits a slaughter of the Jews, 293, 1753
 — tried by Quadratus, prefect of Syria, and sent to Rome, 296, 1775
 — date of the trial of, 297, 1777
 — banished, 298, 1781
 Cnephthian, king of the Bators, has his palace at Camulodunum, or Colchester, 271, 1641
 — father of Caractacus and Togodumnus, 26
 — capital of taken by Claudius, 277, 1660
 Cydnus, Cleopatra sails up the 49, 431 *et seq*
 Cydonia in Crete besieged by Metellus, 3, 19
 Cyprus on death of Ptolemy becomes a Roman province, 12, 109
 — comprised in the province of Cilicia, 24, 191
 — confined by Antony on Cleopatra, 63, 537
 — originally an imperial province, 60, 666
 — becomes a senatorial or popular province, 85, 712
 — and as such is governed by a proconsul, is described by Luke, 284, 1095
 — evangelized by Paul and Barnabas, 26
 — revisited by Barnabas, 290, 1738
 Cyrene conferred by Antony on Cleopatra, 63, 537
 — one of the people's or senate's provinces, 80, 866
 Cynnaeus (P. Sulpicius Quinatus), census of, 116, 870, 147, 1014, 148, 1021
 — prefect of Syria in 60 4, 132, 955
 — subdues the Homonadenes, 135, 958
 — recalled, 141, 980
 — attends Caius in his expedition to the East, 136, 963, 139, 971
 — marries Lepida, 141, 983
 — again prefect of Syria, 146, 1012
 — removes Jesus from the pontificate, and appoints Ananias, son of Seth, 145, 1022
 — unpursued by Crispus Silanus, 155, 1046
 — death of, 159, 1134
 Cyrus, Pompey winters on, 5, 39
 Cyrus, decree of in favour of the Jews, xlii And 238, 1444

DACE, revolt of, 103, 801

- Dagon besieged by Hyrcanus the elder in a Sabbath year 61, 595
 Dalmanutha visited by Our Lord, 208, 1325
 Dalmanetha originally one of the senate's or people's provinces, 80, 866
 — disturbances in, 90, 750
 — transferred to the emperor, 101, 788
 — revolt of, 101, 786, 102, 801, 146, 1005
 — subdued by Tiberius, 105, 812
 — committed to Mesallinus as propraetor, 147, 1004
 — invaded by Germanicus, 146, 1020, 110, 1023
 Damascenus, Nicolas. See Nicolas
 Darius taken by Lollius and Metellus, 5, 36
 — unrepaid to Syria, 7, 60
 — has a controversy with the Sidonians before Flaccus, praetor there, 224, 1454

DIE

- subject to Aretas King of Petra, 256, 1533
 Daniel's prophecy of the seventy weeks, xlii And 236, 1444
 Darius, king of Media, subdued by Pompey, 6, 49
 Darius the Mede, decree of, for rebuilding temple, xlii And 238, 1444
 Darius son of Pharnaces, made king of Pontus, 55, 304, 55, 480, 64, 537
 Darius, son of Artabanns, given as a hostage to Vitellius, 246, 1488
 Darknes supernatural, at the crucifixion, xlii And 237, 1442
 David's tomb opened by Herod, 104, 806
 Decapods appointed, 240, 1480
 Dead law against burying the, near Rome, 56, 480
 Decianus, Catus, procurator of Britain, 323, 1905
 Dedication, Feast of, attended by Jesus, 213, 1348
 — in what year this feast was, 213, 1352
 — origin of the feast of, 213, 1348
 Dejotarus, tetrarch of the Ishiodorus, 6, 53
 — made king of Galatia and other territories by Pompey, 6, 53
 — an ally of Pompey at the battle of Pharsalia, 31, 269
 — has an interview with Cressus, 18, 153
 — death of, 350, 435
 Dejotarus Philadelphus confounded by Dion with Castor, 50, 426
 — king of Paphlagonia, 26
 — an ally of Antony against Octavius, 71, 800
 Delian's edict in favour of the Jews, 30, 258
 Delium, a fortress in Judaea, 8, 72
 Delius, Quintus, an officer of Antony, 66, 540
 — levies troops for him, 72, 607
 Demetrius king of Syria length of reign of, xli, note (*)
 Demetrius alabarch of Alexandria, marries Mariamne, 301, 1801
 Demetrius the silversmith, riot of at Ephesus, 309, 1838
 Demontax, a Parthian general, 276, 1651
 Demomac cured by Our Lord, 192, 1240
 Demostriatus, archon at Athens, 338, 1982
 Deirbe, Paul and Barnabas at, 286, 1705
 — revisited by Paul, 290, 1736
 Despatches, time occupied by, from Rome to Syria, 25, 207
 — from Rome to Britain, 20, 165
 Δευ-επαρχία, meaning of, xli And 194, 1254
 Διδ δεκατοισαρον ετών, meaning of, lxi
 Diarris of Iphesis, privileges of the temple of, 169, 1138
 — games in honour of, called Ψόφια, 309, 1837
 Didius, Q. governor of Syria, 70, 681
 — induces the Arabians to burn the fleet of Antony, 73, 611
 — writes to Octavius in favour of Herod, 75, 827
 Didrachm the amount of the poll-tax to the Temple treasury or Corban, 220, 1384
 Dinophilus, archon at Athens, 301, 1799
 Dionysidorus, archon at Athens, 301, 1798
 Dionysius, the geographer, sent to the East before the expedition of Caius, 136, 965
 Dionysius, the Aetop giti, whether the same person as Dionysidorus, 301, 1798
 Dionysius Euxinus first introduced the Christian era, 18
 Diocauri, a town in Colchis, 5, 32
 Diocobis, battle of, between Herod and Malchus, 70, 592
 Disciples, as to call of Our Lord's, 160, 1190, 101, 1235

DIU

- Dms a month in the Tyian calendar, 304, 2099
 Dolabella made consul 41, 345
 — appointed to Syria, 42, 359
 — passes through Macedonia and Thrace, 42, 362
 — sends Ahenus to bring up forces from Egypt, 42, 363
 — edict of in favour of the Jews at Ephesus, 15, 387
 — puts Tribonius to death, and seizes Asia, 45, 389
 — enters Cilicia 46, 390
 — rejected from Antioch and retires to Laodicea, 46, 394, 395
 — kills himself, 46, 397
 Domitian meets Vespasian at Benerentum 357, 2113
 Domitian left in command of Asia by Caesar 55, 306
 Domitian, Cn., consul, joins Antony, 70, 584
 — deserts to Octavius, 72, 606
 Domitian, Marcus Agrippina, 173 1168
 Domphorus the freedman, put to death at Rome, 329, 1934
 Doria, city insult offered to the Jews at 275, 1645
 Doria, the wife of Herod, restored to favour, 98, 768
 — conspires against Herod, 118, 876
 — disgraced by Herod, 121, 865
 Draught of fishes, miracle of, 193 1246
 Dream of Archelaus 146 1011
 — of Pilate's wife, 236, 1441
 Drusilla, the sister of Caligula, dies, 255 1531
 — time of death of, 257, 1537
 Drusilla, daughter of Caligula born 263, 1577
 Drusilla, sister of Agrippa II, marries Ananus, 299 1789
 — darts him and merges Felix, 301, 1800
 — hears St Paul plead 310 1887
 Drusus the elder and Tiberius overthrow the Rheta, 97, 758
 — left by Augustus in Germany, 99, 770
 — victorious in Germany, and returns to Rome, 100, 782
 — again in Germany, 100, 784
 — nominated pretor, 100, 785
 — subduces the Chatti, 103, 802
 — death of, 105, 813
 Drusus, the younger son of Tiberius, is appointed consul, 166, 1049
 — suppresses a mutiny in Pannonian and German legions, 168, 1060
 — employed in Illyricum, 168, 1092
 — victorious in Germany, 166, 1108
 — meets Agrippina the wife of Germanicus, at Terracina, 167, 1124
 — returns to Illyricum, 167, 1125
 — illness of, 169, 1133
 — invested with the tribunian power, 169, 1136
 — death of, 170, 1146
 Drusus, son of Agrippina, put to death, 228, 1420
 Dursus, Q. Labrius, a tribune of Caesar, slain in Britain, 21, 172
 Dynamis, widow of Alexander, king of Bosphorus, marries Scribonius, 96, 755
 — marries Polio 1, 97, 761
 Dynabachium occupied by Pompey, 30, 202
 — where he is besieged by Caesar, 31, 267
 Dytenas priest of Comana, 73, 618

IPH

- Eclipses, table of, 371
 — calculated by the ancients, 281, 1696
 — of the sun, 30, 280 141 999 317, 1874
 — of the moon, 124, 905 156, 1060 304, 2097
 'Ekyvero, sense of in Luke 11 2 131 955
 Egea, Athens deprived of, 89, 720
 Egypt under Ptolemy Auletes as king, 12, 102
 — who is displaced by Brenus, 14, 110
 — who is again displaced for Ptolemy, 16 130
 — who is succeeded by Ptolemy, his son, and Cleopatra jointly, 23 188
 — but Ptolemy guest, Cleopatra, 31 266
 — conquered by Caesar 32, 276 et seq
 — made subject to Cleopatra by Caesar, 33, 290
 — left by Caesar under the charge of Rhodion with three legions, 33, 294
 — on death of Cleopatra becomes a Roman province, and subject to Cornel Gallus, 76, 640
 — to Julius Gallus, 81 669
 — to Petronius, 81 687
 — to Velasius Polho, 217, 1388
 — to Serenus, 218
 — to Flaccus, 218
 — to Macro 255, 1530
 — to C. Bulbillus, 304, 1822
 — to Cecina Tuscus 340, 1997
 — to Tiberius Alexander, 343, 2004
 — in time of danger a common place of refuge, 110, 382
 — how the reigns of kings reckoned in
 Egyptian, impostor, appearance of, 312, 1853
 — St Paul mistaken for, 314, 1850
 — rites prohibited near Rome, 89, 719 167, 1123
 'Ex, sense of, as distinguished from 'Aro, 180, 1190
 Eleasa, the palatial residence of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, 101, 793
 — belongs to Antiochus, king of Commagene, 250 1506
 Eleazar, high-priest, appointed by Archelaus, 131, 952
 — appointed by Gratus, 161 1074 162, 1085
 Eleazar, the brigand, 247 1491
 — joined by a body of Jews and his wife Samana, 293, 1759
 — captured, 306, 1828
 Election of magistrates, old form of, restored by Caligula 263, 1529
 — taken away again, 263, 1571
 Elphai, in what respect like John the Baptist, 176, 1171
 Elionas appointed high priest by Agrippa 278, 1663
 — deposed by Herod of Chalcis, 281, 1693
 Eliz, an insurgent against Phasaelus, 17, 401
 'Euepa dechin, sense of in Matthew, 200, 1278
 Emesa See Arethusa
 Emmaus sold into slavery 45, 395
 — one of the toparchies of Judea, 100 1104, 147 1013
 Emmaus, another seven miles and a half from Jerusalem, 239, 1448
 'Euph of John vi 1 what it was 165 1255
 Epaphroditus takes the collection of the Philippians to Paul at Rome, 330, 1939
 — falls sick at Rome, 330, 1928
 Ephesus games in honour of Diana at Ephesus, 409, 1847
 Ephesians, Epistle to, date of, 330 1038
 Ephesus, St Paul touches at, 300, 1794
 — resides for three years at 303 1816
 — suffils from an earthquake, 184, 1093
 — distance of, from Miletus, 314 1857

EAGLE, Roman, pulled down by the insurgents of Jerusalem 124, 903
Earthquake in Asia 163, 1093
 — in Italy 144 999
 — in Judaea, xxx And 71, 601
Etai, Mount, in Samaria, 187, 1221

FPH

- Ephraim, a city of Judaea, visited by Our Lord, 218
1378
— the site of, 218, 1377
Epicureans dispute with St Paul at Athens, 295,
1772
Erastus sent by St Paul to Macedonia, 306, 1829
— accompanies St Paul from Ephesus to Corinth
338, 1981
Erista, a queen of Armenia 141, 984
Eretria, Athens deprived of, by Augustus, 89 720
Esauclon, the plain of, a great harvest-field, 224
1400
Escabotis, a city of Peres, built by Herod, 83, 681
Ethiopsians invade Egypt, 81, 690
— invade Egypt a second time, and defeated at
Elimmis, 88, 714
— send an embassy to Augustus, 89, 722
Ethiarch, the Jewish chief magistrate so called, 256,
1533
Etna eruption of, 70, 586
Eucharist instituted, 232, 1440
Eunuch, Ethiopian, converted by Philip 258, 1546
Euphrates, an envoy from Antony and Cleopatra to
Augustus, 73, 623
Euraculo & Eucelydon
Euroclydon the north-east wind 322, 1899
Eurycles' domestic discussions in Herod's family, 110,
842
Euthydemus, the tutor of Apollonius Tyranus, 152,
1041
Executions not lawful amongst the Jews at the public
festivals, xxvii And 231 1441 328 1931
'Egglades' in what sense used in N 1, 198, 1243
194 1252

- FABATUS** the procurator of Augustus, is informed
of Syllanus's plot against Herod, 112, 854
— and disclose it to Herod, 113, 855
— is executed, 113, 855
Fabius, Marcus, is defeated by Mithridates 4, 23
Fabius, Q., is consul suffectus, and death of, 39 334
Fabius, Q., is consul suffectus, 136, 961
Fadus, Cuspius, appointed procurator of Judaea, 281,
1679
— executes rebellious Jews, 281, 1680
— clears Judaea of bandits, *ib*
— orders the pontifical robes and the crown of
Agrippa to be laid up in Tort Antonia, 283,
1690
— recalls the order, 283, 1691
— captures and executes Thiradai, an impostor, 281,
1694
— succeeded by Tib. Alexander, 285, 1701
— character of, 287, 1719
Fanthars, St Paul advises to winter at, 321, 1899
— still so called, *ib*
Famine in Italy 49, 429 53, 460 51, 475 88,
710 144, 999 145, 1008 274, 1639 292
1751
— in Greece, 290, 1735
— in Judaea 83, 683 And xvi
— the great, predicted by Agabus, 279, 1666
— date of it, lxxix
— begins to be felt, 280 1675
— occurred when Queen Helena was at Jerusalem,
274, 1629
Festus Capitolini, 383
Fasting of St. John's disciples, 202, 1282
Fasts, Jewish, how calculated in the Tables, 2, 9,
N 5, and 365
Felix, procurator of Judaea 197 1777 199, 1782

GAB

- marries Drusilla, 301, 1800
— captures Eliazar, 306, 1828
— disposes the Egyptian impostor's followers, 312,
1853
— Paul accused before, 316, 1864
— how long at this time he had been in office, 316,
1855
— Paul's discourse before, 318, 1867
— massacres the Jews at Jerusalem, 318 1879
— recalled, 319, 1893
— date of recall of him
— accused and acquitted of the Jewish massacre, 320,
1894
Festus, procurator of Judaea, 319, 1893
— arrives in Jerusalem, when the Jews desire that
St Paul may be sent for, 320, 1895
— returns to Caesarea and finds him there, 320, 1896
— puts down the bandits and Sicarii, 322, 1902
— suppresses a fanatic, 322, 1903
— death of, 325, 1915
Fidene, fall of amphitheatre at, 173, 1161
Fig-tree withered by Our Lord, 231, 1437
— parable of, 229, 1409
Fig-tree Spring, 190, 1230
Finnius, Motius, prefect of the Praetorium, 353, 2085
Flaccus, praetor of Asia, 11, 95
Flaccus, C. Norbanus, praetor of Asia, 98, 766
Flaccus Lucius Pomponius, prefect of Moavia, 160,
1121
— pretent of Syria, 167, 1128
— adjudicates between the Tyrians and Sidonians,
228, 1424
— death of, 240, 1456
Flaccus, prefect of Egypt 216, 1366
— arrested and sent to Rome, 257, 1533
Flamen Dialis, disability of, to hold a consular pro-
vince, 169 1137
Flavius a chief in favour of the Jews at Cea, 30, 257
Florus, Gensius, procurator of Judaea, 334, 1861
— sits like Pilate on the Gabbatha 236 1441
— orders the treasure in the Temple to be seized,
313, 2006
— massacres the Jews, *ib*
Fortunatus interview on behalf of Agrippa with
Caligula, 260 1561
Frank mountain, formerly Herodum, 88, 716 120,
918
Frisia, war with, 173, 1166
Tulvia, wife of M. Antony, quits Italy, 50, 436
— meets Antony at Athens 51, 444
— talks ill at Sicyon 51, 446
— death of, 52, 457
Gabal the ancient Phasaelis, 131, 951

- GABA**, in Judaea, built by Herod, 63, 681
Gabbatha, the Roman tribunal on tessellated
pavement, 236, 1441
Gabinus sent by Pompey to Syria 5, 37
— sent across the Euphrates, 6, 48 117, 1013
— sent to seize Jerusalem, 9, 76
— succeeds Mithridates as prefect of Syria, 17, 114
— defeats Alexander, 13, 115
— establishes an aristocracy in Judaea, and divides it
into five sanhedrims 13, 116
— commits the care of the Temple to Hyrcanus, 13,
116
— makes an expedition against the Parthians, 14, 125
— pursues the Euphrates, and then turns about and
invades Egypt 14 126
— returns from Egypt, and defeats Alexander 13 131
— marches west to Antioch, 13, 132

GAB

- refuses to deliver up Syria except to Crassus himself, 18, 152
- returns to Rome, 18, 157
- brought to trial and banished, 18, 157
- death of, 33, 281
- Galatia given by Octavius to Herod, 76, 639
- people of, accuse Herod, 90, 729
- whether visited by Our Lord, 201, 1279
- massacre of the Jews at, 314, 2011
- Galatia subject to Tigraeus but taken from him by Lucullus, 3, 18
- supererised by the proprietor of Cilicia, 24, 191
- Dejotarus, king of, 28, 239
- given on his death by Pompey to Amyntas, 50, 435, 63, 551
- on his death becomes a Roman province, 82, 675
- evangelized by Paul and Silas, 292, 1747
- recaptured by Paul, 303, 1815
- a collection made in, 303, 1816
- Galatians, date of the Epistle to, 305, 1825
- Galba born, 139, 957
- appointed to the province of Spain, 319, 1888
- accepts the empire with the title of Legate, 319, 2064
- assumes, on death of Nero, the title of Caesar, 319, 2067
- enters Rome, 319, 2068
- adopts Piso, 352, 2081
- slain, 352, 2082
- Gallians, a sect opposed to the Roman power, 147, 1016
- Gallilee, people of, receive Our Lord gladly, 189, 1226
- slaughtered at their sacrifices alive And 221, 1407
- slain on their way through Samaria, 293, 1759
- extent and population of, 193, 1245
- given on death of Herod to Herod Antipas 190, 949
- traversed throughout by Our Lord, 193, 1245
- used in a large sense, 219, 1380
- Gallia Narbonensis an imperial province, 80, 686
- made a senatorial or people's province, 88, 712
- Gallio, Junius banished, but recalled 216, 1363
- at what time proconsul of Achaia, 196 And 299, 1790
- at Rome, 302, 1805
- obliged to be present at the Juvenalia 317, 1876
- put to death, 335, 1792
- Gallus Cornelius deposes Antony in Egypt, 76, 628
- prefect of Egypt, 76, 640
- disgraced and kills himself, 81, 669
- Gallus, Aelius, prefect of Egypt, makes an expedition into Arabia, xxi And 84, 686
- proceeds to Aesch Kâpen, 81, 689
- enters country of Aetia, 86, 706
- returns to Alexandria, 86, 706
- Gallus, Annus, conspires against Claudius, 285, 1669
- Gallus, Vespasian, dies, 168, 1091
- Gambala, dispute about the boundaries of, between Herod Antipas and Archelaus, 185, 1214
- revolts from Rome, 343, 2012
- is visited by Vespasian, 347, 2043
- and taken, 347, 2047
- Gannabed, son of Symeon, 118, 877
- St. Paul a disciple of, 166, 1118
- intercedes for Peter and John, 243, 1469
- Garamantes subdued by Pub. Sulpicius Quirinus, 138, 955, 116, 1003
- Gaul disturbances in, 96, 756
- people of, ordered to leave Rome, 150, 1032, 208, 1547
- Quintinius resigned by Augustus to Herod Philip, 181, 953

GLA

- Gaza, the road to, from Jerusalem, 238, 1547
- set free, 9, 81
- given by Octavius to Herod, 76, 639
- laid in ruins, 313, 2011
- Gayobros, sense of, in Josephus, 92, 738
- Geminus, executed for treason, 216, 1366
- Gemnus, Fabius, left in command of Illyria by Augustus, 67, 557
- Gerara of Herod what it was, 201, 1294
- Germania Gate, Jesus led out by, to Golgotha, 237, 1441
- Gennesaret, western side of Lake Tiberias so called, 206, 1312
- Gerouéou, sense of, 292, 1440
- Gerani, whether visited by Our Lord, 201, 1279
- laid in ruins, 313, 2011
- Gergasa, whether visited by Our Lord, 201, 1279
- Gerizim, Mount, Samaritans meet in arms at, 247, 1401
- the city of Sychar stood on, 187, 1221
- Germanicus employed against the Pannonians and Dalmatians, 118, 1020
- obliges them to sue for peace, 149, 1023
- occupied in Dalmatia, 149, 1028
- suppresses mutiny in Pannonian and German legions, 158, 1060
- successes of, against the Catti and Cherusci, 159, 1064
- successes of, in Germany, 162, 1079
- triumph of, at Rome, 163, 1086
- has charge of the provinces of the East, 163, 1089
- visits Actium, Athens, Euboea, Lesbos, Perinthus, Byzantium, Black Sea, Ilium, Colophon, and Rhodes, 161, 1099
- arrives in Syria, 164, 1101
- visits Egypt, 165, 1107
- returns to Syria and quarrels with Piso, 166, 1100
- illness and death of, 166, 1112
- mourning for, 166, 1119
- Germany, disturbances in, 96, 756
- war breaks out in, 141, 951
- first campaign of Tiberius in, 141, 995
- second campaign in, 144, 998
- third campaign in, 145, 1004
- fourth campaign in, 148, 1017
- Varus and his legions destroyed in, 150, 1031
- Tiberius again sent to, 151, 1036
- and continues the war, 152, 1039
- concludes the war in, 153, 1042
- mutiny of the legions in, 153, 1040
- campaign of Germanicus in, 159, 1064
- his victory over Arminius in, 162, 1079
- the war in, conducted by Drusus, 163, 1108
- war with the Frisii in, 173, 1166
- Caligula crosses the Rhine to, 268, 1574
- the Catti of, send an embassy to Rome, 291, 1742
- A. Vitellius sent to, by Galba, 319, 2070
- the legions of, revolt and proclaim A. Vitellius emperor, 332, 2079, 2080
- Gesius Florus, procurator of Judaea, 934, 1861
- Gesonatium, now Baulgion, 16, 136
- Geta, prefect of the Pretorium, 287, 1718
- removed, 289, 1750
- Geisberrane, why so called, 232, 1440
- Ghor, the valley of the Jordan so called, 175, 1171
- Gischala taken by Titus, 347, 2049
- Gition, the native city of Simon Magus, 258, 1543
- Glibrio appointed to succeed Lucullus, 4, 26
- Glidators a band of, force their way to Syria, 76, 627
- dispersed, 78, 654
- Glyphyr, daughter of Archelans king of Cappadocia, marries Alexander, son of Herod, 96, 752
- sent back to her father, 114, 864

GET

- marries Juba, 138 968
- Gallus, campaign of C. Cossus, against 141, 1002
- Galgotha, site of, 237, 1441 238, 1446
- Gophne sold into slavery, 45, 365
- now Jufna, and one of the five Toparches of Judaea, 147, 1013
- Gordian, Zabdubus, king of, 1, 6
- given to Tigraeus, the son 5, 35
- taken from the Parthians by Afranius, 3, 50
- given to Anabazanes I, king of Cappadocia 7, 87
- Gospels, how arranged and distributed by the four Evangelists, 175 1174
- Gotusae, son of Artabanus, king of Parthia, 276, 1648
- succeeds to the throne, 276, 1649
- ejected by Vardanes, *ib*
- collects an army and renews the war, 276, 1650
- comes to terms with Vardanes, 276, 1652
- on death of Vardanes becomes king of Parthia, 285, 1702
- death of, 291, 1745
- Gozzo the ancient Gauls, 322, 1899
- Gracina, Pomponia, probably a Christian convert, 307, 1831
- Gracianus the town-clerk of Ephesus, 209, 1838
- Grass withered up in Judaea at Midsummer, 205, 1302 208, 1324
- Gratus, an officer of Archelaus the ethnarch, overthrown Simon, an insurgent in Peraea, 129, 934
- Gratus, Valerius, a procurator of Judaea, 160, 1073
- appoints Ishmael, and then Elcazar, high-priest, 161 1074
- and then Simon, 162, 1085
- and then Caiaphas 163, 1096
- succeeded by Pontius Pilate, 172 1160
- Greece a senatorial or people's province, 80, 606
- proclaimed free by Nero, 347, 2052
- Greek cities or Palæstine demand their independence on death of Herod, 130, 946
- Greek tongue commonly spoken in Rome, 162, 1081
- Griener, Cæpe, the ancient Iccura, 16, 137
- Gymnasium dedicated at Rome, 324, 1909

- H**ARVEST, time of, in Judaea, 67, 498
- Hebrews, date of Festival to, 831, 1941
- Harpagion's account of the death of James the Just, 827 1931
- Helias the hipparch 275 1644
- Helias the hi-sauri proceeds to Rome, 324, 1912, 1913
- Helena Queen, repairs to Jerusalem, 272, 1693
- wd of in the time of the great famine, 281, 1681
- Helius assassinate Silanus, 302, 1806
- left by Nero in charge of Rome, 340, 1994
- summons Nero from Greece to Rome, 347, 2057
- put to death, 349, 2068
- Hellianists hold discourse with Jesus, 281, 1439
- dispute with Paul, 264, 1582
- complain of partiality in the distribution of alms, 216, 1480
- Helvidius Priscus sent by Quadratus to Armenia, 293, 1755
- recalled, 293, 1756
- Herod the Great, son of Antipater, 5, 40
- appointed captain of Galilee, by Antipater, 36, 310
- summoned before the Sanhedrin, 38, 322
- appointed captain of Cæle-Syria and Samaria by Julius Sextus Cæsar, 36, 323
- appointed captain of Cæle-Syria by Cassius, 47, 386

HER

- puts Malchus to death, 46 305
- takes Masada, which had been seized by the brother of Malchus, 47, 401
- defeats and expels Marion, the partisan of Antigonus, from Galilee, 47, 405
- enters Jerusalem in triumph, 47, 406
- betrothed to Mariamne, daughter of Alexander, 47, 408
- accused by the Jews to Antony, but admitted and made Tetrarch of Judaea, 49 433
- again accused by the Jews, but without effect, 50, 434
- defeats the partisans of Antigonus, and shuts them up in the Temple, 52, 450
- on the approach of Ptolemeus flies to Masada, where he leaves his kinsfolk, and hastens to Malchus, king of Petra, 62 452
- thence to Egypt, 62, 456
- sails from Egypt, along Pamphylia to Rhodes, 63, 463
- to Brundisium, 63, 464
- made king of Judaea, 63, 465
- feasted by Antony, 63, 466
- causes and date of exaltation of, 63, 467, 468
- how the reign of is reckoned by Josephus, 68, 511 74, 619 83, 683 104, 805
- remains seven days at Rome, 54, 470
- returns to Syria, 65, 485
- date of his arrival, *ib*
- wins over nearly all Galilee, *ib*
- takes Joppa and raises the siege of Masada, 66, 486
- besieges Jerusalem, but obliged, by treachery of Silo, to abandon it, *ib*
- takes Sepphoris and disperses the bandits, and is master of all Galilee, 66, 487
- summoned to join Ventidius, 67, 496
- arranges the death of Ptolemeus, who had been slain in Herod's absence, 67, 497
- quarrels with Machabæus, 67, 503
- joins Antony at Samosata, *ib*
- hears at Daphne on his return, of his brother Joseph's death, 68, 507
- marches to Acra, 68, 509
- defeats army of Antigonus at Jericho, *ib*
- and again in Samaria, *ib*
- prevented from marching against Jerusalem by the severity of winter, 68, 510
- besieges Jerusalem, 69, 517
- marries Mariamne, 69, 518
- takes Jerusalem, 69, 522
- date of the capture, 69, 522 *et seq*
- appoints Costobarus governor of Idumæa and Gæza, 69, 530
- rents Cleopatra's palm-groves, 69, 544
- plots Aristobulus's death, 67, 559, 560
- how he computed his own reign, 67, 562
- summoned by Antony to witness the death of Aristobulus, 68, 564
- makes his peace with Antony, 68, 565 566
- escorts Antony to Armenia, 68, 566
- puts his uncle Joseph to death, 68, 567
- quarrels with Malchus king of Petra, 70 582, 583
- lends troops for Antony, 70, 591
- sent against Malchus, 70, 591
- defeats him at Diospolis, 70, 592
- defeated himself through the treachery of Cleopatra's general, Athabion, 70, 593
- goes for peace, but his envoys are murdered by the Ambarini, 72, 602
- incurs the calamity of an earthquake, 72 603

HER

- defeats the Arabians, and elects their champion, 72, 604
- executes Hyrcanus 73, 613
- deserts Antony 73, 615, 617
- sends succours to Q. Duhus, 75, 627
- makes his peace with Octavius, 75, 629
- returns to Judea, 75, 630
- escorts Octavius to Egypt, 76, 632
- goes down to Egypt and invested with various cities by Octavius, 76, 630
- returns to Judea, 77, 643
- puts Mananne to death, and is dangerously ill in consequence, 78, 655
- institutes games in honour of Augustus, 82, 672
- a band conspires to take the life of, 83, 680
- becomes unpopular, and fortifies Samaria and other cities 83, 681
- sends auxiliaries to Elhus Gallus &c, 687
- procures corn from Egypt to relieve the famine in Judea, 85, 693
- sends his sons Alexander and Aristobulus to Rome to be educated, 85, 695
- dominions of enlarged by the addition of Trachonitis, Auranitis and Batanaea 85, 696
- visits M. Agrippa at Mylene 87, 708
- marries Mariamne, the daughter of Simon, 88, 715
- builds Herodion, 88, 716
- founds Cesarea 88, 717 89, 703
- defends himself before Augustus against the Gadarenes, 90, 729
- procures his brother Pheroras to be appointed Tetrarch of Parua, 90, 731
- appointed perpetual procurator of Syria, 90, 732
- escorts Augustus to Seleucia 91, 736
- erects a temple in his honour in Paneas, and remits taxes 91, 737
- designs rebuilding the Temple of Jerusalem, lvi And 91, 738 94, 745
- brings back his sons from Rome, 95, 747
- banishes Antipater, 95, 748
- marries his son Alexander to Glaphyra, and Aristobulus to Berenice, 96, 753
- invites Agrippa to Judea 96, 754
- receives Agrippa in Judea 97, 760
- follows Agrippa to Sinope, 97, 762
- defends the Romans before Agrippa, 98, 763
- is with Agrippa at Ephesus and Samos, 98, 764
- returns to Judea and remits taxes, 98, 767
- embittered against his sons Alexander and Aristobulus, 98, 768
- recalls Antipater, 98, 768
- sails with Antipater to meet Agrippa in Asia, 99, 771
- will not permit Syllenus to marry Salome unless he became a Jew, 100, 783
- sails to Rome to accuse his sons Alexander and Aristobulus to Augustus, 101, 780
- reconciled to his sons 101, 790
- contributes 300 talents towards the public games at Rome, 101, 792
- returns to Judea, 101, 792
- invests his sons Antipater, Alexander, and Aristobulus with nominal royalty, 102, 795
- punishes the Trachonites 103, 804
- completes Cesarea 103, 805
- opens David's tomb in search of treasure, 104, 806
- he is for a time the discussion in his family, 104, 807
- puts Alexander in bonds, 105, 814
- reconciled to his sons by Archelaus, 105, 815

HER

- reconciles Archelaus to M. Titus, 105, 818
- lays a complaint against the Trachonites before Saturninus, 106, 818
- sails to Italy and attends the Olympia by the way, 107, 830 831
- returns and razes Raapta, and slays Nabbes, the Arabian commander which gives offence to Augustus, who threatens to treat Herod as a subject 108, 835
- sends ambassadors to Augustus to explain, 108, 835
- sends another embassy, 110, 841.
- complains of his sons Alexander and Aristobulus to Augustus, 110, 844
- is empowered to try his sons, 110, 846
- appeases the wrath of Augustus, 110, 845
- position of, at this time as regards Augustus, 111, 847
- assembles a council to try his sons, 113, 857
- procures their condemnation, and carries them to Tyre, 113, 858
- meets with Nicolas Damascenus from Rome, 113, 859
- and sails with him to Cesarea, 114, 860
- puts his sons to death at Simara, 114, 863
- sends Glaphyra back to her father, Archelaus, 114, 864
- betrothes Alexander's and Aristobulus's children, as Antipater dictates, 114, 866
- census of dominions of, ordered, 115, 867, 870 116, 871
- settles Zamaris at Bathyra, 117, 874
- alarmed at the arrival of the Magi in search of the new-born King 118, 879
- enquires where Messiah should be born, 118, 880
- puts the leading Pharisees who were expecting the Messiah to death, 119, 884
- orders the massacre of infants at Bethlehem, 119, 885, 886
- brings the wife of Pheroras to trial, 120, 887
- sends Antipater to Rome, 121, 890
- recalls Archelaus and Philip, 121, 891
- discovers the guilt of Antipater, 121, 894
- disgraces Doris, the mother of Antipater, 121, 895
- deprives Simon of the High-priesthood, 121, 896
- writes to Antipater to hasten home, 124, 899
- puts Antipater in bonds, and writes to Augustus, 123, 901
- fills ill, and makes his will in favour of Herod Antipas, 123, 901
- writes again to Augustus, 123, 902
- finds his disorder increase, and removes to Jencho for change of air 124, 903
- buries the Rabbinus at the stake, 124, 905
- grows worse, 124, 906
- crosses the Jordan to Callinthe, 124, 907
- uses the waters of Callinthe, 125, 908
- is plunged into a vessel of oil, which nearly kills him, 125, 909
- distributes a donation to the army, 125, 910
- shuts up the chiefs of the nation in the Hippodrum, 125, 911
- changes Salome and Alexas, after his demise to put the chiefs to death, 125, 912
- makes an attempt on his life, 125, 912
- puts Antipater to death, 125, 913
- date of it discussed, ix
- death of, 125, 915
- funeral of 126, 917 &c seq
- age of vi
- and reign, xvi And 127, 925

HFR

- Herod Agrippa *See* Agrippa
 Herod Antipas named at one time in Herod's will as his successor, 123, 901
 — but the will altered, 123, 914
 — follows Archelaus to Rome, 128, 930
 — is made Tetrarch of Peræa and Galilee, 130, 949
 — fortifies Scythopolis, 131, 953
 — builds Julius in Perea, *ib*
 — builds Tiberias, 173, 1163
 — conduct of, toward Christ and John the Baptist, 176, 1175
 — goes to Rome to condole with Tiberius on the death of Livia, 177, 1178
 — sees and becomes enamoured of Herodias, *ib*, and *178*
 — wife of, the daughter of Aretas escapes to Petra, 185, 1213
 — returns to Judæa, 185, 1214
 — imprisons John the Baptist, 186, 1216
 — date of marriage of, to Herodias, *186*, 1218
 — puts John the Baptist to death, 203, 1290 *et seq*
 — takes Jesus for John the Baptist risen from the dead, 204, 1297
 — seeks to see Jesus, 204, 1298
 — charged as an accomplice in Sejanus's plot, 215, 1355
 — quarrels with Pilate, 225, 1407
 — reconciled to him, 226, 1414
 — hostilities between him and Aretas, 226, 1414
 — general of, defeated, 226, 1414
 — cunning of, 226, 1412
 — admitted by Herod Agrippa to Tiberias, 245, 1482
 — feasts Vitellius and Artabanus on the conclusion of peace, 246, 1489
 — sails to Rome to obtain the title of king, 260, 1555
 — accused by Herod Agrippa, and banished, 261, 1561
 — death of, 261, 1562
 — how reign of computed, *xiii*
 Herod Philip is educated at Rome, 121, 891
 — left by Archelaus in charge of Judæa, 125, 927
 — sails to Rome, 130, 946
 — made Tetrarch of Batanæa, Trachonitis, Auranitis, Perea, and Gaulanitis, 130, 950
 — how reign of reckoned, 240, 1454, and *xiii*
 — builds Cæsarea Philippi and Julius, or Bethsaida, 131, 953
 — character of, 207, 1310
 — death of, 240, 1454
 Herod Philip, another son of Herod, and called by Josephus Herod only, 177, 1178
 Herod, brother of Agrippa I, made king of Chalcis, 271, 1621
 — has charge of the Temple and the Culin &c., 283, 1662
 — death of, 287, 1720
 Herodes, archon at Athens, 12, 102
 Herodians who they were, 197, 1262 208, 1327
 Herodias, wife of Herod Philip, compact of Herod Antipas with, 177, 1178
 — date of her marriage to him, 186, 1218
 — her treatment of John the Baptist, 186, 1216, 1217
 — instigates his death, 203, 1290 *et seq*
 Herodium seized by Aristobulus and his son, 14, 127
 — fortified by Herod, 85, 718
 — Herod the Great buried at, 126, 918
 Hierosolyma, a city of Asia, overthrown by an earthquake, 164, 1603

ILL

- 'High day,' the Sheaf-offering, so called by John, 289, 1447
 High-priests, number of, from Herod to the capture of Jerusalem by Titus, 343, 2050
 High-priesthood, appointment to, given to Herod of Chalcis, 283, 1692
 — sometimes held by two jointly, 174, 1170
 High Town, what part of Jerusalem so called, 358, 2126
 — taken by the Romans, 360, 2154
 Hillel, the father or symon, 115, 877
 Hipparch of Judæa, Marius is appointed, 250, 1504
 Hippus, now the Castle of David, 235, 2128
 Hippodrome or prison at Jericho, 125, 911
 Hippus given by Octavius to Herod, 78, 639
 — massacre of the Jews at, 343, 2011
 Hirtius the consul slain at the battle of Mutina, 44, 370
 Holy Family retire to Egypt, 119, 882
 — return from Egypt, and retire to Nazareth, 127, 925
 Holy of Holies, Pompey enters, 9, 80
 Hononada, a city of Cilicia, subdued by Pub Sulp Quinctus, or Cynurus, 132, 955 135, 958
 Homoclenides slays Amyntas, 84, 876
 Horæ: journey of, to Brundisium, 53, 453
 Horns of Hattin, site of, 199, 1258, 1269
 Hum's heap *See* Capernaum
 Hyrcania, a city of Asia, overthrown by an earthquake, 163, 1603
 Hyrcania, revolt of, from Volagases, 312, 1848
 Hyrcanus king of Judæa, 2, 10
 — reneges in favour of Aristobulus, 3, 11
 — marches against Aristobulus, 5, 40
 — sends ambassadors to Scarrus, 5, 42
 — besieges Jerusalem, 6, 43
 — obliged to raise the siege, 6, 44
 — sends embassy to Pompey, 8, 65, 71
 — confirmed high-priest by Pompey, 9, 81
 — aids Gabinius on his way to Egypt, 14, 128
 — accused before Cæsar at Antioch, but confirmed high-priest, 31, 298, 299
 — Roman edicts in favour of, 31, 299, 300, 301
 — allowed to fortify Jerusalem, 41, 345
 — made prisoner by the Cæsar, 52, 451
 — delivered up to Antigonus, who cuts off his ears, 52, 454
 — comes from Babylon to Jerusalem, 64, 538
 — put to death by Herod, 73, 613
 — how reign of, reckoned, *xx*
 Hyrcanus the elder besieges Dagon in a Sabbatian year, 61, 524
 — embassy of, to Rome, *xl*
 Hythe, Cæsar lands at, on his first expedition to Britain, 17, 143
 — and on his second expedition, 19, 164
- I [IDRI], Artoces king of, conquered by Pompey, 6, 46
 — Pharnabazus, king of, conquered by Canidius Cræsus, 63, 535
 — bribed to drive the Parthians out of Armenia, 227, 1414
 — invades Armenia, 244, 1475
 Idnæ, success of Cæsar at, 18, 155
 Iconium, the capital of Polemo I, 50, 490 82, 875
 Idumea given on death of Herod to Archelaus, 130, 945
 'Igdof' of the Temple at Jerusalem, 94, 745 101, 791
 Iphar detained by Herod the son of Agrippa, 98, 763
 Iulianus a son of Iulius, 31, 1842

IMA

- Immanuel restored by Cæsar to the kingdom of the
Tricolanæ, 21 175
Imperator, how that title used in coins and inscrip-
tions 79 (*note*)
Imperial Guard decreed double pay, 79, 664
Impiety, laws of, abolished by Claudius, 270, 1618
Impôts laid upon Palestine, 9, 81 48, 423
Innocents, murder of the, xvi And 119, 685
Inscriptions *passim* at the foot of each year --
— riding to Cyrenius 132 955 133, 955
— to Polemo I, 147, 966 b
— to the Jews at Iripoli, 172, 1160 a
— to the Christians in Spain, 338, 1983
Intercalation Jewish, 342, 2003
Invasion, first, of Britain by Cæsar, 16, 134
— second do 19, 122
Isaai appointed by Herod high priest, 124 904
— removed from the priesthood, 181, 952
— exhorts submission to the census, 147, 1015
Isaïa, city of, explained, 110, 838
Isauria subject to Amyntas, 66, 551
— Derbe, a city of, 285 1705
Isauricus, Seril, dies, 43, 367
Ismael appointed high-priest by Gratus 161, 1074
— written by Josephus in one place by mistake for
Ethonæus, 281, 1681
Ismael, the high priest, appointed by Agrippa, 318,
1880
— proceeds on an embassy to Rome, lxxv And 324,
1912, 1913
Isthmus of Corinth, Cæsar proposes to cut through, 41,
346
— Nero attempts to cut through, 347, 2055
Italian band, Cornelius a captain of, 268, 1608
Itura or Iotura, Portus now Boulogne, 16, 137 16,
138 17, 149 19, 159
Iturea, position of, 8, 68
Iturea Libani under Tholomæus, 33, 286
— under Soemus, 256, 1533
— annexed to the province of Syria 289, 1727
Izates, king of Adiabene, 255, 1525 289, 1731
— sends hostages to Claudius and Artabanus, 272,
1628
— relieves the Jews in the great famine, 281 1681
— unpopular with the Adiabenes, who call him Abas,
king of Petra and then Vologæses, king of Parthia
298, 1783
— proximate time of death of, 320, 1635

JACOBS Well, description of, 187, 1221

- Jairus, daughter of, raised from the dead 202, 1223
Jamblichus I, king of Emesa and Aethiopia, 23, 208
28, 239
— assists Mithridates Pergamenus, on the side of
Cæsar, 33, 286
— put to death by Antony, 72, 606
Jamblichus II appointed king by Augustus, 90, 727
James the Just, Our Lord's half brother, 181, 1198
288, 1723
— carried up to *πρεφύριον* of the Temple, 178, 1183
— not one of the twelve apostles, but Bishop of
Jerusalem, 182, 1198
— wrote the Epistle General, 182, 1198 268, 1783
— has an interview with St Paul 314, 1858
— brought to trial by the Jews, and stoned, 327, 1931
— date of the martyrdom, lxxix
James the Greater, St, brother of John, and one of
the Twelve, 191, 1235
— a disciple of John the Baptist, 176 1174
— and John called the sons of Thunder, 222, 1394
— relationship of, to Our Lord, 230, 1432

JES

- beheaded by King Agrippa, 279, 1671
James, St., the Less, the son of Cleophas or Alphaeus
and Mary, one of the Twelve, 182, 1198
Jamma given by Augustus to Salome 131 951
— now Yehma, *ib*
— bequeathed by Salome to Livia, 177, 1179
— Prensus Capito the procurator of 243, 1482
260, 1553
— altar to Caligula erected at 239, 1553
— taken by Vespasian, 347, 2051
— contingent furnished to the army by, 117 871
Janus, Temple of shut for the first time by Augustus,
77, 649
— the second time, 83 678
— the third time, 88, 769
— decree for closing, 102, 797
— shut by Nero, 339, 1989
Japha, in Galilee, taken by Trajan, 346, 2036
Jason lodges Paul and Silas at Thessalonica, 294, 1767
Jefat See Jotapata, 316 2032
Jehorah, the course of, viz the 8th 109, 836
Jehudai, the same in Hebrew as Jheudai, 124, 903
Jerusalem occupied by Aristobolus, 8, 73 9, 78
— surrendered to Pompey, who enters the Holy of
Holies, 9 77 *et seq*
— made tributary, 9, 81
— plundered by Cassius, 18 156
— besieged by Herod, 56 486 59, 517 *et seq*
— the Temple of, taken 59, 531
— captured by Herod, 69, 522 *et seq*
— the meaning of *ἡ ἑρμῆς*, at the siege of, by
Herod, 59, 522
— Cæsar refuses to worship at the Temple of, 138, 969
— disturbed by the arrival of the Magi, 118, 879
— *incute* at, by Judas and Alathias 124 903 *et seq*
— visited by Our Lord at twelve years old, 149, 1026
— at the Passover, 182, 1199
— at the Pentecost, 195, 1255
— at the Tabernacles 209 1333
— at the Feast of Dedication, 218, 1348
— at the Passover of the Crucifixion, 230, 1436
— besieged by Titus, 357, 2116 *et seq*
— captured and destroyed, xxi And 360, 2154
— rebuilt by Adrian under the name of Aelia, 239,
1446
Jesus Christ, conception of, 110, 838
— birth of 115, 869 And xxi
— genealogy of, 182, 1198
— circumcised, 117, 873
— receives the adoration of the Magi, 119, 881
— was a carpenter, 184, 1204
— attends the Passover at twelve years of age, 149,
1026
— baptized, 177 1180 178, 1181 170, 1187
— date of the Baptism, li
— tempted, 178, 1182
— returns to the Baptist, 179, 1187
— how He designated Himself, 180, 1189
— calls Philip, 180 1190
— changes the water into wine at Cana, 181 1195
— commences the first year of His ministry at
Jerusalem at the Passover A D 29 182, 1199
— date of commencement of ministry of, xiv
— arena of ministry of 183, 1203
— order in which He attended the feasts at Jeru-
salem, 184, 1203
— expels the traders from the Temple, 184, 1204
— miracles of, at the Passover, 184, 1206
— predicts the manner of His death, 184, 1207
— returns from Jerusalem to the country of Judæa,
184, 1208
— makes many disciples in Judæa, 184, 1209

185

- journey of, through Samaria to Galilee, 186 1210 *et seq*
- obliged to retire to Galilee, 187, 1219
- rests by the way at Jacob's Well, 188, 1222
- native country of, 189 1225
- arrives at Cana in Galilee, 189, 1226
- cures the son of the courtier, 189, 1227
- fixes His residence at Capernaum, 190, 1229
- makes His first circuit, 191, 1234
- calls Peter, Andrew, James, and John 191, 1235
- visits Nazareth, 192, 1236 *et seq*
- returns to Capernaum, 192 1239
- cures the demoniac on the Sabbath 192, 1240
- cures Peter's wife's mother 192, 1241
- cures divers sick persons, 192, 1242
- rebuffs unclean spirits to proclaim Him, 192, 1242
- commences His second circuit, 193, 1243 *et seq*
- cures the leper, 193, 1247, 1248
- returns to Capernaum, 194, 1251
- commences the second year of His ministry, A.D. 80 194, 1251
- enters upon His third circuit, 191, 1252
- passes through the corn-fields on the Sabbath, 194, 1254
- goes up to Jerusalem at Pentecost, 195, 1255
- cures the cripple at Bethesda 196, 1256
- persecuted by the Jews 197, 1259
- restores the withered hand in Galilee, 197, 1262
- withdraws to Gennesaret, 198 1262
- commands unclean spirits not to make Him known 198, 1264
- returns to a mountain to pray, 198 1265
- ordains the Twelve Apostles, 198, 1266
- reaches the Seimon on the Mount, 198, 1267
- returns to Capernaum, 199 1271
- heals the centurion's servant, 199
- commences His fourth circuit 199, 1272
- goes to Nain and heals the widow's son, 199, 1272
- receives the messengers from John the Baptist, 200, 1274
- goes through Galilee, 200, 1275
- returns to Capernaum, 200, 1276
- accused of being beside Himself, 200, 1277
- delivers the parable of the sower, 200, 1278
- crosses the Lake to Gergesa 200, 1279
- returns from Gergesa to Capernaum, 201, 1281
- heals the woman of her bloody issue, 202, 1283
- raises Jairus's daughter 19
- visits Nazareth a second time, 202, 1286
- sends His apostles to preach in Galilee, 203, 1288
- taken for John the Baptist, 204, 1297
- informed of John's death, 204 1299
- crosses the Lake to Bethsaida, 205 1300
- feeds the five thousand 205, 1302
- sought to be made king, 205 1303
- retires from the multitude up the mountain 205, 1305
- sends His disciples away by boat 19 *et seq*
- walks on the sea, 205, 1308
- appears the storm 205, 1309 *et seq*
- followed by the multitude, 206 1310, 1313
- preaches in the synagogue of Capernaum, 206, 1313
- commences the third year of His ministry, 207, 1315
- discourses with the Pharisees on His mission 2 7, 1316

185

- goes through Galilee to the north, 207 1317
- crosses the borders of Tyre and Sidon, 207, 1319
- descends to the Sea of Tiberias, 207, 1320
- cures the deaf and dumb man, 207 1321
- feeds the four thousand, 207 1322 *et seq*
- descends southward to Dalmanutha 208, 1325
- Pharisees and Sadducees ask a sign from, 208, 1326
- crosses the Lake to the west, 208, 1327
- lands at Bethsaida, 208 1328
- restores sight to the blind man, 208, 1329
- is challenged by His brethren to go up to Jerusalem at the Tabernacles, 208, 1330
- goes privately to Jerusalem, 209, 1331
- sought to be arrested by the Pharisees, 209, 1335 *et seq*
- escapes from the Jews who would have stoned Him and cures the blind man at the gate of the Temple, 210, 1344
- retires to Bethabara, 210, 1347
- visits Jerusalem at the Feast of Dedication, 210, 1348
- acknowledges His divinity to the Jews, who try to stone Him, 210, 1349
- returns to Bethabara, 210, 1350 *et seq*
- makes disciples there 217, 1370 1372
- is informed of Lazarus's illness, 217 1370
- returns to Bethany and raises Lazarus from the dead, 218, 1374
- retires for safety to Ephraim, 218, 1376
- Sanhedrim issue a warrant to take, 219, 1378
- retires to Caesarea Philippi, 219, 1379
- questions His disciples as to who He was, 219, 1380
- foretells His death 19
- is transfigured 220, 1391
- charges His disciples not to make it known 220, 1392
- goes to Capernaum, 220, 1393
- is asked to pay the temple tax 220 1394
- commences the fourth and last year of His ministry 221, 1399
- makes His last and great circuit alive And 221, 1399
- meets with opposition at a Samaritan village, 222 1394
- appoints seventy disciples, 223 1397
- delivers the parable of the good Samaritan 224, 1401
- visits the village of Nairth 224, 1402
- cures the dumb man, 224, 1403
- delivers the parable of the foolish barn-builder, 224, 1404
- hears of the slaughter of the Galileans, 224, 1407
- delivers the parable of the fig-tree 225, 1409
- preaches in a synagogue on the Sabbath 225, 1410
- teaches on His way to Jerusalem 225, 1411
- is warned against Herod 225, 1412
- eats with a Pharisee on the Sabbath 226, 1413
- purifies His course towards Jerusalem 229, 1425
- crosses the Jordan to the east 229 1426
- blesses the infant children, 229, 1427
- exercises His ministry in Perea 229 1428
- answers concerning divorce 229, 1429
- discourses on riches, 229 1430
- delivers the parable of the labourers in the vineyard, 229 1431
- crosses from Perea to Judaea 229 1432
- is in Bethanias His death, 229 1433

JES

- arrives at Jericho and lodges with Zacchaeus, 230 1438
- arrives at Bethany on Friday, 230, 1434, 1435
- rests there on Saturday, the Sabbath 230, 1435
- makes His entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, 230, 1430
- enters the Temple and returns to Bethany, 231, 1436
- on Monday washes the fig-tree 231, 1437
- expels the traders from the Temple, 231, 1437
- returns to Bethany, *ib*
- on Tuesday teaches in the Temple and predicts its fall 231, 1438
- quits His abode at Bethany and passes the night on the Mount of Olives, 231, 1438, 1439
- on Wednesday remains in privacy, 231, 1439
- on Thursday, the day of Paschal sacrifices, sends Peter and John to prepare the Passover, 231, 1440
- institutes the Eucharist, 232, 1440
- washes the disciples' feet, *xxxix*
- retires to the Mount of Olives, and withdraws to Gethsemane 232, 1440
- is arrested 232 1440
- on Friday morning is brought before the Sanhedrim, 233, 1441
- then before Pilate, 234, 1441
- sent by Pilate to Herod Antipas, 235, 1441
- who sends him to Pilate, *ib*
- condemned by Pilate, 237, 1441
- crucified, 237, 1441
- buried by Joseph of Arimathea, 238, 1445, 1446
- resurrection of, on Sunday 239, 1448
- appears to Mary Magdalene, 239, 1448
- to two disciples, 239, 1448
- to Peter, *ib*
- to the ten apostles, *ib*
- to the eleven, *ib*
- to above 500 brethren, *ib*
- to certain disciples in Galilee, *ib*
- to James, *ib*
- to all the apostles, *ib*
- ascension of, *ib*
- brethren and sisters of, 181 1197, 1198
- curation of ministry of, *xlv* And 175, 1174 176, 1176
- age of 178, 1180
- Jesus (son of Damnaeus) appointed by Agrippa high-priest, 328, 1932
- removed, 334, 1960
- Jesus (son of Tobai) appointed by Herod high-priest, 67, 561
- removed, 88, 715
- Jesus (son of Gamaliel) appointed by Agrippa high-priest, 324 1960
- removed, 336, 1979
- Jesus (son of Simeon) appointed high-priest by Archelaus, 131, 952
- removed, 148, 1022
- Jews, camp of, in Egypt, 33, 288
- indignation of, against Herod, 63, 690 *et seq*
- excused from serving in the army, or attending law-courts on the Sabbath, 98, 765
- send embassy to Rome, to ask that Judaea may be annexed to Syria, 130 944
- edict at Rome against, 167, 1123
- expelled from Rome, *xvii* And 295, 1773
- insurrection against, at Babylon, 213, 1464 267, 1603
- at Seleucia, 273, 1631
- at Doris, 276, 1645

JOS

- outbreak against, at Alexandria 267, 1537
- of Alexandria send an embassy to Caligula, 218, 1539 259, 1551 260, 1557, 1559 267, 1601
- protected by Claudius, 271, 1625
- synagogues of, at Antioch burnt, 263, 1579
- massacre of, by Felix, at Caesarea, 318, 1879
- general massacre of, at Caesarea and other cities, 343, 2011
- war of, against the Romans begins, 313, 2005, 2006
- John the Baptist, conception of, 109, 836
- birth of, 112, 853
- baptizes in the wilderness, *iv*
- peculiarity of baptism of, 185, 1211 203, 1200
- announces the advent of the Messiah, 173, 1169 174, 1171
- had preached long before, 175 1171
- date of commencement of ministry of, *xxix*, *liii*
- why called Elyah, 175, 1171
- the scene of labours of 175 1171
- baptizes Jesus, 177 1180
- embassy of Pharisees to at Bethabara 178, 1184, 1185
- testifies to Jesus being the Christ, 179 1188
- baptizes at Jfison, 181, 1209
- informed that Christ was baptizing, 185, 1210
- expostulates with Herod about Herodias, and imprisonment, 186, 1216
- arrest of, in important epoch in the ministry of Our Lord, 187 1220
- date of the imprisonment of, *lvii*
- sends two of his disciples to enquire of Christ, 200, 1274
- death of 203, 1290
- disciples of, found at Ephesus 175, 1171
- John, *et seq*, remarks on Gospel of, 189, 1229
- supplemental character of Gospel of, 179, 1187
- date of its publication, 196, 1257
- a disciple of John the Baptist, 176, 1174
- called to be an apostle, 191 1235
- relationship of, to Jesus Christ, 230, 1432 132, 1198
- personally acquainted with the high-priest 233, 1440
- follows Jesus to the palace of Caiaphas, 233, 1440
- cures with Peter, the cripple at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple, 219, 1452
- arrested by the Sadducees, 210, 1453
- sent by the apostles to Samaria, 256, 1544, 1545
- why he and James called sons of Thunder, 222 1394
- Jonathan, son of Annas, appointed high-priest by Vitellius, 240, 1496
- removed, 251 1506
- goes to Rome, 296 1775
- returns, 298, 1781
- assassinated by the Sicarii, 308 1834
- Joppa act *lxi*, 9, 81
- taken by Herod, 56 486
- given to Herod by Octavius, 76 639
- Joseph See Caiaphas
- Joseph of Arimathea supports Jesus in the Sanhedrim, 209, 1332, 1339 234, 1441
- buries Jesus, 238, 1445
- Joseph, son of Canna high priest, appointed by Herod of Chalcis 284, 1693
- removed, 256 1715
- Joseph, Herod's brother, left in command of Judaea, 37 503
- slain, 57, 504

JOS

- Joseph, Herod's uncle, left in command of Judæa, 68, 565
 — put to death, 68, 567
 Joseph, son of Simon, high-priest, appointed by Agrippa & 324, 1614
 — removed, 327, 1630
 Joseph, husband of Virgin Mary, goes with her to Bethlehem to be taxed 11, 858
 — flies to Egypt, 119, 682
 — returns, 127, 926
 — not living at the Crucifixion, 280, 1440
 — on at the commencement of Our Lord's ministry 161, 1194
 Josephus, the historian, born, 268, 1541
 — at Jerusalem, and then in the desert for three years, 303, 1814
 — becomes a Pharisee, 307, 1833
 — sails to Rome, 332, 1950
 — shipwrecked by the way, 33
 — the resuscitation of shipwreck of, to that of St Paul, 333, 1950
 — at Jerusalem at the outbreak of the war, 343, 2008
 — besieged in Jotapata, 346, 2034
 — made prisoner, 346, 2040
 Josca, the half-brother of Our Lord, 181, 1198
 Jotapata besieged, 346, 2032 *et seq*
 — taken, 346, 2040
 Juba I. accompanies Caius Cæsar to the East, 138, 968
 — marries Hiphysa, daughter of Archelaus, 34
 — succeeded by Ptolemy, 171, 1151
 — length of reign of, 136, 966
 Juba II. marries Cleopatra, daughter of Antony and Cleopatra, 76, 638
 Judæa subject to Alexandra, 1, 5
 — to Hyrcanus, 2, 10
 — to Aristobolus, 2, 11
 — restored to Hyrcanus but made tributary to Rome, 9, 81, 48, 423
 — overrun by the Parthians, and given to Antigonus, 52, 453
 — Herod declared King of, by the Romans, 53, 465
 — census of, at the birth of Christ xvi
 — subject to Archelaus is ethnarch, 180, 948
 — annexed to the province of Syria, and governed by a procurator, 146, 1012
 — Oropus procurator of, 146, 1012 M. Ambivnus, 150, 1033 Annius Rufus, 156, 1047 Gratus, 160, 1073 Pontius Pilate, 172, 1100
 — granted to Agrippa, 271, 1619
 — annexed to Syria, and governed by a procurator, 281, 1670
 — Cuspius Fadus procurator of, 281, 1679 Tiberius Alexander, 286, 1701 Cerealis, 287, 1719 Felix, 298, 1782 Festus, 319, 1803 Albinus, 327, 1929 Gessius Florus, 334, 1961
 — fasts in, on Claudius's return from Britain, 279, 1674
 — on the verge of revolt, 283, 1759
 — revolts, 343, 2005
 — constitution of, under Romans, 147, 1013
 — climate of, 177, 1160 180, 1190
 — ruins in, 221, 1406
 — famine in, 83, 683
 — the great famine in, 260, 1675 281, 1681
 — earthquake in, 71, 601
 Judas, or Dimasene, lodges St. Paul, 243, 1510
 Judas, the Galilean, opposes the census of Cyrenius, 147, 1016
 — referred to by Gamahel, 243, 1469
 Judas, the half-brother of Our Lord, 181, 1198
 Judas Iscariot slain by the Jews, 261, 1438

LAL

- Judas the Rebbin, an insurgent in the last days of Herod, 124, 903
 Judas, an insurgent in Galilee after the death of Herod, 129, 933
 — referred to by Gamahel as Thaudas, 243, 1469
 Judas, called Barabbas, sent by the Apostles from Jerusalem to Ananias, 239, 1724
 Judices Appeal-room, to the senate, 319, 1801
 Judicia, restored to the Equites, 1, 1
 Judicial powers over the people's provinces committed by Nero to the senate, 303, 1810
 Jafna, the ancient Gophni, 147, 1013
 Julia, wife of Augustus See Livia
 Julia, daughter of Augustus, marries Marcellus, 83, 679
 — marries Agrippa, 89, 718
 — marries Tiberius, 102, 798
 — disgrace of, 136, 961
 — death of, 159, 1001
 Julia, granddaughter of Augustus banished, 149, 1025
 — dies, 173, 1106
 Julia, sister of Calpurnia, banished, 363, 1576
 — restored by Claudius, 272, 1626
 Julius See Bathsanda
 Julius, in Parasa, fortified by Herod Antipas, 131, 953
 204, 1295
 Julius in Gaulantus, built by Herod Philip, 131, 953
 Julius's grave, 21, 172
 Julius (a centurion) conducts St. Paul as a prisoner to Rome, 320, 1899
 Julius month so called in honour of C. Julius Cæsar, 40, 342
 Julius Prætorius prefect of the Prætorium, 363, 2092
 Junia, sister of Brutus and wife of Cassius, dies 170, 1142
 Jupiter, Julian, C. J. Cæsar so called, 41, 349
 Jupiter and Saturn, a conjunction of, 108, 834 110, 839 118, 878
 Jupiter Tonans, Augustus dedicates the Temple of, 88, 712
 Justus, Catonius, prefect of the Prætorium, put to death, 277, 1656
 Jutta, city of Judah, 1, 0, 838
 Juvencula, games of, instituted by Nero, 317, 1876

KANA AL JELIL, the ancient Cana of Galilee, 181, 1193
 Karin Hattin See House of Hattin
 Karkaba or Place of the Star, where the conversion of St. Paul occurred, 262, 1514
 Kefi Kenna, though it is some to be the ancient Cana of Galilee, 181, 1193
 Kerajeh See Chorazin, 191, 1232

LABEO Pomponius prefect of Misra, 172, 1157
 — commits suicide, 242, 1460
 Laberius Durus, Q., an officer of Cæsar, slain in Britain, 21, 172
 Labienus led by Cæsar in command of Gaul while Cæsar was in Britain 19, 162
 Labienus, a partisan of Brutus and Cassius, induces the Parthians to invade Syria, 41, 440, 441
 — invades Cilicia, and puts Brutus to death, 61, 441
 — defeated by Ventidius, and slain 55, 481
 Laco, Cornelius, appointed prefect of the Prætorium, 349, 2060
 — death of, 353, 2085
 Laconata, a city of Cilicia Aspera, subject to Antiochus, 250, 1505
 Læne Apollonius, consul suffectus, 277, 1659
 Libani, a city subject to Ptolemy 55, 480

LAM

- Lamia, Lucius Aelius, prefect of Africa, 168, 1128
 — then of Syria, *ib*
 — succeeds Pao as prefect of the city of Rome, 216, 1365
 — death of 240, 1455
 Lania, Luc Aemilius, left in Spain by Augustus, 84, 684, 685
 I notice: occupied by Dolabella, 43, 394
 — taken by Cassius, 46, 397
 — made a free city 18, 421
 — earthquake at, 319, 1889
 — winter quarters of the sixth legion at, 106, 1115
 Laodicea in Phrygia, St Paul's Epistle to, 330, 1938
 Lajosa *See* Lassa
 Lassa, a city of Crete, near Fanhavins, 321, 1899
 Laude, a town of Italy, near Piacenza, 18, 158
 Lazarus, a native of Bethany, 217, 1370
 — raised from the dead 1 Aug 218, 1374
 Legates, number of, in the imperial and in the senate's or people's provinces, 140, 1009, 160, 1067
 Lenson, an Ephesian month, 45, 388
 Lentulus, a chief in favour of the Jews at Ephesus, 80, 256
 Lepor, cure of, by Our Lord, 193, 1247
 Lepers, cure of the ten, 229, 1425
 Lepida betrothed to Lucius Caesar, 141, 983
 — on his death, marries P^o Quirinus or Cyrenus, 141, 983
 — trial of, 167, 1127
 Lepida, daughter of Antonia, death of, 301, 1799
 Lepidus, Pontifex Maximus, 10, 89, 41, 363
 Lepidus, M. Aemilius, master of the horse, 30, 311
 — again, 38, 327
 — again, 40, 340
 — one of the triumvirate with Antony and Octavius, and takes Africa as his share, 52, 467
 — summoned by Octavius to Rome, 56, 492
 — one of the renewed triumvirate, 58, 513
 — ejected from the triumvirate, 63, 534
 Lepidus, Marcus, an officer under Tiberius in Dalmatia, 150, 1030
 — proconsul of Asia, 169, 1180, 172, 1158
 Letter, a barbarous, used in the coins of Antony, 66, 553
 Lions taken by Agrippa, 72, 605
 Loosy Kulan, a town of Phoenicia, 65, 549
 — a town of Arabia, 64, 699, 56, 706
 Libya, one of the consular provinces, 80, 666
 Lilia of Judea, 224, 1405
 Lymra, a town of Lycia, where Caius Caesar died, 143, 991
 Lymrus, a river of Lycia, *ib*
 Livia capivates Octavius, 64, 473
 — marries Octavius, 66, 491
 — accompanies him to the East, 89, 724
 — illness of, 169, 1139
 — death of, 176, 1176
 Lollius takes Damascus, 5, 36
 Lollius, M., first proprietor of Galatia, 83, 677
 — accompanies Caius Caesar to the East, 130, 963
 — hostility of to Tiberius, 138, 970
 — treachery and death of 140, 976
 London, the capital of Cassa Maritima, 21, 171, 176
 — burnt by Bonducius, 223, 1905
 Longinus, C. Cassius, prefect of Syria, 281, 1679, 289, 1731
 — present at Jerusalem, 283, 1690
 — succeeded by Titus Ummidius Quadratus, 291, 1746
 Lucan dies, 335, 1669
 Lucius Caesar *See* Caesar, Lucius
 Lucullus, at Ephesus, composes affairs of Asia, 1, 2

MAC

- proceeds to Pontus 1, 3
 — takes Sinope, *ib*
 — declares war against Tigranes, 3, 13
 — enters Armenia, 3, 15
 — defeats Tigranes, 3, 16
 — takes Tigranocerta, 3, 17
 — strips Tigranes of Syria, &c, 3, 18
 — sends embassy to Phraates, 4, 20
 — follows Tigranes, 3, 21
 — takes Nisibis or Antioch in Mygdonia, 4, 22
 — superseded, 4, 26
 Lucii Apollinaris, 42, 357, 51, 445
 Ludi Cincenses, 53, 461
 Ludi Sæculares, 96, 750
 Luke St., accompanies St Paul from Corinth to Jerusalem, 313, 1855
 — at Philippi at the Passover, 413, 1856
 — at Troas, 313, 1857
 — sails with Paul for Rome, 320, 1899
 — chronological accuracy of Gospel of, 189, 1229
 — wrote after Matthew and Mark, 193, 1247
 Lustrum or census concluded, 2, 9, 28, 658, 107, 828, 157, 1061, 287, 1716
 Luto, Port, the ancient Phoenix, 321, 1899
 Lyncus given to Cleopatra I, 65, 480
 — to Amyntas, 65, 551
 — and on his death to Antiochus, king of Commagene, 82, 675, 250, 1505, 285, 1703
 Lycia, formerly comprised in Cilicia, 24, 191
 — made free, 48, 420
 — plundered by the followers of Caius Caesar, 143, 992
 — deprived of liberty, 277, 1656
 — annexed to Pamphylia, *ib*
 Lyeomedes, priest of Comana, 35, 305
 — confirmed by Octavius, 73, 618
 Lydia sold into slavery, 45, 365
 — one of the Toparchies of Judea, 117, 1013
 Lydian, king of Chalcis, 61, 439
 — put to death by Antony, 65, 537
 Lysanias, Tetrarch of Abilene, 131, 950, 171, 1169
 — mentioned by St Luke, *ib*
 — tetrarchy of, granted to Agrippa, 271, 1619, 1620, 250, 1503
 Lysias rescued St Paul, 214, 1660 *et seq*
 Lysimachus, Alex., the Jewish Alabarch of Alexandria, arrested, 268, 1605
 Lystra visited by St Paul, 235, 1703, 290, 1738
- M**ACCABÆUS, Judas, besieges the Acra in Jerusalem, *xx*
 — Maccabees, era adopted in the books of, 60, 525
 — length of dynasty of, how computed, *xx*
 Macedonia, a senatorial or people's province, 80, 666
 — transferred to the emperor, 160, 1066
 — disturbances in, 96, 756
 — restored to the Roman senate or people, 281, 1652
 — evangelized by Paul and Silas, 294, 1763
 — revisited by Paul, 310, 1839
 — and again, 334, 1663
 Macharus, a partisan of the Romans in Bosphorus, 6, 45
 Macharus, the border fortress of Judea towards Arabia, seized by Aristobulus and his son, 11, 127
 — the wife of Herod Antipas escapes to, 155, 1214
 — never belonged to the kings of Petra, 150, 1215
 — John the Baptist beheaded at, 208, 1292
 Macharus sent by Ventidius against Herod, 57, 499
 — attempts to betray Antigonus, 57, 503
 — quarrels with Herod, 57, 503
 Macro succeeds Seganius as prefect of the Pretorium, 213, 1357

MAC

- appointed to the province of Egypt 250, 1630
- commits suicide, *ib*
- Macrobius's testimony to the murder of the Innocents, xxvii And 119, 886
- Mecenas assists in the pacification between Octavius and Antony, 52, 456
- prime minister of Octavius, 63, 532
- advises the form of the Roman constitution, 78, 651
- death of, 107, 626
- Messa, Pomponius Laber prefect of, 168, 1138
- revolt of, 354, 2096
- Magadan, a place visited by Our Lord, 208, 1326
- Magdala, read erroneously for Magadan, 208, 1326
- site of, *ib*
- Magdalene, Mary, Jesus appears to, after his resurrection, 289, 1448
- Magi, the Eastern, come to Jerusalem, 118, 878 *et seq*
- Magnum overthrown by an earthquake, 163, 1083
- Malchus, an influential person employed by Antipater to collect tribute in Judaea, 43, 384, 386
- poisons Antipater, 49, 392
- put to death by Herod, 48, 398
- Malchus, the high-priest's servant whose ear was cut off by Peter, 283, 1440
- Malchus, king of Petra, sends aid to Casai, 93, 286
- refuses to receive Herod, 52, 456
- part of dominions of, given by Antony to Cleopatra, 63, 537
- has kin of them at a rent from Cleopatra, 65, 544
- withholds rent from Cleopatra, 70, 582
- attacked by Herod by command of Antony, 70, 591
- defeated at Diospolis, 70, 592
- defeats Herod at Canatha, 70, 593
- defeated at Philadelphia, 72, 604
- an ally of Antony, but not present at the battle of Actium, 71, 600
- Malta St Paul's shipwreck at, 322, 1900
- governed by, a primat, *ib*
- Malthea, mother of Archelaus the ethnarch, accompanies him to Rome, 123, 927
- death of, 120, 942
- Maluginensis, Servius, is flamen Dialis, and as such incapable of holding the province of Asia, 169, 1137
- Mannhem, an Esene, who foretold the length of Herod's reign, 127, 925
- Marcellinus appointed prefect of Syria, 12, 101, 103
- Marcellus, the first husband of Octavia, 65, 479
- Marcellus, son of Octavia, marries Julia, daughter of Augustus, 65, 479
- jealousy between him and Agrippa, 89, 700
- when sick gives a banquet in the forum, 86, 701
- death of, 86, 702
- Marcellus, Egnus, prefect of Lycia, accused, 307, 1832
- Marcellus, Granius, prefect of Bithynia, indicted for treason, 180, 1068
- Marcellus the interim governor of Judaea, appointed by Vitellius, 247, 1494
- Marius, Quintus Crispus, prefect of Bithynia, brings aid to L. Statius Mureus, 43, 365, 366
- takes the side of Cassius, 45, 382
- Mariamne, daughter of Alexander, is betrothed to Herod, 47, 406
- married to him 59, 518
- suspected of intriguing with Herod's brother Joseph, 66, 567
- put to death, 76, 655
- Marianne, daughter of Simon, marries Herod, 84, 715

MED

- implicated in a plot against Herod, 121, 896
- Mariamne, daughter of King Agrippa, 281, 1678
- marries Archelaus, 289, 1789
- deserts Archelaus, and marries Demetrius, the Alabarch of Alexandria, 301, 1801
- Marion, a partisan of Antigonus in Judaea, 47 403, 405
- Mark, St., remarks on Gospel of, 189, 1228
- accompanies Paul and Barnabas from Jerusalem to Antioch, 279, 1673
- accompanies his uncle Barnabas in a circuit over Cyprus, 280, 1738
- Marmande, a people of Africa, subdued by P. S. Quirinus, 145, 1003
- situation of, 133, 955
- Marriage to brother's wife, after issue born to him, illegal amongst the Jews, 177, 1178
- Mars, Temple of, dedicated by Augustus, 130, 961
- Mars Ultor, Temple of, erected by Augustus, 93, 743
- Marius, Vibius, is prefect of Syria, 275, 1647
- presents Agrippa from wailing in Jerusalem, 277, 1661
- gives offence to Agrippa, 277, 1662
- threatens Varius, 278, 1664
- unpersuaded, 281, 1679
- Marayes, the plain between Libanus and Antilibanus so called, 8, 68
- Martha what was the native place and domicile of, 217, 1370 224 1402
- Martial the Epigrammatist at Rome, 341, 2001
- Mary, Virgin, Annunciation to, 109 837
- visits Elizabeth, 109, 838
- goes to Bethlehem to be taxed, 115, 868
- Purification of, 118, 877
- flight of, to Egypt, 119, 882
- returns from Egypt, and returns to Nazareth, 127, 923
- family of, 182, 1198
- Mary, wife of Cleophas, who she was, 182, 1198
- Mary, mother of James the Less and Jesus, *ib*
- visits the tomb of Our Lord, 289, 1448
- Mary, the sister of Barnabas and mother of Mark, 279, 1671
- Mary Magdalene stands by the Cross, 182 1198
- visits the tomb of Our Lord, 289, 1448
- Martius appointed Hepharch of Judaea, 260, 1504
- Massada seized by Malchus, but taken by Herod, 47, 401
- Herod leaves his kinsfolk at, for safety, 62, 482
- now called Sikkah, *ib*
- siege of by the Parthians, raised by Herod, 66, 486
- Mathematici ordered to quit Italy, 295, 1774 351, 2295
- Matthew, St., probably a disciple of the Baptist, 176, 1174
- remarks on Gospel of, 189, 1228
- called by Our Lord, 161, 1263
- where his receipt of custom was, 194 1253
- Matthias, son of Theophilus, appointed high-priest by Herod, 121, 896
- removed, 124, 904
- Matthias, son of Margalotheus, pulls down the Roman eagle, 124, 903
- Matthias the Apostle appointed in the place of Judas Iscariot, 240, 1456
- Matthias, brother of Jonathan, appointed high priest by Agrippa, 276, 1646
- removed, 277, 1653
- Matthias, son of Theophilus, high-priest, 330, 1979
- Mauretania divided into two provinces, 274, 1638
- Maximus, Sanguinius is prefect of the city, 259, 1549
- Medicines of Commodus, 73 618

MI D

- Media, Darius is king of, 6, 40
 — subdued by the Parthians and lost to Rome, 69, 580
 — Artabanus is king of, 161, 1077
 Medieum, a town of Parthia, where S Pompey surrendered himself, 66, 554
 Medjeret, the ancient Migadan 208, 1325
 Medus, king of the Lesser Armenia, 90, 727
 Meherdates sent from Rome to be king of Parthia, 289, 1730 *et seq*
 — goes to Armenia, 289, 1732
 — defeated and delivered up to the Parthians, *ib*
 Mela, the father of Lican, 335, 1969
 — put to death, 338, 1985
 Messala, prefect of Syria, 78, 654
 Messala, the wife of Claudius kills the freedom of Rome for a laurel 277, 1657
 — puts Catonius Jucius to death, 277, 1658
 — intrigues of, 285, 1700
 — marries Silius in the harem of Claudius, 287, 1716
 — put to death, 287, 1717
 Messallinus, proprietor of Dalmatia and Pannonia, 145, 1004
 — success of, 145, 1006
 Messiah, Our Lord did not announce himself as, till a late period of His ministry, 179, 1189 192 1242 198, 1264 219 1380 231, 1441
 Me-ta-ra-fo, use of by St John, 181, 1196
 Me-ta-fo-epia, meaning of, lxvi And 264, 1561 340, 1996
 Metellus, Q. Caelius, has conduct of the war in Cete, 3, 12
 — besieges Cydonia, 3 19
 — subdues Creta, 4 89
 — triumph of, 11 94
 Metellus, an officer of Pompey, takes Damascus, 5, 36
 Mevanna, a town of Umbria, where the Caesars had a palace, 260, 1556
 Minis, Copper, of Cyprus bestowed on Herod, 101, 792
 Ministry of Our Lord, duration of, xlv And 182, 1200
 — of John the Baptist, commencement of, his Miracles of Our Lord —
 — changing water into wine, 181, 1195
 — cure of the son of the courtier (*Saccharius*) at Capernaum, 189, 1227
 — of the demoniac at Capernaum 192 1240
 — of Peter's wife's mother, 192 1241
 — draught of fishes, 198 1246
 — cure of the leper, 193, 1247
 — of the cripple at the pool of Bethesda, 190, 1236
 — restoration of the withered hand on a Sabbath, 197, 1262
 — cure of the centurion's servant at Capernaum, 199, 1271
 — raising to life the young man of Nain, 193, 1272
 — of the herd of swine, 201, 1279
 — cure of the issue of blood 202, 1283
 — raising of Jairus's daughter *ib*
 — feeding the five thousand, 203, 1302
 — walking on the sea, 203, 1308
 — stilling of the wind, 205, 1309
 — healing of divers sick, 206 1313
 — cure of the deaf and dumb, 207, 1321
 — feeding of the four thousand, 207, 1322
 — the blind restored to sight, 208, 1326
 — the raising of Lazarus, 216, 1374
 — the Transfiguration 220 1381
 — cure of the dumb man, 224, 1403
 — cure of the ten lepers, 229, 1425
 — withering of the fig tree 231, 1437
 — the resurrection, 239 1448

MUR

- Musenum conference between Antony, Octavius, and S Pompey at, 51, 476
 Mithridates regains great part of his kingdom and defeats M Pabius, 4, 23
 — defeats Triarius, 4, 24
 — declines battle with Lucullus, 4, 25
 — presses (Appadocia) 4 27
 — war against, committed to Pompey, 4, 29
 — defeated by Pompey, 5 31
 — expels Mithanes from Bosphorus, 6, 45
 — schemes of, against Rome, 8, 64
 — death of, 9, 74
 Mithridates III, king of Parthia, 11, 125
 Mithridates, Pargameus 32 280
 — charged by Caesar to bring succours from Syria to Egypt, 33, 286
 — assembles his forces at Ascalon, *ib*
 — takes Pelusium, 33, 287
 — defeats the Egyptians at the Jews' camp, 33, 288
 — made king by Caesar with a Tetrarchy in Galatia, 35, 304
 Mithridates II, king of Commagene, 60, 728
 Mithridates, son of Artabanus, taken prisoner, and released by Amleus the Jew, 241, 1457
 Mithridates, son-in-law of Artabanus, slain in battle by Amleus, 243 1464
 Mithridates, brother of Pharasmanes, nominated king of Armenia 244 1474
 — invades Armenia and defeats the Parthians, 276, 1851
 — besieged in Armenia by Pharnaces and Rhadamistus, 292 1752
 — surrenders and is put to death, 293, 1754
 Mithridates, king of Bosphorus, 271, 1623
 — sent prisoner to Rome, 289, 1733
 Mitylene, residence of M Agrippa at, 86, 700 87, 708
 Mizirah, the ancient Magadan, 208, 1325
 M'Kamei *See* Macherus
 Mockery of King Agrippa at Alexandria, 257, 1536
 — of Our Lord, 233, 1440 235, 1441
 Moneses, a Parthian refugee with Antony, 69, 516
 Moneses, a Parthian general, invades Armenia, 329, 1935
 — besieges Tigranocerta, *ib*
 Money-changers in the Temple, who they were, 231, 1437
 Monobazus king of Adiabene, is succeeded by his son Izates, 257, 1525
 Monobazus, brother of Izates, becomes a Jewish proselyte, 268, 1783
 Monobazus, son of Izates, succeeds his father as king of Adiabene, 329 1933
 Months, Jewish, the number of days in, 360, 2152
 — were lunar, 312 2003
 — calendar of for A D 70 358, 2117
 Morini, position of, 15, 136
 — Caesar's march to, *ib*
 — attack the crews of two of Caesar's ships, 17, 149
 Mothene overthrown by an earthquake, 163 1093
 Mount of Beatitudes, site of, 199, 1268, 1269
 Mourning, duration of, among the Jews, 126 919
 — ordered for a year at Rome on the death of Lavin, 177, 1176
 Murmus is prefect of Syria, 347, 2044
 — Titus sent to, by Vespasian, 347, 2044
 — ordered by Vespasian to Italy, 355, 2107
 Munda, battle of 84 329
 Murena, L. Lucius Varro, conspiracy and death of, 88 711

MUR

- Marcus, Lucius Statius, is prefect of Syria, 43, 365
 — besieges Bassus in Apames, 43, 300
 — joins the party of Cassius, 15, 383
 Musa, Antonius, applies the cold water cure to Augustus, 65, 698
 Mylusa reduced by Labienus, 51, 441
 Myliuua a city of Asia, overthrown by an earthquake, 163, 1093
 Myus Hormus, a town visited by Albus Gallus, 87, 708

NACHEBUS an Arabian general, slain by Herod, 108, 835

Navia, Emma, wife of Macro, commits suicide, 265, 1530

Naim, site of, 200, 1273

Nads of Temple at Jerusalem, 94, 745 101, 791

Napate or Tanape taken by Petronius, 84, 691

Narcissus, the freedman of Claudius, put to death, 340, 2068

Narcissus, another freedman, put to death, 840, 2068

Nasidius defeated by M. Agrippa, 72, 605

Nathaniel, a disciple of the Baptist, 176, 1174

— brought by Philip to Jesus, 180, 1190

— native of Cana in Galilee, 181, 1192

Nativity, date of, xxi And 116, 860

Nazareth visited by Our Lord, 192, 1238

— a second time, 202, 1286

Nazareth, the vow of, and expense attending it, 314, 1859 275, 1642

— the vow of, taken by St. Paul, 300, 1702

Neapolis visited by Paul and Silas, 294, 1764

Neapolis meaning of, as applied to Ephesus, 309, 1838

Nepi Kady, a town of Arabia, 86, 706

Nero, Cl. Drusus, son of Livia, born: 55, 491

Nero, Claudius Caesar, son of Agrippina and Domitius, born, 173, 1168 265, 1537

— pupil of Seneca, 239, 1729

— adopted by Claudius, 291, 1740

— assumes the toga virilis, 292, 1749

— pleads before Claudius, 292, 1749

— marries Octavia, 290, 1735

— pleads for the Iliads and Rhododendron, 299, 1785

— succeeds Claudius as emperor, 302, 1803

— assassinates C. Jun Silanus, 302, 1806

— puts Narcissus to death, 303, 1807

— checked by Burrhus and Seneca, 303, 1808

— renounces part of the judicial prerogative, 303, 1810

— consul: for two months, 304, 1819

— enmeshed of Acte, a courtesan, 301, 1819

— removes Pallas from office, 301, 1819

— poisons Britannicus, 304, 1820

— quotes Agrippina from the palace, 304, 1821

— low lived amusements of, 306, 1826

— consul: for six months, 307, 1830

— consul: for four months, 312, 1844

— banishes Silius, 312, 1850

— banishes Poppaea, 312, 1851

— attempts the life of his mother Agrippina, 317, 1858 1860

— causes her to be assassinated, 317, 1871

— returns to Naples, 317, 1872

— returns to Rome, 317, 1873

— celebrates games in honour of Agrippina, 317, 1875

— forms a picnic on the site of the Vatican, 317, 1875

— institutes the Iuvenalia, 317, 1876

— forms the band of Augustus, 318, 1877

NUR

- consul: for six months, 318, 1882
 — institutes Quinquennalia called Neronia, 310, 1883
 — suffers from illness, 319, 1885
 — dedicates the gymnasium, 324, 1909
 — divorces Octavia and marries Poppaea, 326, 1924
 — banishes Octavia and recalls her, 326, 1925
 — again banishes her, 327, 1926
 — puts her to death, 327, 1927
 — puts Pallas and Domitius to death, 329, 1934
 — has a daughter by Poppaea, 331, 1944
 — appears on the public stage, 332, 1949
 — is at Beneventum on his way to Greece, 333, 1951
 — returns to Rome, 333, 1952
 — proposes to visit Egypt, 333, 1953
 — abandons the design, 333, 1954
 — at Antium at the great fire of Rome, 333, 1955
 — imputes it to the Christians and persecutes them, 333, 1956
 — builds the golden palace, 334, 1957
 — conspiracy of Pico against, 334, 1955
 — orders executions in consequence, 335, 1956 *et seq*
 — sings on the public stage, 336, 1973
 — puts Ostorius to death, 338, 1954
 — puts to death Mela the brother of Seneca, 338, 1965
 — goes to Baucalis, 338, 1980
 — entertains Tiridates at Puteoli, 338, 1988
 — accompanies him to Rome, 339, 1989
 — crowns Tiridates, 339, 1989
 — salutes emperor, 339, 1989
 — goes to Greece, 340, 1994
 — conquers at the Olympia, 340, 1995
 — puts Caesena Tuscus to death for having used his baths, 340, 1997
 — issues edicts against the study of philosophy, 341, 2000
 — puts Corbulo to death, 347, 2052
 — crowned victor at the Isthmian and other games, 347, 2053
 — proclaims the liberty of Greece, 347, 2053
 — attempts to ent through the Isthmus of Corinth, 347, 2055
 — returns to Italy, 347, 2057
 — enters Rome &c as Olympic victor, 348, 2058
 — death of, 349, 2066
 Neronia, games so called, instituted, 319, 1883
 Nicodemus, an envoy from Antioch to Pompey, b, 55
 Nicodemus, a member of the Sanhedrim, visits Jesus, 184, 1208
 — supports His cause, in the Sanhedrim, 209, 1332
 — opposes the designs of the Pharisees against Jesus, 209, 1339
 — probably opposes the final sentence against Jesus, 234, 1441
 Nicolaus of Damascus born, 8, 67
 — sent on embassy by Herod to Rome, 110, 844
 — appeases Augustus, 110, 845
 — returns from Rome and meets Herod at Tyre, 113, 859
 — sails with him to Caesarea, 114, 860
 — accompanies Archelaus to Rome, 128, 927
 Nicopolis at Actium founded, 76, 641
 — visited by Germanicus, 164, 1099
 — and by St. Paul, 434, 1993
 Nicopolis, the ancient Emmaus, 147, 1013 230, 1448
 Nisibis or Antioch in Mesopotamia, 4, 22
 Nola, Augustus dies at, 167, 1063
 Norbanus, C., sent by the Triumvirate to Greece, 48, 412, 413
 Nomenium disturbance in, 98, 756
 Nomenium disturbance in, 98, 756

OAT

- OATH** of allegiance to Cæsar and Herod, 116, 867
 — to Herod only, *ib*
Obodas is king of Petra, 81, 688
 — Syllæus chief minister of, 100, 783
 — illness of, 103, 835
 — death of, 110, 840
Octavia, sister of Augustus, marries Marcus, 55, 479
 — on his death marries Antony, 53, 459
 — has a child, 63, 479
 — sent by Antony to Italy, 55, 515
 — returns from Rome and is at Athens, 60, 575
 — returns to Rome, 69, 577
 — death of, 103, 798
Octavia, daughter of Claudius, marries Nero, 209, 1785
 — divorced, 226, 1924
 — banished, 326, 1025
 — recalled, *ib*
 — again banished, 327, 1926
 — put to death, 327, 1927
Octavius, C. *See* Augustus
Oikoumenê, sense of, in Luke, 109, 833
Olba subject to Polemo I., 51, 480
Olympus poisoned by Nero, 335, 1964
 — Nero crowned at, 340, 1986
 — attended by Herod, 107, 830, 102, 793
 — celebrated at Antioch, 281, 1885
Olympus, Josephus's calculation of, 2, 10, and references there
Olympus Herod's envoy to Rome, 110, 844, 846
Onesiphorus comforts Paul at Ephesus and Rome, 333, 1981
Ophela built by Titus, 360, 2151
Ophrah or Ephraim, now Layyich, 219, 1377
Oreses king of the Albani, 0, 46
Orestina, Cornelia, marries Calpurnia, 255, 1626
Oreum taken by Cleon, 30, 261
 — retaken by Pompey, 30, 262
Orodes I., king of Parthia, 2, 8, 11, 125
 — resigns the crown and dies, 69, 516
Orodes II., king of Parthia, 159, 1082
 — slain, *ib*
Orodes, son of Artabanus, sent against the Iberi, 211, 1475
 — defeated and slain, 211, 1478
Oroses, a Parthian general, slain by Cassius, 25, 211
Orel, force of in Luke, 220, 1381
Ostia, port of built by Claudius, 271, 1639
Ostorius, P. sabinus and takes Caractacus in Britain, 291, 1744
 — put to death, 338, 1984
Orto, husband of Poppæa, 312, 1851
 — becomes emperor, 353, 2084
 — dies, 353, 2088
Ovid, date of exile of, 154, 1042

PAR

- out of favour with Nero, 303, 1893
 — removed from office, 304, 1819
 — screens his brother Felix, 320, 1891
 — put to death, 320, 1934
Palm Sunday, 230, 1436
Pamphylia comprised under the republic Pisidia and Phrygia Minor, 103, 799
 — annexed to the province of Cilicia, 24, 191
 — governed by a proprietor of its own, 103, 799
 — Lycia is annexed to, 277, 1656
 — part of, given by Antony to Amyntas, 65, 551
 — restored on his death to its former state, 82, 675
 — Lucius Piso prefect of, 103, 799
Panathæna, 160, 776
Pines included in the grant by Antony to Cleopatra, 64, 537
 — felled out to Leon or Zenodorus, *ib*
 — bestowed by Augustus on Herod, 90, 780
 — visited by Our Lord, 207, 1319
Pannonia, disturbance in, 96, 766
 — revolt of, 101, 766, 103, 812, 115, 1005, 314, 2066
 — success of Germanicus in, 118, 1020
 — sued for peace, 149, 1023
 — mutiny of legions of, 158, 1060
Pantæcræsum, death of Mithridates at, 9, 74
Paphlagonia subject to Attalus, 7, 55
 — on his death to Castor, 50, 435
 — then to Dejotarus Philadelphus, the last king, 50, 435
 — annexed to Bithynia, 50, 435
Paphos, earthquake at, 97, 759
 — visited by Paul and Barnabas, 284, 1695
Pappus, a general of Artabanus, defeated by Herod, 58, 509
Parable of the Jew who hid among thieves, 221, 1401
 — of the foolish man that built new barns, 221, 1404
 — of the fig-tree, *ib* And 225, 1409
 — of the labourers in the vineyard, 221, 1431
Parson ten days' reprieve decreed in favour of the condemned, to allow time for, 160, 1134
Παρασκευῆ, meaning of, xxv And 230, 1441
Παραθύς, in what sense used by Josephus, 91, 733
Parus visited by Libanus, 112, 850
Parthians under Senatruces 2, 8
 — Phraates III., *ib*
 — Mithridates III., *ib*
 — Orodes I. *ib*, and 26, 239
 — Phraates IV., 39, 516
 — Phraates, 159, 1062
 — Orodes II., 159, 1082
 — Vonones I., 161, 1075
 — Artabanus, 161, 1077
 — Gotarzes, 275, 1649
 — Vardanes, *ib*
 — Gotarzes, 285, 1702
 — Vonones II., 291, 1745
 — Volages, *ib*
 — deprived of Gordiyene by Pompey, 0, 50
 — invaded by Gabinius, 11, 125, 126
 — invaded by Crassus, 18, 155
 — again invaded by Crassus, 22, 182
 — Crassus, father and son, slain in battle with, 22, 183, 184
 — invade Syria, 25, 208
 — retreat of, 25, 210
 — at what time, 28, 240
 — successful ambush of Cassius against, 25, 211
 — pacified by Romans with, 30, 212, 27, 281
 — aid Crassus, 39, 339
 — preparations by Cæsar for war with, 11, 347

- PACORUS** brought to Bactria in Apamea, 30, 339
 — invades Syria, 51, 440, 442
 — gets possession of Jerusalem, 12, 451
 — makes Artabanus king of Judæa, 62, 453
 — slain by Ventidius, 57, 498
Pacorus, son of Artabanus, 275, 1648
Patus, Cæcennius is prefect of Armenia, 329, 1936
 — prefect of Syria, 361, 2159
Pactus, Thrasea put to death, 330, 1990, 1991
Palace of Herod rebuilt, 85, 715
 — Golden, of Nero at Rome, 284, 1957
Paul is (the freedman) the slave of Antonin, 215, 1354
 — in great favour at court, 287, 1717
 — the paragon of Agrippina, 303, 1808

PAR

- invade Syria, 51 440, 442
- take Jerusalem, and make Antigonus king, 52, 451, 453
- defeated by Ventidius, 55, 462, 483
- again defeated by Ventidius, 57, 498
- invaded by Antony, 65 543
- disastrous retreat of Antony before, 65, 548
- standards taken by, from Crassus and Antony, restored, 80, 726
- deliver hostages to Titus, prefect of Syria, 104, 810
- resign Armenia to the Romans, 130, 975
- Roman war with, 303, 1911 *et seq*
- carried on by Corbulo, 312, 1845 *et seq*
- dates of proceedings in connection with 320, 1935
- embassy of, to Rome, 320, 1935 331, 1945 *et seq*
- war with, resumed, 331, 1945 *et seq*
- Paschal sacrifices, on what day slain, אָפֶסַח And 230, 1434 231, 1440
- Passover, how calculated by the Jews, אָפֶסַח And 231 1508
- occurs during siege of Jerusalem by Hyrcanus and Aretas, 6, 43
- whether *אָפֶסַח* of John 1, 1, was a Passover, 195, 1255
- time of, in the year of the Crucifixion, 230, 1434 231, 1440
- on what day it was eaten by Our Lord, אָפֶסַח
- attended by Vitellius, 238, 1495
- Paul and Luke at Philipp at time of, 213, 1856
- great loss of life at, 290, 1736
- a prisoner went to be released by the Romans at, 235, 1441
- next after the death of Herod, 126, 820 127, 924
- at the Crucifixion, 230, 1433 231, 1440
- usually attended by Joseph and Mary, 119, 1026
- washing the head, hands, and feet, a usual ceremony before, 232, 1440
- accompanied with hymns and prayer, *ib*
- Passovers, Table of, 241 1458
- number of, during Christ's ministry, xlv And 182 1200
- Passports, system of, under Augustus, 78 652
- Patei Patria, the title of, conferred on Augustus, 136, 960
- Paternulus, Vellius, is questor, 148, 1017
- legate under Tiberius, *ib*
- Patre taken by Agrippa, 72, 605
- Patrobus the freedman, put to death by Galba, 340, 2068
- Paul St., born 150, 1085
- at Tarsus, with Apollonius Tyanæus, 152, 1041 290, 1738
- leaves Tarsus, and placed under Gamaliel, 166, 1118
- a young man at the death of St Stephen, 202, 1512
- a member of the Sanhedrim, *ib*
- persecutes the Christians at Jerusalem, 252, 1514
- starts for Damascus, *ib*
- converted by the way at Kaukab, *ib*
- date of conversion of, lxxv And 252, 1515
- arrives at Damascus, 253, 1516
- restored to sight, 254, 1517
- partially blind ever after, 315, 1862
- returns to Arabia, 254, 1518
- preaches at Damascus 253, 1542
- Jews seek the life of, at Damascus, 263 1580

PAU

- returns to Jerusalem, 264, 1581
- disputes with the Hellenists, 264, 1582
- retires to Caesarea on sea on his way to Tarsus, *ib*
- preaches in Cilicia and Syria, 264, 1583
- brought by Barnabas from Tarsus to Antioch 278, 1665
- goes with Barnabas to Jerusalem with the alms of the Antiochian Church, lxxv And 279 1673
- experiences the rupture, 279, 1672
- returns to Antioch 279, 1673
- makes his first circuit, 284 1695
- traverses Cyprus *ib*
- and Pamphylia and Lycæonia, 285, 1703
- returns to Antioch, 285 1706
- duration of the first circuit of, 285, 1707
- sojourns at Antioch, 287, 1721
- goes with Barnabas to Jerusalem on the question of circumcision, 288, 1722 *et seq*
- commences a second circuit with Silas, 290, 1738
- traverses Syria and Cilicia, *ib*
- adopts Timothy at Lystra, *ib*
- plants churches in Phrygia and Galatia 292, 1747
- crosses to Macedonia, 294, 1763 *et seq*
- scourged at Philippi 294, 1765
- passes on to Thessalonica, 294, 1766 *et seq*
- retires to Berea, 294, 1768
- is at Athens, 294 1769 *et seq*
- brought before the Areopagus, 295, 1772
- returns to Corinth, 297, 1778
- date of arrival of there, lxxv
- writes first Epistle to the Thessalonians, 297, 1779
- writes second Epistle to the Thessalonians, 298 1780
- indicted by the Jews before Gallio, 300, 1791
- departs from Corinth, and shaves his head at Cenchrea, 300 1792
- duration of stay of, at Corinth, 300, 1793
- touches at Ephesus, 300, 1794
- goes to the Feast of Tabernacles at Jerusalem, 300, 1794 *et seq*
- time of visit of, 300 1795
- object of, 301, 1796
- goes down to Antioch, 301, 1797
- commences his third circuit, 304 1815
- visits Galatia and Phrygia, 303 1815, 1816
- makes a collection there for the poor saints, 303, 1816
- comes to Ephesus, 303, 1816 *et seq*
- writes the Epistle to the Galatians, 305, 1825
- date of the Epistle, *ib*
- sends Timothy and Erastus to Macedonia, 300, 1829
- derangement of plans of, 308, 1835
- writes first Epistle to the Corinthians, 309, 1836
- date of the Epistle, *ib*
- danger of, from the plot of Demetrius the silversmith, 309, 1838
- leaves Ephesus, 310, 1839
- at Troas and thence to Macedonia, *ib et seq*
- makes a collection for the poor saints 310, 1840
- writes second Epistle to the Corinthians, 310, 1841
- date of it, *ib*
- preaches in Illyricum, 311 1842
- passes the winter at Corinth, 311 1843
- writes the Epistle to the Romans, 313, 1854
- leaves Corinth for Jerusalem, 314, 1856
- from an ambush laid against him, is obliged to go round by Macedonia, 313, 1855
- at Philippi at the Passover, lxxv And 313, 1856
- at Thracia, 313 1857
- preaches in Lydæus, 314 1857

PAU

- arrives at Casarea, 314, 1857
- at Jerusalem, *ib*
- has an audience with James the Just 314, 1858
- pays the charge of the Nazarene who had taken a vow, 314, 1859
- set upon, but rescued, in the Temple, 314, 1860
- date of the arrest of, *lxiii*
- brought before the Sanhedrim, 316, 1861, 1862
- insulted by Ananias, 315, 1862
- conspiracy of Jews against, 316, 1863
- sent to Caesarea, *ib*
- accused before Felix, 316, 1864
- discourses with Felix, 316, 1867
- brought before Festus, and appeals to Caesar, 320, 1895-8
- sails for Rome, 320, 1899
- date of the voyage of, *io*
- shipwrecked at Malta, 322, 1900
- sails in the Castor and Pollux for Rome, 325, 1910
- arrives at Rome, *io et seq*
- writes the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, and to Philemon 340, 1938
- writes the Epistle to the Philippians, 330, 1939
- after a year is released, 331, 1940
- date of release, *lxxx*
- writes the Epistle to the Hebrews, 331, 1941
- date of it, *ib*
- sails to Jerusalem, 331, 1942
- revisits Antioch and Celosse, *ib*
- sails to Crete, 334, 1953
- returns to Ephesus, *ib*
- visits Macedonia and Corinth, *ib*
- writes Epistles to Timothy and Titus, *ib*
- writes at Nicopolis in Epirus, 337, 1981
- visits Dalmatia, *ib*
- returns by way of Trous to Ephesus, *ib*
- arrested at Ephesus and sent prisoner to Rome, 338, 1981
- writes second Epistle to Timothy, 340, 1993
- martyrdom of, 341, 1995
- Paulina, Lollia, marries Calpurnia, 266, 1532
- divorced, *ib*
- Paulus Sergius, proconsul of Cyprus, 284, 1695
- Pedanius commissioned to take the census of Judea, 109, 835
- sits as one of the judges at the trial of Herod's sons, 113, 857
- Pelagius Secundus, prefect of Rome, murdered, 324, 1908
- Pelignus, Julius, is procurator of Cappadocia 293, 1768
- Pelusium, defeat of the Egyptians at, by Gabinius, 15, 129
- taken by Mithridates, 38, 287
- taken by Octavius Caesar, 76, 633
- Pentecost, how day of, calculated, *xi*
- Jesus is at Jerusalem at the Feast of, 190, 1255
- disturbance at, after the death of Herod, 128, 931
- after the death of Caligula, 251, 1510
- descent of the Holy Ghost on Day of, 240, 1451
- Persea, boundaries of, 229, 1426
- Pherorus is made tetrarch of, 90, 731
- given, on death of Herod, to Herod Antipas, 130, 949
- Jesus crosses the Jordan into, 220, 1425
- Jews of, at war with Philadelphians, 281, 1680
- Perga visited by St. Paul, 285, 1703
- Pertinax, Antony, defeated at, 73, 628
- Petusa taken by Octavius, 50, 486
- Peter, St., a disciple of the Baptist, 176, 1174
- a native of Bethsaida, 180, 1190

PIA

- domiciled at Ciperneum, *ib*
- called to be an apostle, 191, 1235
- when first called Peter, 198, 1267
- avows Jesus to be the Messiah, 219, 1380
- a witness of the Transfiguration 220, 1381
- abandons his wife and home to follow Christ, 229, 1430
- follows Jesus to Cnaphas, 233, 1440
- denies Him, *ib*
- Jesus appears to, after the Resurrection, 239, 1448
- cures the cripple at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple, 240, 1452
- arrested by the Sadducees, 240, 1453
- sent with John to evangelize Samaria, 258, 1544, 1545
- receives Paul at Jerusalem, 264, 1581
- circuit of, through Judaea, Samaria, and Galilee, 268, 1607
- arrested by King Agrippa, 279, 1671
- delivered from prison by the angel, *ib*
- rebuked by Paul at Antioch, 301, 1797
- martyrdom of, 336, 1980
- Peter, St., site of Cathedral of, at Rome, 317, 1875
- Petra subject to Arcas, 6, 40
- to Malchus, 34, 286
- to Obodas, 34, 698
- to Arctas, 110, 840 256, 1533
- to Abas, 208, 1783
- expedition of Pompey against, 10, 84
- of Gabinius against 14, 125 15, 132
- Petronius, prefect of Egypt, *xxi* And 84, 697
- defeats the Pharnabaz, 54, 691
- defeats them a second time, 53, 714
- Petronius, i.e., P. Petronius Turpilianus, is appointed prefect of Syria, 260, 1554
- ordered to erect the statue of Caligula in the Temple, 260, 1558
- perplexity of, 262, 1563
- marches to Acre, 262, 1564 *et seq*
- assembles the Jews at Libema, 262, 1568, 1569
- returns with his army to Antioch, 260, 1593
- and writes excuses to Caligula, 268, 1594
- who disguises his anger, 266, 1587
- ordered to drop the affair of the statue, and shortly afterwards ordered again to proceed with it, 267, 1596
- ordered to make away with himself, 269, 1613
- superseded as prefect, 276, 1647
- procurator of Britain, 324, 1906
- Pevney thought by some to be the scene of Caesar's landing, 21, 177-8
- Pharisees chosen high priest 348, 2059
- Pharsapanes, king of the Iberi, 214, 1474
- makes war on Mithridates, king of Armenia, 292, 1752
- and puts him to death, 293, 1754
- has grant from the Romans of part of Armenia, 319, 1887
- Pharisees, the anti-Roman party, 205, 1327
- spread report of the birth of the Messiah, 119, 883
- punished by Herod, 119, 884
- at first favour John the Baptist, 175, 1172
- send to enquire into his pretensions, 178, 1184
- plot against Christ, 186, 1219
- Pharnabazes, king of Iberia, is conquered by Canidius Crassus, 63, 535
- Pharnaces, king of Bosphorus, 7, 55
- slain by Alexander, 33, 304
- Pharsalia, battle of, 31, 269
- Phasaelus, given on death of Herod to Salome, 131, 951

PIA

- bequeathed by her to Livia, 177, 1179
- Phasaelus, son of Antipater and brother of Herod, is captain of Judaea, 36, 310
- puts down Elx, an insurgent, 47, 401
- accused to Antony, 49, 413
- defeats the partisans of Antigonus, 52, 450
- goes on embassy to Bazarphrus the Parthian, and made prisoner, 52, 451
- delivered up to Antigonus, 52, 454
- kills himself, 52, 455
- Phasis, a river of Colchis, visited by Pompey, 6, 47
- Pharisees appointed tetrarch of Perzia, 90, 731
- calumniate the sons of Mariamne to Herod, 98, 768
- attempt to escape to the Parthians, 101, 808
- the wife of, pays the fine laid on the Pharisees for refusing the oath of allegiance, 116, 867
- conspires against Herod, 116, 876
- charges against the wife of 119, 884
- trial of wife of 120, 887
- return to Perzia, 121, 893
- dies, 121, 894
- Philadelphus of Asia, overthrown by an earthquake, 163, 1093
- Philadelphus of Palestine, defeat of Arabians by Herod at, 72, 604
- massacre of the Jews at, 313, 2011
- is at war with Jews of Perzia, 281, 1680
- Philemon, date of Epistle to, 350, 1938
- Philip, Herod. See Herod Philip
- Philip, a disciple of John the Baptist, 176, 1174
- called to be a disciple, 180, 1190
- Philip, the deacon, evangelizes a city of Samaria, 258, 1543
- converts the Ethiopian eunuch, 258, 1546, 1647
- Philippi, battle of, 18, 414
- visited by Paul and Silas, 294, 1764
- they are scourged at, 291, 1765
- Philippian, date of Epistle to, 340, 1939
- Philippus is prefect of Syria, 12, 101
- Philo sent on embassy to Rome, 206, 1639
- proceedings of, there, 259, 1551 260, 1557, 1559 267, 1000
- Philopator, son of Tarcondimotus is deprived by Octavius of Cilicia Ammanensis, 73, 618
- dies, 163, 1086 271, 1623
- Philosophy, Nero's edicts against the study of, 311, 2000
- Philegon, testimony of to the supernatural darkness at the Crucifixion, xlv And 237, 1442
- Phoenicia subject to Tigranes, 3, 18
- Phraataces usurps the crown of Parthia, 150, 1062
- assassinated, 159, 1062
- Phrates III., or Theus, succeeds his father as king of Parthia, 2, 8
- is victor over Tigranes, 7, 62
- reconciled to Tigranes, 7, 63
- assassinated by his sons, 4, 8
- Phraates IV., king of Parthia, puts his father and brother to death, 59, 516
- makes terms with Octavius, 77, 644
- corresponds with Augustus, 130, 972
- makes peace with Chosro, 130, 975
- put to death, 159, 1062
- Phraates a candidate for the throne of Parthia, sent by Iubarus to Parthia, 241, 1473
- dies by the way, 16
- Phrygia evangelized by Paul and Silas, 292, 1747
- revisited by Paul, 303, 1815
- Pilate Pontius, succeeds Gratus as procurator of Judaea, 172, 1180
- character of 16
- quarrels with Herod 224, 1407

POL

- pays Herod the compliment of sending Jesus to him for examination, 236, 1441
- reconciled to Herod, 235, 1441
- sentences Jesus to death, 247, 1441
- accused by the Samaritans before Vitellius, 247, 1492
- deposed, 247, 1493
- date of removal of, xviii
- commits suicide, 268, 1806
- Pindemachus taken by Cicero, 26, 214
- Piscus, the dominant zodiacal sign of the Jews, 108, 834 110, 839 118, 878
- Pisgab Mount, thought by some to be the mount of the Temptation, 178, 1182
- Pisidia formerly comprised in Cilicia, 21, 191
- given to Amyntas, 65, 480
- comprised in the province of Galatia, 82, 676 283, 1703
- Piso, C., conspiracy of, against Nero, 335, 1955
- Piso, G., succeeds Silanus as prefect of Syria, 163, 1090
- overtakes Germanicus at Rhodes, 164, 1100
- proceeds to Syria, 16
- quarrels with Germanicus, 166, 1110 *et seq*
- takes him off by poison, 166, 1112
- eulogious on his death to recover Syria, 166, 1114 *et seq*
- besieged by Sentius, and surrenderers, and sent to Rome, 166, 1117
- goes to Illyricum to appease Drusus, 167, 1126
- death of, 16
- Piso, Lu., prefect of Pamphylia, 103, 799
- Piso, Iu., prefect of Spain, is assassinated, 171, 1156
- Piso, Lu., praetor of Italy, 156, 1050
- death of, 216, 1365
- Piso Lu., adopted by Galba, 362, 2081
- Plague in Judaea, 63, 683
- in Italy, 88, 710 336, 1976
- Pliniasia an island near Corsica, 148, 1019
- Plinius appointed procurator of Asia by Antony, 50, 434
- Plinius, L. Minnatus, is prefect of Syria, 66, 555 66, 572 69, 581
- deserts from Antony to Octavius, 70, 585
- Plantius, Aulus, sent to command in Britain, 274, 1641
- surrenders his army to Clodius, 277, 1660
- triumph of, 286, 1710
- wife of, a Christian, 307, 1831
- Plantius, while in Asia, calumniated at Rome, 326, 1021
- put to death, 326, 1923
- Players expelled from Italy, 308, 1826
- Pleades, setting of, at siege of Jerusalem by Antiochus Sidetes, 61, 525
- Poison, frequent use of, 192, 997
- Polemo I. is priest of Olbia, 60, 435 63, 545 546
- king of part of Cilicia, 66, 480
- negotiates with the king of Armenia, 67, 556
- made king of Armenia Minor, 69, 579
- enrolled 'Friend of Roman People,' 81, 670
- sent against Scombonis, and made king of Bosphorus, 97, 761
- is priest of the Temple of Augustus, 137, 966 b
- still living in a c. 2, 137, 966 a
- captured in Bosphorus and slain, 16
- Polemo II., son of Polemo I., assists Pythodorus in the government, 137, 966 a
- is king of Colchis, Pontus, and Bosphorus, 256, 1533
- deprived of Bosphorus, and receives instead part of Cilicia, 271, 1623

POL

- receives from the Romans part of Armenia, 319, 1887
- resigns the kingdom of Pontus, 316 1881
- Polion, Rufius, is praetor of the Praetorium, 281, 1684
- Politarchs, magistrates of Thessalonica 294, 1767
- Pollio the Phinisee refuses the oath of allegiance to Herod, 116, 867
- Pollio, a prefect of the Praetorium, 333, 2089
- Polydectus, a Roman surveyor, 10, 343
- Pompeii suffers from an earthquake, 829, 1937
- Pompeius, Paulinus, completes entrenchments on the Rhine begun by Drusus 312, 1852
- Pompey appointed to conduct the war against Mithridates, 4, 29
- meets Lucullus at Danalia, 4, 30
- besieges Mithridates in Armenia, 5, 31
- receives submission of Tigranes, 5, 33
- pursues Mithridates into Albania and Iberia, 5, 38
- writes on the Cynus, 5, 39
- carries on the war in Albania and Iberia, 6, 46
- enters Colchis, 6, 47
- subdues Commagene and Media, 6, 49
- and Gordyene, 6, 50
- holds a levee at Amisus, 6, 51
- deposes Antiochus Asiaticus, the last of the kings of Syria, 6, 52
- makes other political arrangements, 6, 53 to 7, 58
- enters Syria, 7, 59
- goes to Damascus, 7, 61
- reconciles Pharaotes and Tigranes, 8, 36
- winters at Aegae, 8, 66
- proceeds to Damascus, 8, 68-70
- receives Jewish embassy, 8, 71
- marches against Aristobulus, 8, 73
- and on his submission against Petra, 8, 73
- turns about and goes to Jerusalem, 9, 76
- renas operations against Petra, 10, 84
- leaves Scapulus in command of Syria, 10, 85
- goes to Amisus in Pontus, 10, 86
- sets out for Italy, 11, 91
- arrives there, 11, 92, 93
- triumph of, 11, 99
- appointed to Spain, 14, 124
- sole consul, 23, 187
- flies to Brundisium, 29, 244 245
- winters at Thessalonica, 30, 254
- catches Oncom, 30, 262
- besieged in Mytileneum 30, 263 31, 267
- follows Caesar to Thurassi, 31, 267
- Battle of Pharsalia, 31, 269
- sails to Lesbos, 31, 270
- to Attalia, 31, 271
- to Cyprus, 31, 272
- assassinated at Casum, 31, 273 32, 274
- Pompey, Sextus, blockades Italy 19, 429
- alliance of, with Antony, 51, 444
- ravages the coasts of Italy, 51 445
- sails to Inara, 54, 475
- meets Octavius and Antony at Misenum, 54, 476
- and again at Puteoli, when terms are arranged, 54, 477
- again at war with Octavia, 56, 492
- defeated by Octavius and flies to Lesbos, 63, 533
- despairs or rid from Antony, 66, 552
- communicates with the Parthians, 66, 553
- surrenders to Amyntas, 66, 554
- slain, 66
- Pontifex Maximus, Metellus Pius, 10, 89
- C. J. Cassius, 16
- Lepidus, 41, 363
- Augustus 99 775

PRE

- Tiberius 159, 1063
- Pontifical robes, custody of, committed by Vitellius to the Jews, 248, 1495
- ordered to be kept in Antonia, 283, 1690
- restored to the Jews by Claudius, 283, 1691
- Pontine Marshes draining of, proposed by Caesar, 41, 346
- Pontus, Dejotarus is king of, 6, 53
- bestowed on Darius, son of Pharnaces, 55, 480
- given to Polmo I., 64, 537 65, 545
- part of, annexed to Bithynia, 290, 1734
- Pontus Polemoniacus Leontis a Roman province, 311, 1998 313, 1881
- Pontus, in Bithynia, Junius Cilo procurator of, 290, 1734
- Poppaea Sabina gains an influence over Nero, 312, 1851
- a Jewish proselyte and friend of the Jews, 321, 1913
- married to Nero, 326, 1924
- patronises Josephus, 332, 1950
- calumniates Octavia, 327, 1926
- death and burial of, 330, 1974
- Popular provinces, what were, 80, 666
- Prasapa, capital of Media, besieged by Antony, 65, 546 274, 1636
- Prators, number of, 39, 333 40, 341 56, 489 88, 703 162, 1040 158, 1057 274, 1636
- time of election of, lxiv
- comitia of, committed to the senate, 319, 1890
- practice of Tiberius as to appointment of, 216, 1367
- interval between time of office of, and prefecture of a province, 300, 1790
- Pratorian camp at Rome formed by Sejanus, 170, 1145
- Praetorium at Jerusalem was Herod's palace, 234 1441
- Praetorium at Rome, Scius Strabo was prefect of, 158, 1058
- Ailius Sejanus, 16
- Macro, 215, 1357
- Catonius Junia, 277, 1658
- Rufius Polion, 281, 1684
- Crispinus, 286, 1712
- Gellius, 287, 1718
- Burrhus 292, 1750
- Tigellinus and Fenius Rufus, 326, 1919
- Nymphidius Sabinus, 335, 1968
- Corn. Laeo, 349 2069
- Flotus Firmus and Licinius Proculus, 353 2085
- Pollio, 353, 2089
- Publius Sotinus and Jul. Priscus, 353, 2092
- Arrius Varus 356, 2110
- Pratorius, a faction at Antioch, 263, 1579
- Præputium, Mount of, 124, 1236
- Prefects, extraordinary list of, 228, 1223
- continued on any occasion for two years in the senate or people's provinces, 114, 1001
- in the imperial provinces, held office for three to six years, 168, 1128
- ordered to leave Rome by June 150 1089
- then by 1 April, 274 1637
- then by middle of April 270, 1655
- period of arrival of, in the provinces of the East, 117, 873
- ordered to return to Rome at the end of their prefecture, 283, 1689
- prohibited from celebrating games at the expense of their subjects, 307, 1830
- Primmis taken by Petronius and fortified, 84, 601
- assailed by the Ethiopians, but relieved, 88, 714
- Pterobera, the prefects of the imperial provinces so called, 80, 666

PRE

- Πρεσβύτερος*, meaning of the word, as employed by St. Paul, 130, 1035
 Princeps Javentinus, Caus chosen 111, 848
Princeps, meaning of the word, as applied to Tiberius, 166, 1050
 Priscilla, the wife of Aquila, ordered to leave Rome, 296, 1773
 — meets with Paul at Corinth, 297, 1778
 — sails with Paul from Corinth, 300, 1792
 — parts from Paul at Ephesus, 300, 1794
 Proclus, Cominus, is proconsul of Cyprus, 284, 1895
 Proconsular power conferred on the emperors, 86, 699
 Proconsuls, governors of the senate's or people's provinces so called, 80, 666 See Prefects
 Proculus, Lacinus, prefect of the Pretorium, 353, 2085
 Procurators, power of, increased by Claudius, 299, 1787
 — prohibited from exhibiting games at the expense of their subjects, 307, 1830
 Proprietors, technical meaning of the word under the Empire, 80, 666
 — usual time of tenure of a province by, 150, 1033
Προ ετών διατετασμένων sense of, 270, 1672
Πρόσθεν used for *σπορίαν* 115, 870
 Provinces, distribution of, by Augustus, 79, 666
 — governed by a proprietor, quastor, and legate, 140, 1009 160, 1067 169, 1140
 Psulche taken by Petionius, 84, 691
Πρεσβύτων of the Temple explained 178, 1183
 Ptolemæus taken by Ptoerus, 51, 442
 Ptolemy Auletes king of Egypt 12, 102
 — acknowledged by the Romans, 12, 104
 — ejected by his subjects 12 110
 — restoration decreed by Roman senate, 1d, 120
 — but discussion renewed, 13, 121
 — returns from Rome to Ephesus, 14, 122
 — induces Gabinius to restore him, 11, 126
 — re placed on the throne, 16, 130
 — death of, 23, 188
 Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy Auletes, reigns jointly with Cleopatra, 23, 188
 — ejects Cleopatra, 31, 268
 — marches to Casium, 31, 268
 — entices Pompey to come on shore, 31, 273
 — returns to Alexandria, 32, 276
 — released by Caesar to the Egyptians, 33, 289
 — defeated and slain, 33
 Ptolemy the younger, another son of Ptolemy Auletes, reigns nominally with Cleopatra, 33, 290
 Ptolemy king of Cyprus, 12, 107
 — poisons himself, 12, 109
 Ptolemy, son of Cleopatra by Antony, 63, 570
 — spared by Octavius, 70, 638
 Ptolemy, son of Julia, is king of Mauritania, 171, 1151
 — executed by Caligula, 206, 1598
 Ptolemy Meneses, king of Chelens, 8, 68
 — marries Alexandra, daughter of Anstobulus, 30, 255
 — death of, 51, 439
 Ptolemy Phylæon besieged by Hyrcanus the elder in Dagon, during a Fabbiato year, 61, 525
 Ptolemy, an officer of Herod, is slain, 57, 427
 Publius, primate of Malta, 322, 1901
 Purification of the Virgin Mary, 118, 877
 Purim, Feast of, 212, 1316
 Puteoli, meeting of Octavius, Antony, and S Pompey at, 54, 477
 — arrival of Herod Antipas and Fortunatus at, 260, 1561

ROY

- arrival of Josephus at, 333, 1950
 — bridge from Baulos to 200, 1560
 Pythodora, widow of Polemo I, succeeds to the greater part of her husband's kingdom, 137, 968 a
 — marries Archelaus king of Cappadocia, 137

QUADRATUS, TITUS UMMIDIUS, prefect of Syria, 291, 1746

- orders Pharasmanes to withdraw from Armenia, 283, 1755
 — receives the charge of the Samaritans against the procurator Cumanus, 293, 1761
 — condemns the Samaritans 294, 1762
 — sends Cumanus to Rome, 290, 1775
 — goes to Jerusalem at the Feast of the Passover, and returns to Antioch, 296, 1776
 — meets Calpurnio at Algæ, 303, 1824
 — death of, 319, 1892
 Quæstors, number of 39, 333 162, 1082
 Quæstarius, the place of Our Lord's temptation so called, 178, 1182
 Quinquaginta, two games so called, 317, 1860
 Quinquennialia instituted by Nero, 319, 1883
 — when first celebrated, 324, 1909
 — again celebrated, 326, 1873
 Quintilis, month of, changed to Julius, 40 343
 Quirinus, Publius Sulpicius See Cyrenius

RABBINS, burning of, by Herod, xi And 124, 905

- Rabillius, C, consul, 30, 335
 Rack used by Herod, 114, 862
 Rains, commencement of, in Judæa, 224 1406
 Rapture of St Paul, 279 1672
 Rationarium of the Empire kept by Augustus, 117, 871
 Robulus, Caninus, is consul, 39, 334 335
 Regius of kings, how reckoned by Josephus, xix And 62, 538
 — by the Jews, 13
 — by the Egyptians, 13
 Resurrection of Our Lord, 239, 1448
 Rhadymistus besieges Mithridates, king of Armenia, 292, 1752
 — evacuates Mithridates, 293, 1754
 — driven out of Armenia, 293, 1756
 — recovers Armenia, but expelled by Vologeses, 293, 1756, 1767
 — again recovers Armenia, 13
 Rhæti overthrown by Drusus and Tiberius, 97, 758
 Rhegium, a port at, contemplated by Caligula, 265, 1604
 Rheseupors, king of Bosphorus, 137, 966 a
 Rheseupors, king of Northern Thuce, 100, 1120
 — taken captive and sent to Rome, 167, 1122
 Rhodians have their possessions extended, 18, 420
 — deprived of their liberty, 281, 1683
 Rhodantolæa, king of Northern Thrice 167, 1122
 — assists Rabinus, 172, 1157
 Robes, pontifical, and crown of Agrippa placed in custody of the Jews, 283, 1690, 1691
 Robinson, Jh, in error of, corrected, 225, note
 Romans, date of Epistle to, 313, 1854
 Rome, freedom of, conferred on Cassipine Gaul, 30, 263
 — freedom of, sold in time of Claudius for the merest trifle, 277, 1657
 — part of, burnt down, 173, 1161
 — length of voyage from, to Corinth, 295, 1778
 — great fire at, 333 1955
 Romney Marsh, Caesar lands at, 17, 143 19, 164
 Royalty, a white robe the emblem of, amongst the Jews, 236, 1441

RUF

- Rufus, Annus, is procurator of Judea, 165, 1047
 — superseded by Valer Gratus 160, 1073
 Rufus, Cadmus, is procurator of Bithynia, 290, 1734
 Rufus, Fannus is prefect of the Pretorium, 326, 1919
 — depressed by his colleague Ligilinus, 326, 1921
 — death of, 336 1967
 Rufus, Lucius, sent by Cressus against Tarsus, 46, 396
 Rufus, Misennus, banished by Nero, 336, 1971
 — is with Nero at the cutting of the Isthmus of Corinth, 347, 2056
 Rufus, Q. Curtius, is consul suffectus, 277, 1659
 Rufus, Trebellianus, is governor of Southern Thracia, 167, 1122
 Rullus, Servilius, an officer of Octavius, defeated by Antony, 51, 449
 Rumelaces, the dominions of Cotys given to, 266, 1533

SABBATH, Jerusalem said to have been taken on,

- by Pompey, 9, 79
 — by Herod, 61, 527
 — by Titus, 360, 2154
 sabbatic year, Jews exempted from tribute in, 31, 300
 — how observed, 34, 300 87, 707
 — Jerusalem besieged by Herod in, 60, 595
 sabbatic years, what years b c and a d were, 60, 525 61, 692 91, 737
 Salinus takes an inventory of Herod's property at his death 128, 927, 929
 — besieged in Herod's palace, 128, 931
 Salinus, Pompeius, subdues a rebellion in Thracia, 172, 1157
 — protect of Macedonia and Moesia, 244, 1479
 — death of, 15
 Salinus, Nymphodius, appointed prefect of the Pretorium, 345, 1968
 Salinus a Roman soldier, attempts to scale the wall of Antoin, 369, 2135
 Salinus, Titus, put to death at Rome, 173, 1164
 Sacrifice, daily, at Jerusalem ceases, 359 2139
 Sadducees, the party of Annas and Caiaphas, 240, 1453
 — insensibility of, 218, 1375
 — were a Romanising party, 218, 1375 208, 1327
 — at first favourable to the Baptist, 175, 1172
 St Alban's, the ancient Verulamium, 21, 171
 Salassi in Spain rebel, 62 674
 Salem, the site of, 164, 1209
 — the modern Sheikh Salim, 186, 1209
 Salome, sister of Herod, is wife of Joseph, 68, 565
 — on death of Joseph marries Costobarns, 66, 567
 — divorces herself, 81, 671
 — calumniate the sons of Mariamne to Herod, 98, 768
 — captures Syllaeus, the chief minister of Petra, 100, 783
 — holds secret intercourse with Syllaeus, 101 808
 — reports Antipater's rebel to Herod, 118, 876
 — keeps a jealous watch over Antipater, 120, 886
 — liberates the chiefs imprisoned by Herod in the Hippodrome, 125, 916
 — receives, on death of Herod, Jamma, Azotus Phasaelis, and Archelaus, 131, 961 See 120, 914
 — bequeaths Jamma, &c., to Julia wife of Augustus, 151, 148
 — death of, 16
 Salome, sister of the Virgin Mary and wife of Zebedee, 182, 1198

SCO

- request of James and John, the sons of, to Jesus, 230, 1432
 Salome daughter of Herodias, asks the head of John the Baptist, 203, 1290
 — marries Herod Philip, 204, 1396
 — and on his death Aristobulus, 204, 1296
 Samaria (city) given by Octavius to Herod, 76, 639
 — fortified by Herod, 83, 681
 Samaria (province) given on death of Herod to Archelaus, 130, 948
 — on his banishment is governed by the Roman procurator of Judaea, 146, 1012
 — granted to King Agrippa, 271, 1619
 — on his death is subject to the Roman procurator of Judaea, 281, 1679
 — outbreak in, under Cumanus 293, 1759 *et seq*
 — a city of converted to Christianity, 258 1643
 Samaritan oppose Our Lord's progress, 222, 1394
 — animosity of, to the Jews, 223 1396
 — insurrection of, in time of Pilate, 247, 1491
 Sames refuses the oath of allegiance to Herod, 116, 867
 Samorobnia, now Amiens, 15 136
 — Cassar holds a council at, 22, 179
 Samosata, siege of, by Antony, 57, 501
 — siege of, abandoned, 57, 505
 Samothrace visited by Paul and Silas, 294 1764
 Sampsigeramus I, king of Emesa and Arethusa, 90, 727
 Sampsigeramus II, king of Emesa and Arethusa, 271, 1624
 Sanatruces, king of Parthia, dies, 2, 8
 Sanhedrim, number of members of, 46
 — send to enquire into the pretensions of John the Baptist, 179, 1184
 — power of, 232, 1440
 — sat only by day, 233, 1441
 Sanhedrims, Judaea divided into, 13, 116 147, 1013
 Sapphira death of, 243 1465
 Sardes overthrown by an earthquake, 163, 1093
 Sardmia, one of the people's or senate's provinces, 60, 666
 Saturday See Sabbath
 Saturn and Jupiter, conjunction of, 106, 684 110, 859 118, 878
 Saturnalia, 5, 38
 Saturninus C. Scaurus, is prefect of Syria 106, 817
 — hears complaint of Herod against Syllaeus, 107 829
 — gives Herod leave to levy distress in Arabia, 108, 825
 — sends Cornilius a conspirator to Rome 113, 855
 — sits on the trial of Herod's sons 113, 867
 — is courted by Antipater, 114, 865
 — superseded by P. Quinctilius Varus, 117, 873
 Saturninus, L. Volusius, is prefect of Syria 111, 1000
 Saul See Paul, St
 Sauromates, king of Bosphorus, 137, 966 a
 Savas, Decidius, a general of Antony and Octavius, 48, 412 413
 — procurator of Syria, 50, 434
 — escapes from the Parthians to Cither, 51, 440
 — put to death by Labienus, 61, 441
 Scaurus sent to Syria by Pompey, 5, 36
 — goes to Judaea, 5, 41
 — hears ambassadors of Aristobulus and Hyrcanus, 5, 42
 — favours Aristobulus, 6, 44
 — appointed to the command of Syria, 10, 85
 — marches against Aretas, 11, 97
 Scipio, prefect of Syria, 29, 241
 Scodru, border town between Dalmatia and Illyria, 62, 467

- Seourging of Jesus, 236, 1441
- Scarbonia torured by Octavius, 64, 473
- Scarbonianus, Tullus Camillus, conspiracy of, 274, 1640
- Scarbonius marries Dynamis, and assumes to be King of Bosphorus, 96, 755
- assassinated, 97, 761
- Scriptures, Holy, a copy of, burnt in mockery by a Roman soldier, 290, 1737
- Sebaste, Eleusa so called, 250, 1606
- Schasti, a city laid waste by two Jews, 343, 2011
- Seibeth, the ancient Masada, 24, 452
- Scyrius, Ælius, accompanies Cairus to the East, 136, 964
- appointed prefat of the Pratorium, 158, 1058
- rises in power, 162, 1064
- increases in power, 170, 1141
- at height of his power, 170, 1145, 1146
- is with Libanius in Campania, 173, 1167
- great influence of, 177, 1177
- conspires against the emperor, and is executed, 215, 1353
- adherents of, prosecuted, 216, 1364
- co-conspirators of, executed, 228, 1417
- Seleucia in Syria, the port of Syria, 166, 1111
- Seleucia in Babylonia, annexed to Commagene, 7, 54
- revolts from Artabanus, 246, 1486
- outbreak against the Jews at, 273, 1631
- besieged by Vardanes, 275, 1649, 276, 1662
- taken, 276, 1662
- Seleucus of Syria, first husband of Berenice, 13, 110
- Senate, Roman, provinces of, 80, 666, 68, 712
- Seneca born, 115, 1022 a
- banished, 273, 1627
- recalled, 259, 1729
- pretor and tutor to Nero, 280, 1729, 300, 1790
- at Rome at death of Claudius, 302, 1805
- tries to check Nero, 304, 1808
- attends Nero in Campania, 317, 1870
- obliged to be present at the Juventura, 317, 1876
- withdraws from public life, 326, 1920
- shuts himself up in his house, 334, 1958
- death of, 335, 1966
- Sennium taken, 49, 428
- Sentius, Craxus, prefect of Syria, 166, 1113
- sends Piso to Rome, 166, 1117
- Sepphoris taken by Herod, 66, 487
- taken and burnt by Varus, 120, 937
- founded by Herod Antipatra, 131, 953
- Seppulchre, site of the Holy, 235, 1446
- Sepphoris on the Mount, 105, 1267-70
- Severus, Quintus, is proprietor of Commagene, 165, 1104
- Severus, admiral of Pompey, 6, 47
- sent by Gabinius against Aristobulus and Antigonus, 14, 127
- Sevstus, Lucius, is consular suffectus, 86, 704
- Seventy disciples chosen, 223, 1397
- Seventy weeks, prophecy of, 238, 1444
- Severus procurator of Egypt, dies, 210, 1368
- Seviths called August, 106, 824
- Shofit-offerings, called by St John a high day, 230, 1447
- at what time observed, xxxv
- Shechem, or Sychar, site of, 187, 1221
- Shephate, position of, at Jerusalem, 196, 1258
- Sheik Salim, the ancient Salma, 165, 1209
- Shorth and, a friend of, invented by Maecenas, 107, 826
- Sicari, use of, 368, 1834
- referred to by 1 years on the street of Paul, 16
- why so called, 16
- Skily, one of the people's provinces, 80, 666
- Soma. See Sychar
- Sidon taken by Pacorus, 51, 442
- deprived of liberty, 50, 727
- his a conspiracy with the Dunaanenes, 228, 1424
- Silanus, Creticus, is prefect of Syria, 100, 1046
- receives Vionones as a refugee, 163, 1078
- suspected by Piso, 163, 1090
- Silanus, Cairus, proconsul of Asia, accused, 169, 1140
- Silanus, Marcus commits suicide, 255, 1524
- Silvius, M. Junius, proconsul of Asia, 88, 786
- Silvius, M. Junius, the younger, proconsul of Asia, assassinated, 302, 1806
- Silvius, Torquatus, put to death, 393, 1952
- Silvius appointed high-priest by Agrippa, 275, 1644
- removed, 16
- Silas, or Hyllrinus, sent by the Apostles to Antioch, 265, 1724
- remains at Antioch, 288, 1725
- accompanies Paul on his second circuit, 290, 1738
- is in Phrygia and Galatia, 292, 1747
- in Macedonia, 294, 1763-8
- scourged at Philippi, 294, 1765
- is at Thessalonica, 294, 1768 *et seq*
- at Beroa, 294, 1768
- remains behind at Ikraia after Paul's departure, 294, 1769
- rejoins Paul at Corinth, 297, 1779
- Silvius marries Messulina, the wife of Claudius, 287, 1716
- Silo left in command in Palestine by Ventidius, 65, 484
- treachery of, to Herod, 56, 486
- called back by Ventidius, 12, 496
- Silvanus fall of the Tower of, 226, 1408
- Simon, in a serpent in Perea on the death of Herod, 129, 934
- put down by Varus, 120, 938
- Simon, son of Boethus, made high-priest, 88, 715
- removed, 121, 896
- Simon, son of Boethus, called Cantharus, high-priest, 275, 1643
- removed, 275, 1646
- Simon, son of Gioris gets possession of Jerusalem, 355, 2101
- Simon, son of Gamathus, high-priest, 162, 1085
- removed, 163, 1096
- Simon (Cyrenian) bears the cross of Our Lord, 237, 1441
- Simon Magus, a native of Gittion, 258, 1543
- induces Drusilla to desert Azizus and marry him, 301, 1800
- Simon, half-brother of Our Lord, 181, 1108
- Simon Barjonas. See Peter
- Simon the Taper, house of, 230, 1435
- Sinnaces tries with Abdius to dethrone Artabanus, 244, 1472
- Sinope taken by Lucullus, 1, 3
- Sinopeta, Mithridates flies to, 6, 32
- Sion, the ancient High Town now so called, 258, 2126
- Siphus taken by Antony, 51, 447
- taken by M. Agrippa, 34, 449
- Sisane, Tibertus winters at, 145, 1018
- Siscipius sent by Antony against Aristobulus and Antigonus, 14, 127
- contends for the kingdom of Cappadocia before Antony, 49, 425
- Sisters of Our Lord, 181, 1197, 200, 1277
- Slaves, cities sold into, 16, 385
- Soemus, king of Iturea Libani, 256, 1533
- death of, 289, 1727
- Solomon succeeds Azizus as king of Emesa and Aethiopia, 301, 1823

SOL

- Soldiers come to John the Baptist, 175, 1173
- Solomon's Porch, disciples assemble in, 213, 1466
- Son of God and Son of Man, the titles assumed by Our Lord, 180, 1189 236, 1441
- Sophe is subject to Tigranes, but taken from him by Lucullus, 3, 18
 - given to Tigranes the younger is king, 3, 35
 - annexed to Cappadocia, 7, 57
 - given to Sohemus, king of Emesa and Arethusa, 306, 1394
- Soranus, Barea, is proconsul of Asia 336, 1977
 - put to death, 339, 1990-1
- Sore-croers expelled from Rome, 68, 571 162, 1080
- Sosius left by Antony in command of Syria and Cilicia, 57, 506
 - assists Herod in Judea, 58, 508
 - joins Herod at Jerusalem, 59, 519
 - takes Jerusalem, 60, 521 *et seq*
 - delivers up Antigonus to Antony, 62, 528
 - triumph of, at Rome, 68, 572
 - takes the part of Antony against Octavius, 70, 584
 - defeats Luc Tarsenius, 72, 608
 - defeated by Agrippa and slain, *ib*
- Spain, disturbances in, 96, 756
 - L. Piso is prefect of, 171, 1150
- Spain restored by Augustus, 89, 720
- Standards, Roman, agreed to be restored by the Parthians to Augustus, 86, 705
 - actually restored, 89, 735
- Star at the Nativity, xxix And 118, 679
- Statianus, an unsuccessful Roman officer, 65, 546
- Statilius, Taurus, is prefect of the city, 156, 1050
- Stephen, martyrdom of St, lxvii And 202, 1510
- Stoa Basilicæ, Sabbath proclaimed from, 178, 1183
- Stoa's encounter St Paul at Athens, 290, 1773
- Strabo the geographer, time when he wrote, 138, 968
- Strabo, Suus prefect of the Prætorium, 163, 1058
- Straight Street in Damascus, 203, 1516
- Straton's Tower (Casarea) set free, 9, 81
 - given by Octavius to Herod, 76, 630
 - rebuilt by Herod under the name of Casarea, 89, 723 See Casarea
- Struthion Pool, site of, at Jerusalem, 350, 2127
- Suetonius, Paulinus, is prætor of Britain, 323, 1905
- Suevi, Vannius made king of, by Darius, 291, 1743
 - reign of, for thirty years, and expulsion, *ib*
- Sulpius, P., is banished by Nero, 312, 1860
- Sulla, a Roman, calumniated by Tigellinus, 326, 1921
 - executed, 326, 1922
- Συλλαπορεύσει, sense of, in St. Luke, 221, 1390
- Survey of Roman Empire ordered by Caesar, 40, 343
- Sycamine found only in Lower Galilee, 227, 1415
- Sychar, site of, 187, 1321
- Sychem See Sychar
- Syllæus, chief minister of Obodas, king of Petra, 84, 688
 - forbidden to marry Salome unless he became a Jew, 100, 783
 - harbours the rebelhous Trachonites, 102, 794 103, 804
 - meeting of, with Herod before Saturninus, 107, 829
 - sails to Rome, 108, 832
 - calumnates Herod to Augustus, 110, 840
 - condemned to death, 110, 845
 - returns to Arabia, *ib*
 - plots against Herod's life, 112, 854
 - accuses Fabatus to Caesar, 113, 855
 - causes Fabatus to be assassinated, 113, 856
 - sails to Rome, 121, 892

TAL

- put to death, 111 845 113, 856
- Tyrræon testifies to Jesus being the Messiah, 118 877
- Syria constituted a Roman colony by Augustus, 80, 720
- Syria subject to Tigranes, but taken from him by Lucullus, 3, 18
 - committed by Pompey to Scaurus, 10, 85
 - under Philiippus, 12, 101
 - Marcellinus, 12, 103
 - Gabinius, 14, 114
 - henceforth becomes a consular province 13, 114 But see 75, 627
 - under Crassus 18, 154
 - Cassus, 23, 185-6 42, 356 45, 382
 - Bibulus 23, 190
 - Scribo, 29, 241
 - Jul. Sextus Caesar, 35, 302
 - Cælius Basas, 38, 326
 - Q. Cornificus, 39, 337
 - L. Statius Mureus, 43, 365
 - Saxas, 40, 434
 - Vitellius, 53, 458
 - Sosius, 57, 506
 - L. Munatius Plancus, 66, 555
 - Lucius Calpurnius Bibulus, 69 581
 - Q. Didius, 73, 611
 - Messala, 75, 654
 - M. Iulius Cæsar (son of the Orator), 79, 560
 - Varro, 85, 697
 - M. Agrippa, 86, 700
 - M. Titus, 99, 773
 - C. Sentius Saturninus, 106, 817
 - P. Quinctilius Varus, 117, 873
 - P. Sulpicius Quirinus, 132, 955 146 1012
 - ordered to be taxed by him, 117, 1012
 - under Censurinus 144, 855
 - L. Volusius Saturninus, 144, 1000
 - Cæsius Silanus, 155 1046
 - Cæsus Piso, 163, 1090
 - Germanicus, 163, 1089
 - Cæsus Sertius, 166, 1113
 - L. Pomponius Flaccus, 167, 1128
 - L. Arruntius, 241, 1456
 - L. Vitellius, 242, 1462
 - P. Petronius Turpilianus, 260, 1554
 - Vibius Marsus, 276, 1647
 - C. Cæsius Longinus, 281, 1679
 - P. Ummidius Quadratus, 291, 1740
 - P. Arbanus (nominally) 304, 1822
 - Corbulo, 318, 1892
 - Cincus, 331, 1946
 - Cestus Gallus, 331, 1962
 - Mucianus, 347, 2045
 - Cæsenius Pætus, 361, 2159
- TABERNACLE, Feast of, attended by Our Lord, lxix And 208, 1330 *et seq*
- Tabor, Mount, referred to by Our Lord 199, 1269
 - supposed by some to have been the mount of Transfiguration, 220, 1381
- Tadarnas, end of war with, 171, 1151
- Taiyibch, the ancient Ephraim, 219, 1377
- Tarcondimotus I king of Cilicia Aramæensis, 25, 206 25, 239
 - is on the side of Pompey at Pharsalia, 31, 269
 - an ally of Antony, 71, 690
 - slain, 72, 696
- Tarcondimotus II promoted to his father's kingdom by Augustus, 90, 727
 - succeeded by Philopator, 163, 1088
- Tarsus Lucius, defeated by Sosius, 72, 608

TAR

- Taricheæ taken by Cassius, 26, 213
 — taken by Vespasian, 347, 2042
 — given to Agrippa the younger, 304, 1823
 Tarruntius Priscus accuses Statilius Taurus, 299, 1786
 — prefect of Bithynia, and convicted of extortion, 324, 1907
 Tarsians compelled to join Cassius, 45, 381
 — oppose Tilius Cimber, the partisan of Cassius, 46, 396
 — subdued by Lucius Rufus, who mulets them and sells numbers as slaves, *ib*
 — made free by Octavius and Antony, 46, 421
 — how governed, 48, 422
 — importance of the city of, 314, 1860
 Taurus Statilius is accused of magic (semble Christianity), 299, 1786
 Taxes remitted by Herod 91, 737 98, 707
 — for support of Temple, 221, 1885
 — remitted by Vitellius, 248, 1495
 — by Agrippa, 275, 1044
 Teddington, so called from being Tide-end Town, 21, 174
 Tell-hum See Capernaum
 Teladæus of Matthew the publican, where it was, 191, 1253
 Temnus, a city of Asia, overthrown by an earthquake, 163, 1093
 Temple, the Beautiful Gate of, described, 240, 1452
 — decrees for rebuilding, after the Babylonish captivity, *ib*
 — assailed and taken by Pompey, 9, 77, 78
 — restoration of, designed by Herod *ib* And 92, 738
 — restoration of, begun, 94, 745
 — in progress in time of Our Lord's ministry, 94, 745 184, 1205
 — completed, 386, 1978 95, 746
 — tax for support of, *ib* And 221, 1385
 — tax for, demanded of Our Lord, 220, 1384
 — rich offerings in, 231, 1438
 — western wall of, raised by the Jews, 324, 1912
 — preternatural light in, 341, 2002
 — siege of, by Titus, 359, 2140 *et seq*
 — fired, 360, 2147 *et seq*
 — on what day of the month, *xxviii* And 109, 836 360, 2140
 Teron expostulates with and is racked and executed by Herod, 114, 662
 Thamna, a city of Judæa, sold into slavery, 45, 385
 — now Tibneh, one of the toparchies of Judæa, 147, 1013
 Thapsus, battle of, 36, 312
 Theatre built by Herod at Jerusalem, 81, 672
 Theodorus of Gadara, the instructor of Tiberius, 112, 651
 Theodotus, an imperial surveyor, 40, 343
 Theodotus in Greek answers to Matthias in Hebrew, 124, 903
 Theophilus appointed high-priest by Vitellius, 251, 1506
 — was high-priest at the stoning of Stephen, 252, 1510
 — and at the mission of Paul to Damascus, 252, 1515
 — removed by Agrippa, 275, 1643
 Theophrastus, archon at Athens, 11, 98
 Thermus, proprietor of Asia, 12, 105
 Thessalonians, date of first Epistle to, 297, 1779
 — date of second Epistle to, 299, 1780
 Theudas, referred to by Gamaliel, was Judæa, an insurgent in the last days of Herod, 124, 903 243, 1469

TIB

- thought by others to be Matthias, *ib*
 — and by others to be Judas, an insurgent after the death of Herod, 129, 933
 Themis, an impostor in the time of Fadus, 284, 1694
 Thimpath, the ancient Thamma one of the toparchies of Judæa, 147, 1013
 Tholomæus, son of Soemus, king of Ituræa Laban, 33, 286
 Thasæ, disturbances in, 98, 758
 — Rhecuporus is king of Northern, 166, 1120
 — Cotys, king of Southern, is put to death, *ib*
 — Rhecuporus, king of, is kidnapped by Pomponius Flaccus and sent to Rome, 167, 1122
 — Northern, given to Rhemetalees, and Southern to the sons of Cotys *ib*
 — Southern, given by Caligula to Rhemetalees, 256, 1533
 — P. Velleius employed in, 168, 1128
 — Rhemetalees assists Sabinus in, 172, 1157
 Thucyllus, an astrologer in the time of Tiberius, 140, 980
 Tiber, inundation of, 144, 999
 Tiberias in Galilee built by Herod Antipas in honour of Tiberius, 173, 1163
 — avoided by Our Lord, 194, 1253
 — Herod Agrippa was exile of, 217, 1360
 — given to Agrippa the younger, 305, 1823
 Tiberius, Claudius, father of the emperor, defeats the Egyptian fleet on the Nile, 33, 285
 Tiberius, Claudius Drusus Nero (emperor), birth of, 49, 426
 — assumes the toga virilis, 70, 663
 — sent by Augustus to Armenia, 91, 734
 — visits Rhodes on his way back, 91, 735
 — overthrows the Rhæti, 97, 758
 — sent to Pannonia, 100, 780, 781 *et seq*
 — victories of, there, 100, 781
 — conducts the war against the Dalmatians and Pannonians, 101, 786
 — marries Julia, 102, 798
 — sent against the Dacæ and Dalmatians, 103, 801, 802
 — again reduces the Dalmatians and Pannonians, 105, 812
 — proceeds to Gaul and crosses the Rhine, 106, 821
 — is styled Imperator, 106, 825
 — returns to Rome, 107, 827
 — is at Rome on New-year's day, 108, 833
 — proceeds to Germany, *ib*
 — invested with the Tribunitian power for five years, 112, 849
 — again invested with it, 135, 956a
 — sent to settle affairs in Armenia, but retires to Rhodes, 112, 850
 — remains there seven years complete, *ib*
 — attends the lectures of Theodorus there, 112, 851
 — visits Cæsar at Camos, 138, 970
 — hostility of Lollius to, 138, 970
 — reconciled to Cæsar, 140, 979
 — permitted to return to Rome, 140, 980
 — invested with the Tribunitian power for ten years, 143, 993
 — adopted by Augustus as his son, 143, 994
 — goes to Germany, 144, 995
 — campaign of, in Germany 145, 1004 *et seq*
 — continues the war, 148, 1017
 — winters at Susia, 148, 1018
 — continues the war, 149, 1023
 — returns to Rome, 149, 1027
 — sent to Dalmatia, 150, 1029
 — sent to Germany, 151, 1036, 1037 152, 1039 153, 1042

TIB

- decreed to have co-ordinate power with Augustus over the armies and provinces, 104, 1043, 1044
- Tribunitian power renewed to, 106, 1048
- succeeds as emperor, 158, 1064 *et seq*
- how the years of his reign were computed, *ib*, *ib* And 104, 1044
- procures assassination of Agrippa (son of Julia), 158, 1055
- at first refuses divine honours, 158, 1059
- is Pontifex Max., 108, 1063
- restores laws of treason, 160, 1065
- consul for a few days, 161, 1068
- enforces the laws of treason with rigour, 165, 1106
- consul for three months, 168, 1129
- withdraws into Campania, 169, 1130
- returns to Rome, 169, 1139
- government of, changes for the worse, 170, 1144
- affects indifference at the death of Drusus, 170, 1147
- retires to Campania, 171, 1148
- finally retires to Campania, 172, 1159
- visits the continent, 173, 1161
- returns to Capri, 173, 1162
- attended by the senate at Capri, 173, 1167
- consul for the last time, 202, 1285
- at Capri for nine months after death of Sejanus, 215, 1356
- discovers that Drusus had been poisoned by Sejanus, 215, 1358
- orders Herod Agrippa to leave Rome, 171, 1147
- sails up the Tiber, 216, 1362
- comes near to Rome, 228, 1416
- returns to Capri, 228, 1418
- devotes himself to astrology, 228, 1419
- appoints Calpurnia quaestor and his successor, 228, 1422
- visits Albanum and Tusculum, 242, 1459
- is at Albanum at the marriage of Calpurnia and Claudia, 244, 1470
- intrigues against Artabanus, 244, 1474
- retires to Misenum, 248, 1494
- death of, 249, 1500
- Tiberius, son of Drusus, put to death by Calpurnia, 255, 1522
- Tibneh, the ancient Thamna, 147, 1013
- Tigellinus, Sotomus appointed prefect of the Praetorium, 326, 1919-21
- grows in power, 320, 1921
- goes with Nero to Greece, 340, 1994
- death of, 363, 2086
- Tigranes is engaged in reducing some cities of Paphlagonia, 1, 4
- interview of, with Appian, 1, 7
- is reconciled to Mithridates, *ib*
- and refuses to deliver him up, *ib*
- war declared against, by Lucullus, 3, 13
- takes Acre, 3, 14
- defeated by Lucullus, 3, 16
- loses his capital Tigranocerta, 3, 17
- stripped of great part of his dominions, 3, 18
- sends embassies to Phraates, 3, 20
- makes his submission to Pompey, 5, 83
- worsted by Phraates, 7, 62
- sends to Pompey for aid, *ib*
- and Phraates reconciled, 8, 68
- Tigranes, the son, is king of Gordyene and Sophene, 5, 85
- but disposed and led in triumph *ib*
- Tigranes, brother of Artabanus, is king of Armenia, 91, 784
- death of, 112, 950
- Tigranes, a Parthian candidate for the throne of Armenia, 112, 850 2

TIT

- solicits the crown from Augustus, who refuses, 130, 974
- Tigranes, the Roman candidate, is king of Armenia, 310, 1886
- invades Adiabene, 320, 1935
- besieged by the Parthians, 320, 1935
- Tigranocerta taken by Lucullus, 2, 17
- taken by Corbulo, 319, 1880
- besieged by Moneses, a Parthian general, 320, 1935
- Timagetus the sophist comes to Rome, 18, 150
- Time, how reckoned by the ancients, 246, 1441
- how by astronomers, 246, 1441 179, 1188
- Timothy adopted by St. Paul, 290, 1738
- stays behind at Beroea, 294, 1769
- arrives at Athens, 291, 1771
- sent from Athens to Thessalonica, *ib*
- returns to Corinth, 297, 1779
- sent from Ephesus to Macedonia, 306, 1829
- sent from Rome to Philippi, 331, 1940
- left at Ephesus, 334, 1963
- sent for to Rome, 340, 1993
- date of first Epistle to, 381, 1963
- of second Epistle to, 340, 1993
- Tirdes ejected by Phraates, and received by Augustus, 77, 644
- pleads against a Parthian embassy at Rome, 86, 705
- Tridates, son of Phraates, sent by Tiberius from Rome to Parthia, 244, 1473
- accompanied by Vitellius to the Euphrates, 216, 1483
- crowned at Seleucia, 216, 1186
- expelled by Artabanus, *ib*
- Tridates, son of Artabanus, appointed to Armenia by the Parthians, 275, 1648
- expelled by Corbulo, 319, 1886
- makes his submission to Corbulo, 332, 1948
- arrives in Rome, 338, 1987
- crowned by Nero, 340, 1989
- returns home, 339, 1992
- Titus an officer of Antony, slays Sextus Pompey, 60, 554
- deserts Antony for Octavius, 70, 585
- Titus M. appointed prefect of Syria, 99, 773
- Parthian hostages delivered to, 104, 810
- reconciled to Archelaus by Herod, 105, 816
- succeeded by C. Sentius Saturninus, 106, 817
- Titus Vespasianus (emperor), born, 268, 1609
- employed in Britain, 286, 1709
- sent to Alexandria, 346, 2027
- goes to Ptolemais, 346, 2029
- sent to Mucianus, 347, 2044
- is present at the taking of Camala, 347, 2047
- takes Gischala, 347, 2049-50
- returns to Caesarea, *ib*
- sails to Rome to congratulate Galba, 350, 2077
- hears by the way of the death of Galba, and returns to Judea, 352, 2083
- advances to Caesarea, 357, 2115
- reaches Jerusalem, 357, 2116
- encamps on Scopus, 358, 2118
- encamps before Paeppin, 358, 2120
- besieges Jerusalem, 358, 2121 *et seq*
- takes the first wall, 358, 2123
- the second wall, 358, 2124
- draws a wall of circumvallation round the city, 358, 2129
- takes Antonia, 359, 2136
- orders the Temple to be fired, 360, 2147
- tries to extinguish the flames, but in vain, 360, 2148
- holds a parley with the Jews in the High Town, 360, 2150

TIT

- takes the High Town, 360, 2154
- quits the ruins of Jerusalem for Cæsaria, 360, 2155
- visits Antioch, 361, 2157
- goes by way of Jerusalem to Alexandria, 361, 2157
- returns to Rome, 361, 2158
- Titus, companion of St. Paul, is sent from Ephesus to Corinth, 369, 1836
- again sent from Macedonia to Corinth, 310, 1841
- goes with Paul to Crete, 334, 1963
- sent to Dalmatia, 337, 1981
- date of Epistle to, 334, 1963
- Tmolus, a city of Asia, overthrown by an earthquake, 163, 1093
- Toga virilis, time of taking 79, 663 130, 943
- taken by Tiberius 79, 663
- by Caius, 120, 889
- by Lucius, 136 959
- Togodumnus, son of Cunobelin, 274 1641
- Tolistoibon, Deiotarus, king of, 6, 53
- Toparchies of Judaea, 147, 1013
- Tôre, us of, in St. Matthew, 233, 1440
- Trachonitis rebel against Herod, and being defeated, are banished by Syllenus, 106, 783 102, 794
- ravage the country of Herod, 106, 618 107, 829
- Trachonitis included in the grant by Antony to Cleopatra, 64, 537
- formed out to Zenon or Zenodorus, *ib*
- granted to Herod, 85, 696
- to Herod Philip, 130, 950
- annexed to Syria, 240, 1454
- conferred on Agrippa, 250 1503
- Trajan takes Aqaba, 316, 2036
- Transjordan 220, 1381
- Treason, laws of, restored by Tiberius, 163, 1095
- still further strung, *ib*
- enforced with rigour, 165, 1106 228, 1417
- Our Lord suffers for alleged breach of, 228 1417 230, 1441
- Trebellianus, Marcus, sent against the Chitte, 246, 1485
- Tribonius, Caius, consul, inflicts, 39, 334
- an adherent of Cæsar, 15, 331
- put to death by Dolabella, 45 389
- Trevis, subdued by Cæsar, 19, 160
- Triarius raises the siege of Cæbra, 4, 23
- defeated by Mithridates, 4, 24
- Tribute, India made subject to, by Pompey, 9, 81
- by Cæsar, 45, 384
- was not the money demanded of Our Lord which was the Temple-tax, *xv* And 220, 1864-6
- Triers See Trevin
- Triumphant, how bounded, 21, 174
- Triumvirate of Octavian, Antony and Lepidus, 44, 376
- renewed for five years, 53, 513
- Troas visited by Paul and Silas, 294, 1763
- revisited by Paul, 310, 1839 313, 1857 337 1081
- Trophimus left by Paul at Miletus 339, 1981
- Troxoboris, rebellion of, in Cilicia, 250, 1605
- Tryphon ricked and executed by Herod, 114, 862
- Turpilianus Publius Petronius See Petronius
- Turullus, Publius, delivered up to Octavian and executed, 76, 624
- Tuscan, Cassina, put to death by Nero, 340, 1997
- Tutor, prefect of Cilicia, 307, 1832
- Tyba, camp of P. Corcus at, 25, 206
- Tychicus carries the Epistles to the Thymians, Colossians, and Philemon, 336, 1938
- Tyre deprived of liberty, 90 726
- borders of, visited by Our Lord, 207, 1319
- sends embassy to King Agrippa 200 1676

V-E-S

- UNDERGIRDING a ship, 322, 1899
- Unleavened bread, Feast of, at what time observed, *xxvii*
- Urbis Condita, the 725th year mentioned by Dion, 77, 646
- VALERIUS ASIATICUS dies, 286, 1711
- Vannius appointed king of the Quadi by Drusus, 160 1106
- expelled, 291, 1743
- Vardanes, son of Artabanus, 275, 1648
- defeats Getares, 282 1687
- comes to terms with him and retains the Kingdom, 278, 1652
- takes Seleucia, *ib*
- attempts taking possession of Armenia but threatened by Maraus and desists, 278, 1664
- was king of Parthia in time of Apollonius Tyanensis, 282, 1686
- slain by his subjects, 286, 1702
- Vardanes, son of Volagases, repairs to the throne of Parthia, 305, 1824
- Varro, L. Licinius Murena: conspiracy of 88, 711
- Varro, prefect of Syria, 85, 697
- Varius, Pub. Quinctilius, prefect of Syria, 117, 873
- tries Antipater, son of Herod, at Jerusalem, 123, 901
- returns to Antioch, 123, 901
- has an interview with Archelaus at Cæsaria, 128, 927
- goes up to Jerusalem and thence to Antioch, 128, 928
- returns by way of Acre to Jerusalem 129, 936, 937
- suppresses disturbances in Judæa, 129, 938, 939
- returns to Antioch, 129, 940
- superseded, 132, 955
- destroyed with his legions in Germany 150, 1031
- some captives taken by, are subsequently liberated 291, 1741
- character of, 117, 873
- Venus, Arius, prefect of the Prætorium, 360, 3110
- Vatican enclosed by Nero for horse-racing, 217, 1875
- Veadar, the Jewish intercalary month 312, 2003
- Verento, Fabricius, a consul, 320, 1918
- Vellius, Paternulus, goes with Tiberius to Germany, 144, 906
- made quaestor, 148 1017
- Vellius, Publius, prefect of Mesia, 168, 1128
- Ventidius appointed by Antony to command in Asia, 33, 458
- defeats and slays Labienus, 55, 481, 482
- recovers Cilicia, Syria, and Palestine, 55, 483
- is bribed by Antigonus, 56, 484
- marches with Herod against the Parthians, 56, 486
- defeats them in Cynrhastria, 57, 498
- sends aid to Herod, 57, 499
- marches against Commagene, 57, 500
- triumph of, at Rome, 57, 502
- Veranius, Q. is legate of Cappadocia, 165, 1103
- Vercus, or Bericus, ejected from Britain by Cunobellius, 271, 1641
- Vershamum, the supposed capital of Cassivellannus, 21, 171
- taken by Cæsar, 21, 176
- Vespasianus, Titus Flavius, born 150, 1034
- employed in Britain, 286, 1709
- hears Nero sing at the theatre, 336, 1973
- appointed to command in Judæa, 315, 2025
- arrives in Syria, 346, 2027
- marches to Ptolemais 346, 2028
- Vulco, Guderia, 316, 2031
- lost to Jotapata, 316 2032 *ib* *ib*

YES

- takes it, 346, 2040
- returns to Acre, and thence marches to Caesarea Philippi, 346, 2041
- assaults and takes Gamala, 347, 2043-7
- returns to Caesarea, 347, 2048
- takes Jamnia and Azotus, 347, 2051
- is at Gadara, 349, 2072
- returns to Caesarea, 350, 2073
- marches to Jericho, 350, 2075
- returns to Caesarea to prepare for the siege of Jerusalem, 350, 2078
- on hearing of the death of Nero sends Titus to congratulate Galba, 350, 2077
- advances on Jerusalem, 355, 2102
- returns to Caesarea, 350, 2103
- proclaimed emperor, 355, 2105
- at Berytus, 355, 2106
- at Antioch, 355, 2107
- at Egypt, 355, 2108
- sails for Rome, 357, 2112
- arrives in Italy, 357, 2113
- Vestinus, Lucius, employed to restore the Capitol, 357, 2114
- Vetax, Lucius, proconsul of Asia, dies, 336, 1975
- Vindex, revolt of, in Gaul, 313, 2062
- Vindex, Annus conspiracy of, 274, 1640
- Vitellius, Lucius, appointed prefect of Syria, 242, 1462, 1463
 - threatens to invade Mesopotamia, 244, 1477
 - accompanies Tirdates to the Euphrates, 246, 1483
 - returns to Antioch, 246, 1484
 - subduces the Chitæ, 246, 1485
 - comes to terms with Artabanus, 240, 1487, 1488
 - returns to Antioch, 247, 1490
 - judges Pilate, 247, 1492
 - and deposes him, 247, 1493
 - visits Jerusalem at the Passover, 248, 1495
 - bounty of, to the Jews, *ib*
 - removes Caiaphas from the Pontificate and appoints Jonathan high-priest, 249, 1496
 - starts on his return to Antioch, 249, 1497
 - ordered by Tiberius to make war on Artaxas, 249, 1498
 - goes to Acre, *ib*
 - at Jerusalem at Pentecost, *ib*
 - removes Jonathan and appoints Theophilus high-priest, 251, 1506
 - hears there of the death of Tiberius, 251, 1507
 - returns to Antioch, 251, 1509
 - succeeded by Petronius, 260, 1554
 - regent at Rome in the absence of Claudius, 277, 1659
- Vitellius, Aulus (emperor), born, 161, 1076
 - sent to command in Germany, 349, 2070
 - proclaimed emperor 352, 2030
 - is in Gaul at the death of Otho, 353, 2090
 - visits the battle field of Bedracum, 353, 2091
 - at Rome, *ib* Ad 354, 2094
 - retires from the palace in mourning, 354, 2098
 - is slain, 354, 2099
- Vologeses, son of Artabanus, 275, 1648
 - becomes king of Parthia, 201, 1745
 - expels Rhadamistus from Armenia, 293, 1756
 - obliged to retire, 293, 1757
 - called in by the Adiabenes, 298, 1763
 - recovers possession of Armenia, 303, 1811
 - retires from Armenia, 305, 1824
 - is alarmed, and gives hostages to Corbulo, *ib*
 - appoints Tirdates king of Armenia, 329, 1935
 - resumes the war, *ib*
 - comes to terms with Corbulo, 329, 1936
 - resumes the war, 331, 1946

ZOR

- Zolammus, an ambassador of Herod to Rome, 110, 844, 346
- Zolammus, a procurator of Syria in the time of Herod, 107, 899
- sits on the trial of Herod's sons, 113, 857
- Zolammus sent by Caesar to survey the coast of Britain, 15, 135
- Zolusius, Lucius, death of, 306, 1827
- Zonobes, I is king of Parthia, 141, 984 161, 1075
- expelled by Artabanus, 161, 1077
- takes possession of Armenia, 162, 1078
- returns to Syria, *ib*
- tries to escape and is slain, 166, 1109
- Zonobes II is king of Parthia, 291, 1745
- succeeded by Vologeses, *ib*
- Zoyage, length of time required for, from Rome to
 - Judea, 121, 894 122, 899 123, 900 251, 1508 269, 1613
 - from Rome to Britain, 20, 165
 - from Rome to Ephesus, 24, 192-6
 - from Tarsus to Brundisium, 28, 238
 - from Tarsus to Rome, *ib*
 - from Rome to Greece, 295, 1773

WALTON-ON-THAMES, the scene of Caesar's passage over the Thames, 21, 174

Washing, a usual ceremony before eating the Passover, 232, 1440

Whit Sunday, answers to Pentecost, *ib*

Wilderness, what so called, 178, 1182

Wye, Caesar is at, 21, 168

ΞΥΑΟΦΙΑ, time of celebration of, 343, 2007

YEAR, Jewish, 363

— Syro Macedonian, 364

— Attic, *ib*

— Roman, *ib*

Years, parallel, 369

— current, instances of, 127, 925 141, 981 143, 991

— the two kinds of Jewish, 342, 2003

Yebna, the ancient Jamnia, 131, 951

Yifta, a city near Hebron 110, 838

ΥΑΧΑΙΟΣ entertains Our Lord, 230, 1433

Υ Ζacharias, vision of, in the Temple, 109, 836

— prophecy of, 112, 853

— entered upon his office, when, xxvii

Zamaris, a Jew, settled by Herod at Bathyra, 117, 874

Zarbiennus, king of Gordyene 1, 8

— put to death by Tigranes, *ib*

Zebadee, the husband of Salome, sister of the Virgin Mary, 182, 1198

Zelee, battle of, 33, 303

Zenodorus, or Zenon, farms Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Batanica, 64, 537 85, 596

— deprived of them, *ib*

— farms also Paneas, 61, 537

— which is given on his death to Herod, 90, 730

— dies at Antioch, 90, 730

Zenodota plundered by Crassus, 18, 155

Zenodoxus, a surveyor employed by Caesar, 40, 343

Zanon. See Artaxias. Zenodorus

Zelka Ma'in, the ancient Callirhoe, 120, 907

Zengma, the ordinary place of passage over the

Euphrates, 22, 182

Zoler, king of Albama, conquered by Canidius Crassus,

63, 535

1

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ERRATA AND ADDENDA

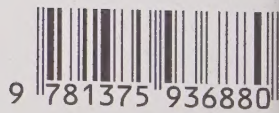
- Page 13, no 114 As to Syria being from this time a consular province, see B.C. 30, no 627
- " 61, second column, top line, for "Dion, xix 23," read "Dion, xix 22"
- " 63, no 537, *dele* " (whom Antony also puts to death)"
- " 75, no 627, at the end add, ' But see B.C. 37, no 114 "
- " 78, no 658 for "B.C. 70, no 70," read "B.C. 70, no 9 "
- " 109, no 836, for "entered upon their office on the first day of the week, read "entered upon their office on the Sabbath "
- " 110, no 840, at the end add "(see A.D. 38, no 1833)"
- " 160, no 1054, for "Armenius," read "Arminius"
- " 244, no 1479, for "A.D. 34, no 1411," read "see A.D. 34, no 1460 "
- " 256, no 1525, for see A.D. 62, no 1936, read "see A.D. 62, no 1935 "
- " 297, no 1778, for "returns from Athens," read "retires from Athens "
- " 301, no 1786, to "Philo de Septien s. 6," add "δὲ ἐτῶν δὲ πλείονων Acts xxiv 17 "
- " 304, no 1822, to "see A.D. 50, no 1746," add "A.D. 60, no 1892 "
- " 305, no 1824, at the end add "(see A.D. 54, no 1811)"
- " 319, no 1890, for see A.D. 32," read "see A.D. 39 "
- " 338, no 1984, at the end add "(see A.D. 50, no 1744)"
- " 363, no 2085, for "infra, no 2110," read "infra, no 2089 "
- " 363, no 2089, at the end add "see supra, no 2056," and "infra, no 2092 "
- " 354, no 2092, for "see supra, no 2086," read "see supra, no 2089 "

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